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ABRAHAM LINCOLN THE PROPHET OF DEMOCRACY

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., P.H.D., LECTURER IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

IT is given to America by a fortunate chance to celebrate each February the birth of its two great national heroes, Washington and Lincoln. Washington was the Father of the Republic; Lincoln, its Savior. Lincoln, however, did more than guide the Union through the Civil War, more than solve the questions of his time. He presented to America and to the world a noble and inspiring example of the spirit of democracy. He was, in fact, applied democracy.

In some way Lincoln remains to me very remote—remote as Cromwell, remote as Napoleon, remote as Shivaji the Great. I have, however, spared no efforts to comprehend something of the subtle and complex personality of Lincoln. I have found it extraordinarily moving to see and talk with people whose hands clasped those of Lincoln. I have walked the streets trod by Lincoln. I have visited the house lived in by Lincoln. I have stood barehead before the national monument at Springfield where reposes all that is earthly of the martyred President. And yet this matchless leader of men remains to me so far and so distant.

One hundred and eleven years ago last month, Abraham Lincoln was born in the backwoods of Kentucky. The life of this man who rose from the humble occupation of a farm laborer to the Presidency of the American Republic is of thrilling dramatic interest. He was born and bred under

the disadvantages of extreme want and poverty; but he trained himself to be a great leader, a "man of the people." So can all young Indians, if they will. When Lincoln was called from his law office in Illinois to the White House in Washington, he had little training in guiding the destiny of a nation, then on the verge of a terrible Civil War. He had no large executive experience. He was never a student in a college or even a high school. Lincoln himself stated that the sum of all the schooling he had in his life did not amount to—one year. He studied English grammar after he was twenty-three. He did not know the mysteries of Euclid till he entered the United States Congress. Lincoln's own explanation of his education was that he "picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity" what he knew. Lincoln did, however, have a very real education in the university of hard knocks; he was graduated from the university of humanity.

Abraham Lincoln was a man of sterling character. He was a rare combination of heart, conscience and intellect. He knew America as few people ever did. He knew the soul of the American people by the only way possible—by actual contact. He was the friend of every farmer, every labourer, every good and true man and woman. Sincere and simple, he was modest as an Indian girl. Lincoln, like

Vidyasagar, had the heart of a Bengali mother, full of the milk of human kindness. There was no glint of selfishness in him, and it was his magnanimity which led Tolstoy to speak of him as a "Christ in miniature." Lincoln had that undefinable elusive something in him which marked him for a natural born hero—a hero that could kindle imagination and stir hearts. No wonder an admirer of his exclaimed: "I believe in God Almighty and Abraham Lincoln." By every act and word Lincoln proved that

"The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring."

Withal he was a very human man. There was in him a perpetual fount of refreshing humor. He was a man who could open his Cabinet meeting with a reading of some chapters from a humorous book, then assuming a graver tone, inform the cabinet members that he had made up his mind to issue an Emancipation Proclamation. Other times in serious debates on affairs of government, he would finish arguments with a homely story about "a man out in Sangamon County." All this shocked the cold matter-of-fact people, who regarded a hearty laugh as profanity. They took Lincoln to be a light-hearted trifler. How little they plumbed the depth of Lincoln's mind! I think Lincoln would have been much appreciated in India by Vivekananda who used to say, "to laugh is better than to pray." The octogenarian ex-senator Chauncey Depew in his "Foreword" to the fifteen-volume *Library of Oratory* has set down what Lincoln told him concerning the use of humor in his speeches:

"I am sorely criticised because I tell stories and crack jokes. They say it detracts from the dignity of my office and injures my influence. But I have found in my career that plain people—take them as they run—are more easily influenced and convinced through the medium of a broad and humorous illustration than in any other way, and what the hypercritical, calculating few think, I do not care."

With every passing year, the greatness of Lincoln is being appreciated more and more. It is, therefore, worth while to know the real secret of his greatness. Wherein lay that superb mastery that he

exercised over man's imagination? The key to Lincoln's power is to be found in his genuine love for his fellow-men. He had the supreme ability to put himself in the place of others, to see and think and feel with them. As a President, as a man, he paid his highest respect to the "plain people." His earnest, finished eloquence fairly glows with impassioned devotion to the people. His life and sayings seem to embody the spiritual promise of democracy. "The Lord prefers common-looking people," remarked Lincoln, "that is why He made so many of them." Those who aspire to be the leaders of the Young India will do well to cut out and paste in their hats or turbans, as the case may be, the following Lincolnic: "You can fool all the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

It is said that during the Civil War, a foreign military officer applied for a commission in the Union army and was practically promised the coveted prize. Then the man called on President Lincoln and mentioned his letter of nobility as a clincher. "Oh, never mind," said Lincoln, "you will find *that* no obstacle to your advancement." Oh, how I wish Lincoln could be in India with that stinging rebuke in his lips every time a man seeks a military or political preferment just because of his so-called "noble birth!"

The great Irish leader Daniel O'Connell in one of his oratorical outbursts declared that number one in the human race is the Irishman; but I maintain that number one in the human race is the common man everywhere. He is immeasurably superior to any aristocracy of any land. It may be contended that the ordinary man lacks the culture and the finish of the rich; but what of it? He has many virtues which the rich have not. The plain man is the diamond in the rough. He is better than an aristocrat because of his "high qualities, inestimable virtues, and true piety and religious fidelity" of character. If he is not better, he is at least potentially as good as any Lord or Duke, Raja or Maharaja, and his

wife in worth of character is as good as any aristocrat's wife at any time.

I saw in the Indian press a little while ago that one of the most honored commoners of India, Mrs. Sarala Devi, was put out of a club through the machinations of a contemptible gang of foreign aristocrats and their Indian cohorts. "It is obvious," was the brazen excuse, "that the wife of the lieutenant governor of the Punjab cannot belong to the same club as the wife of Chowdhuri Rambhuj Dutt." Another incident—not much different in complexion—was reported two days ago in a cable dispatch from Europe. It was about an encounter at Essen between a Prussian lieutenant and the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, F. A. Voigt. He kept his hands in his pockets and neglected—perhaps "forgot," you know!—to salute the Prussian aristocrat.

"Take your hand out of your pocket," screamed the Prussian military officer, "and stand three paces back."

"I am English, and—" humbly began the plebian correspondent.

"Englischer Schweinhund [English swinedog], shut up."

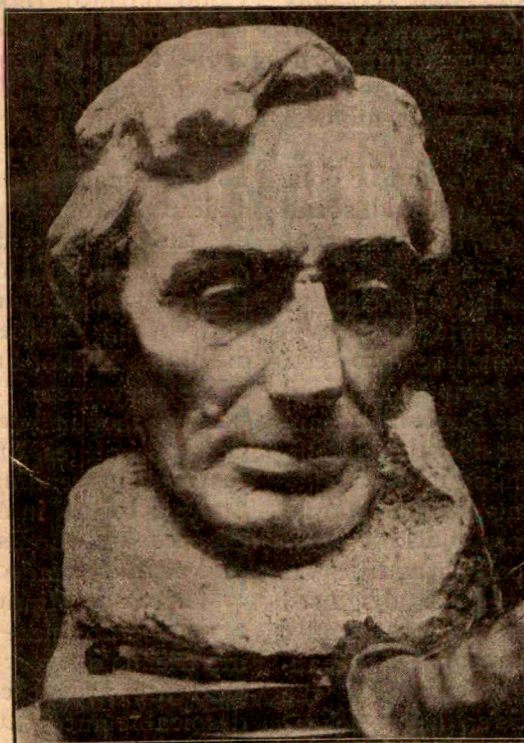
He then turned round and ordered, "Zwei Posten [two guards]! Teach this damned Englishman how to behave in the presence of a German officer."

In an instant two German soldiers rushed forward and assaulted Voigt. It was the best trouncing he had in his life. Acts, such as these, whether in Europe or in India, are bound to damn aristocracy

forever. What a pity that ugly cows should continually pose as superior beings! They must be frightfully stupid not to see how ridiculous they make themselves before the world. But it is possible they cannot help themselves. Against stupidity—in the celebrated language of Schiller—even gods struggle in vain.

It appears, if I am not woefully misinformed, that in recent years it has become

quite fashionable with some of the reactionary Indian nobility to despair of India. The truth is that India has absolutely more reason to despair of the nobility. The hope of Hindustan is its common people; they are sound at the core, even though they lack the material resources of the upper class. A large proportion of the Indian aristocrats are mere parasites. What right have they to fatten themselves like leeches, at the expense of the rest? How do they justify their existence? It is safe to say that very few of the members of nobility, or what the Russian thinker Kropotkin



Abraham Lincoln.

From a Photograph of the colossal head of Lincoln in the rotunda of Capitol, Washington.

calls "fat people," have ever done an honest day's work for hire. They live in mansions, ride on elephants, and loll in luxury. They are sometimes owners of enormous riches collected from the people; but what do they do with their vast wealth? For the most part they spend their swollen and unearned fortunes not so much for the common welfare of the nation as for their own selfish interest—may be for an O'Dwyer memorial. How long will they continue to sell the country for a mess of pottage? How long will

parasites pass for men? They are at bottom anti-social, a menace to the country. They are, in short, criminals worthy of the attention of the late-lamented guillotine. The salvation of India, I repeat, lies with her common people. Had they the advantages enjoyed by the idle aristocracy, they would give better account of themselves. As it is, they are more self-reliant and back-boned, more high-minded, more patriotic, and certainly more courageous. All this augurs well for the future of India. For the country can live and grow only as a free democracy, and not a contaminated, parochial-minded, crabbed aristocracy.

In this late day, nothing should be done to set up artificial barriers, stupid social walls, between classes. Oh, for the great days of the French Revolution when France knew no higher title or social distinctions than that of the plain "Citizen!" Titles and distinctions, which tend to keep up the spirit of caste, the spirit of disunion, must be wiped out. The English bureaucrat, let us agree, has considerable intelligence, technique and cunning in his make-up. So it is not surprising that he should have developed an uncanny knack of playing on Indian vanity by conferring titles on Indians. It is, however, a disguised instrument of subjection, the most deadly weapon in the whole armory of bureaucracy. Let the patriots beware of the danger! To me nothing is so heart-sickening as to see an entire page of an Indian newspaper given over, for instance, to "new year honours." To think that men—presumably red-blooded men—could stoop to such cheap and tawdry "honours" makes my tissues burn with thrills of indignation. That disgustingly long list of Khan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur, Maharaja Bahadur, C.I.E., K.C.S., K.C.I., and all the rest of the gibberish is a measure of the depth to which the real manhood of India has sunk. If only the scales would fall from the eyes of the poor deluded title-holders! If only the fool title-hunters could see the hideous mockery of those manufactured distinctions! In America, as Thomas Paine once put it, "the peer is exalted into man"; so should it be in

India. Now-a-days it ought to be considered indecent to belong to the titled nobility. Judging by the standard of Lincoln, the whole hocus-pocus of title-mongering, of false aristocracy, must be exterminated as black plague. The highest titles which the Indian humanity can bear are man and woman.

I am quite aware of the resentment I am provoking by the advocacy of "the equal natural right of all," yet I do not for a moment flinch from the task any more than did Lincoln when he remarked on coming out of a slave-market at New Orleans: "If I ever get a chance to hit that thing [slavery] I'll hit it hard." Let no one imagine that I am denouncing the Indian aristocracy wantonly. I am mindful that among aristocrats there are men of "pure life and lovable character." True, they may possess amiable domestic virtues, but so did Charles I of England, and so did Louis XVI of France. Nevertheless, because they were "divine right" despots, because they insisted upon exclusive aristocratic privileges, England and France were justified in sending them to the scaffold. Indeed, to us in America, the punishment Charles and Louis received was grossly and pitifully inadequate to their deserts.

There is in Hindustan a small minority of degenerate men—very small I hope—who are friends of every country but their own, who are ardent champions of the most despicable autocrats provided their skin is white. Now, President Lincoln was no autocrat-lover. He was persuaded that no one was fit for a public office who exercised autocracy. In his first inaugural address, he affirmed that the American people were the rightful masters of the President of the American Republic. He was only their hired servant who had confidence in the ultimate justice of the people. The true owners of the country, according to Lincoln, were not its rulers who were dressed in brief little authority, but its inhabitants: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it."

When one studies the writings and public addresses of Lincoln, he at once recognizes in him one of the world's greatest

teachers of popular self-government. Here in an effort to give, in the quickest way possible, the gist of Lincoln's philosophy of the "government of the people, by the people, for the people," let me cite a few more passages from him :

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent."

"When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism."

When Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860, there was before the United States one great all-absorbing question. It was this: Was slavery right? Might a strong man enslave the weaker man? Could a so-called inferior man be deprived of his "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?" Believing as Lincoln did that "freedom is the last best hope of earth," he was unalterably opposed to the institution of slavery. "As I would not be a SLAVE," said Lincoln, "so I would not be a MASTER. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of difference, is no democracy."

The question of human slavery, Lincoln held, could never be successfully compromised. "It is the eternal struggle between two principles—Right and Wrong—throughout the world....The one is the common right of humanity; and the other the divine right of kings....It is the same spirit that says :

'You work and toil and earn bread—and I'll eat it!'

"No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

The election of Lincoln to the Presidency was a signal for the slave States of the South to separate from the North which stood for the abolition of slavery. Then came the dreadful Civil War. In the midst of the struggle, Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Emancipation declaring all

slaves to be free. The effect of the Emancipation Proclamation upon Europe was bitterly disappointing. In Great Britain especially, public opinion was very slow to respond to the proclamation of freedom. While the English laboring people were on the whole friendly to the North, the powerful moneyed and aristocratic classes were in full sympathy with the slave-holding South. The British newspapers carried on a vigorous war against Lincoln. And during those dark hours when the fate of America was trembling on the balance, the British government led by Palmerstone, the prime minister, Russell, the foreign secretary, and Gladstone, the chancellor of the exchequer, was on the point of recognizing the insurgent government of the Southern rebels. A motion "to enter into negotiations with the Great Powers of Europe for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation in the recognition" of the slave Confederacy was actually introduced in the House of Commons. The European supporters of slavery, to the utter dismay of Lincoln, dreamed of a shattered American Republic. It was a crucial moment for the government at Washington; but the wise statesmanship of the Great Emancipator averted European intervention on the side of the South, and thus saved the day for the nation, "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

There was in "honest Abe" a deep planted conviction of right and its ultimate triumph. The root of this man's philosophy was the fundamental creed that right makes might. And with his unshaken belief in the human race he exhorted: "Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

Lincoln was convinced that those who robbed the freedom of others could not, under a just providence, long retain it. Hence he sounded the warning: "Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who

risers among you." This is a lesson which the Indian bureaucrats engaged in sowing the seeds of despotism may well lay to their hearts! For who knows but the time may come when, as foreshadowed by Lincoln, "every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword"?

Abraham Lincoln was the friend and comrade of the workingmen. He was shrewd enough to perceive "that the workingmen are the basis of all government, for the plain reason that they are the more numerous." Lincoln was therefore in favor of guarding in every possible way the economic and political rights of the laboring class. After all, it was no more than right. The Indian civilization would perish, if it were not for the fruits of Indian laborers. It is the workers who bear the heaviest burdens of the country. It is they who make the largest contribution to the necessities of life. It is they who are the greatest producers of wealth; it is they who till the soil, raise crops, dig mines and toil in shops and factories. Yet it is these poor toilers far more than any others, who are the prey of injustice, oppression, greed and selfishness of the State and society; and it is the life of the workingman that is a continuous battle with hunger, disease, starvation, wretchedness, and almost every form of human degradation. In the economic evolution of India, which cannot be too far off, the working class will have a historical part to play. Witness, for instance, the rapid rise of labor unions and their activities in the various industrial centers of India. Lincoln would undoubtedly be in sympathy with their main aims and objects. In a speech at Hartford, March 6, 1860, Lincoln expressed himself in support of the labour movement, saying, he "thanked God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workingman may stop."

On the following day, Lincoln came back to the subject again with the remark that he was glad laborers in certain parts of the Republic "can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and tied down

and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not." In continuing the discussion of the topic Lincoln observed:

"I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else. When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition,—that there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flatboat—just what might happen to any poor man's son. I want every man to have his chance.....in which he can better his condition—when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterward, and finally to hire men to work for him. That is the true system."

From these excerpts it cannot but be plain that Lincoln regarded the strike as a legitimate weapon of the workingmen in the struggle to improve their condition.

The American Commoner preached a social gospel of "square deal" which is of utmost significance to the India-of-to-day. In his memorable Message to the United States Congress in 1861, mention is made of an effort "to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor*, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labour. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best, that capital shall *hire* laborers and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that laborers are either *hired* laborers or what we call slaves, and further it is assumed that whatever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life.

"Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

Workingmen should not only demand shorter hours, higher wages, better working conditions and a joint management of the enterprise, but they should have a fair share in the division of net earnings. Workers do not want charity, a few crumbs from the rich man's table, "a sentimental dole," as Oscar Wilde put it. They ask what is their rightful due. On this point Lincoln himself has this to say :

"In as much as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such good things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government."

Abraham Lincoln was a man's man. His fellow-countrymen have canonized him as half hero and half saint. His social and political ideals are seen vindicated today on the one hundred and eleventh anniversary of his birthday : aristocracy is being extinguished and democracy is triumphing. There was a time in the not distant past of the Western world when the annointed rights of the dynasties were taken seriously ; when an emperor, king or a prince could call forth in the people enthusiasm and devotion. That day is gone and gone forever. They are regarded with total indifference, if not with mild amusement. The common people throughout the world are coming to their own. Ah, do not fail to remember, and remember often, what a different world it would have been but for pioneers and prophets of democracy like Lincoln ! Perhaps for the first time in its history, England has now a premier of an obscure family. The men who saved France during the last European conflict, Foch and Clemenceau, were of undistinguished parentage. The men who rescued Russia from the despicable czarism of centuries were not of the nobility. Again, it was not to Prince Baden that Germany turned when the revolution came. It was to Ebert, the ex-tailor. Coming to the New World, we find that a special committee of the Canadian House of Commons has

recently requested that no more knight-hoods, baronetcies or peerage be conferred upon Canadians living in Canada, and that all hereditary titles be at once abolished. And when Mr. Hoover of the United States after his magnificent work in feeding the millions of Belgium and Poland, was offered decorations by the leading crowned heads of Europe, he gently but firmly brushed them aside saying, "Americans do not wear such things." Indeed the go-ahead nations the world over are beginning to see that Robert Burns, the poet after Lincoln's heart, was right :

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that."

Events are moving with lightning rapidity in the West : the old political and social idols are crumbling to dust. The progressive peoples of the world are at one with the countryman of Lincoln, Thoreau : "It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right." Indians, too, must stand foursquare on their rights. In India, also, there must be a new order of liberty and equality. The carnival of greed and imposition on the part of the bureaucrats should be checked, even at some sacrifice. The old hidebound traditions and conventions which have choked individual initiative, which have fossilized national life, must be discarded. Aristocracy of birth or wealth should be thrown into the ash pile of the world's backyard. All this would be in keeping with the spirit of Lincoln, which is also the spirit of the times.

Then, advance !

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THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE IN SUKRA'S POLITICAL THEORY

SECTION 5.

The Human Factor.

TWO principles or conditions of social well-being have already become clear in our examination of Sukra's political theory. The first is the importance of property, wealth, utilities and values. Command over the good things of this earth or *Kuverata*, i. e., the position of Kuvera (God of Wealth) is, according to him, a hundred times superior to all the merits a man may possess (IV, iii, 4). This is the chief burden of Sukra's social philosophy. The second great message of *Sukra-niti* is the emphasis on the need of a state for economic self-sufficiency. Sukra would have the people grow as heterogeneous as possible in functions or occupations. Not only agriculturists and manufacturers, but even shopkeepers are to be maintained by the state if necessary. The king is advised to keep for the use of his people the tools and implements of the metal workers after having them carefully examined or standardized. He is also to maintain artists and artisans according to need and employ additional working men in cultivation or menial service (IV, iv, 85—87). The developmental functions of the state are necessarily to be very large in Sukra's conception.

(a) "Barbarians" and Citizenship.

The people in the Sukra-state are as a consequence richly diversified and this diversification we have to observe not only in the matter of occupations but also in regard to blood or race. Indeed it follows almost as a corollary to the economic postulates of *Sukra-niti* that there is to be no discrimination against any race on the question of eligibility as citizen. As a matter of fact, the privileges of citizenship, whatever they are, are con-

ferred by Sukra on what may be described as alien races. And, in so far as he admits all peoples to the rights and duties of the *saptatanga* state, Sukra's position is entirely different not only from that of traditional Moslem theory but also from that of the Greeks and early Romans as an approach to the modern conception of the state.

While discussing the data of ethnology in Bk. I, it was pointed out that Sukra mentions altogether seven "alien" races by name. These are *Mlechchhas*, *Yavanas*, *Khasas*, *Asuras*, *Raksasas*, *Pisachas* and *Kiratas*. In regard to these "barbarians" we are not furnished with much detail, but we are told that *Kiratas* (IV, vii, 28), a race of wild forest-tribes, can be enlisted in the national militia. Similarly *Mlechchhas* and *Yavanas*, the extra-Indian races of all denominations (Hellenic, Hellenistic, Persian, Parthian, Afghan, or Moslem), are not to be debarred from holding commission in the army simply because of race (II, 276—280). In economic pursuits, in business intercourse and in property laws the code for the *Mlechchhas* is the same as that for the indigenous *Aryas* (IV, v, 585—587). Sukra is likewise of the same opinion in regard to the *Yavanas* (IV, iv, 74—77).

No legal disabilities or disqualifications are mentioned in regard to any of the foreign or backward races. Politically speaking, they are on the same footing as the native-born citizens. The only marks of distinction are extra-constitutional. For instance, the *Khasas* are recognized by the social trait that they marry the widows of their brothers (IV, v, 98). Likewise are the *Yavanas* to be differentiated from the *Aryas* by their special theological system which although believing in God is independent of the Vedic tradition (IV, iii, 124—126). Sukra's

nationality-principle is thus a purely secular bond. It is a legal concept binding diverse races, creeds and social polities in one territorial unit.

This constitutional neutrality of *Sukra-niti* in regard to the blood or faith of the citizens, or what is the same thing, the legal toleration of social diversities, has an important bearing on the question of the age of the Sukra philosophy. A theorist who is prepared to admit Mlechchhas and Yavanas to full citizenship, even to the extent of command in the military establishment, is evidently not writing for a people that is on terms of enmity with the "hated barbarians." As we pointed it out in connection with the item *Yavana-mata* in the history of Hindu sciences, the tendency to assimilate and nationalize alien folks is the mark of a jurisprudence that is conceived in the milieu of *sarva-bhaumic* consolidation. It does not indicate a *Real politik* of warring nationalities, nor suggest the processes of a *digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters), which has not been consummated but is only in contemplation.

(b) *Inter-caste Marriage.*

We shall now discuss the other elements in Sukra's demography, viz., the citizens proper, or the children of the soil. At the outset we have to take note of the twofold classification of the population, namely, that into the Sudra group and into the *Dvijanma* or twice-born group. This latter consists of three social orders, (cf. the tripartite division of Plato in the Republic III), Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, and Vaisyas (IV, iii, 31). So there is a four-fold stratification of society. But, Sukra with an eye to the actual facts of his times, begins by telling a story such as Plato invents in regard to the "divine" origin of his three castes. The four classes of Sukra had been planned or created, it is said, by Brahmā, the highest God; "in ancient times" (IV, iii, 21). The implication is that the social system of "four orders" is a myth, and that those who are used to having faith in philosophical fictions are at liberty to accept the poetry, for instance, of the pseudo-organismic *Purusa-Sukta* (in the *Rig Veda*) for the institutional data of some archaic period of community life. Sukra himself, however, is a realist and is a student of objective economics and of concrete marriage customs. In his ethnography, therefore, the first assumption is that the

castes are infinite and naturally so because of intermixtures, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma* (IV, iii, 22-23).

And, he has to say nothing for nor against this phenomenon. He takes it for granted that in his state the males of the so-called higher castes are likely to marry females of the so-called lower castes (*anuloma*). It is not disputed by him either that the males of the lower castes may marry females of the higher castes (*pratiloma*). At any rate, such has been the "history" of marriages in Sukra's theory, and in regard to these blood-intermixtures he would be guided by the principle that the social standing of the father establishes the "caste" of the issue. People should practise the *dharma* or duties of Brahmans, says he, if born of women married to Brahmans, of Ksatriyas, if born of women married to Ksatriyas, and of Vaisyas if born of women married to Vaisyas (IV, iv, 69-70). It is strange, however, that Sukra should contradict himself in the next statement, viz., that people born of Vaisya women by Brahmans and Ksatriyas should be treated as Sudras exactly like those born of Sudra women (IV, iv, 71). But, whatever be the social position of the issue, the possibility of marriages even between "lower" males and "higher" females is admitted (72).

Inter-caste marriages, then, are valid in Sukra's laws, and an infinitude of castes is the demographic basis of his state. When, therefore, he speaks of the *sva-dharma* (or duties proper to itself) to which each and every caste should be made by the state to conform (IV, iii, 15, iv, 6, 82-83) almost in the manner in which Plato establishes the theory of "virtues" as the correlates of social status (*Republic* II, iii, iv), we are not by any means to understand that Sukra is discussing the duties of his citizens in terms of the conventional four-fold group. Whether the social orders be taken to be three like the Platonic "guardians," "auxiliaries," and "producers" (husbandmen and craftsmen), or four, as by a sort of legal fiction or poetic analogy, it is not inconceivable that they might be so enumerated, or whether they be scheduled in figures of hundreds or thousands, Sukra's conception of *sva-dharma* is quite comprehensible as a system of social ethics. For it is none other than the ideal of "my station and its duties" such as is being advocated in the Anglo-Hegelian thought of today.

(c) *The Civic Status of the Sudra.*

What, now, are the "functions," duties or virtues (*sva-dharma*) of the different orders which Sukra conceives to be appropriate to station or position of each? Let us begin with the alleged lowest member in the functional hierarchy. Such an individual is the *Sudrādhama* (lit. the worst of the Sudras), who is born of the wedlock between a lower male and a higher female (IV, iv, 72-73). His *dharma* does not virtually differ from that of the ordinary Sudras. And what is this? It will be clear if we try to understand it negatively, i.e., by noting the disabilities of his class. First then, he is not a *dvi-janma* (twice-born) person. An individual is said to be re-born or born twice who has some kind of religious ceremony instituted for him after his birth. It is this cultural item to which a Sudra has no right. Secondly, the Sudra is not entitled to perform religious ceremonies with the mantras or chants of the Vedas. To be more definite, he is deprived of the right of pronouncing the words *svadha*, *svaha*, *vasat*, etc. These are exclamations reserved for or monopolized by the twice-born classes to be used while offering an oblation to the manes. In the place of these magic formulae the Sudra is authorised to pronounce the word *namas* in making adorations. Although deprived of the right to use Vedic texts he is in short to be content solely with the hymns given in the *Purāṇas* which are held to be less authoritative as religious scriptures. And thirdly, if we are to make any distinction between the ordinary *Sudra* and the *Sudrādhama*, we can do so by citing the passage in *Sukra-niti* for whatever it may mean, viz., that the latter is to perform his duties "according to *nāma mantra*" (i.e., only by repeating the name of God) in a manner "inferior to that of the Sudra" (IV, iv, 73). Next, we are to understand that the Sudra is on a par with the two next higher castes, viz., the *Vaiśya* and the *Ksatriya*, in being deprived of the right to practise *yoga* (the meditation of Plotinus and the neo-Platonists) and thus become *yati* or *sannyasi* for the attainment of salvation towards the end of life (IV, iv, 1-3). But, equally with the Brahmana, the *Ksatriya* and the *Vaiśya*, the Sudra is privileged to be a *brahmachari*, i.e., a student at the beginning of his life, then a *grihastha*, i.e., a householder after marriage, and in old age to practise *vanaprastha*, i.e.,

retire from the world into forests. The Brahman alone of all the social orders has the right to the chronologically fourth *asrama* or stage of life, viz., *yati*. And lastly, the Sudra is not allowed by *Sukra-niti* to adopt the profession of begging. In this item again he is not inferior to the *Vaiśya* and the *Ksatriya*, for begging is the "vested interest" of the Brahmana (IV, iii, 40).

We have exhausted the list of disabilities to which the Sudra is born, according to Sukra, and obversely also the *corpus* of privileges and vested interests enjoyed by the other classes in the state. All that a radical politician or social democrat might do in order to subvert the principles of Sukra's legislation would consist in inaugurating four things: first, he would have to allow the Sudra to perform the *samskara* or ritual after birth, which denotes an "initiation" into life; secondly, he would have to throw open the study of the Vedas to the Sudra; thirdly, he would have to legitimize the practice of *sannyasa* (towards the close of one's life) by the Sudra, the *Vaiśya* and the *Ksatriya*; and finally, he would have to admit these three orders to the right of living on alms. A Sudra Emancipation Bill or, for that matter, a statute for the equalization of the castes could have no other provisions.

As it is, let us gauge the exact amount of disabilities from which the Sudra is to suffer according to Sukra's theory. From the standpoint of human liberty, it is axiomatic, of course, that any legalized or customary hindrance (no matter to the enjoyment of what little privilege) is objectionable. Whatever be the 'vital' worth of certain rights, as long as these are the marks of a social aristocracy, the class that is denied an access to them can reasonably feel that it is being wronged. If, however, the status of the Sudra in the *Sukra-niti* were subjected to a pragmatic analysis and tested by the standard of opportunities for the development of personality, it is doubtful if he is in an essentially ignoble rank. The right to beg and the right to practise *sannyasa* are certainly not very enviable rights. Not is the right to have an initiation ceremony performed while a baby a very tremendous force in life's uplift.

The only serious obstacle, if at all, to the Sudra's self-realisation seems to be the discrimination against him in regard to the study of the *Vedas*. And yet, when one realises actu-

ally what this implies, one wonders as to how far the Sudra is doomed to a condition of intellectual blindness. All the sixty-four *kalas* are open to him, as well as all the thirty-two *vidyas* with the exception of the three *Vedas*. An individual who is admitted to the entire encyclopædia of the theoretical sciences and applied arts is certainly not incapacitated from the higher pursuits of life, economic, political, or moral, simply because he has no access to the Vedic lore. And what, after all, do the *Vedas* contain which can be rationally appraised as in any sense more worth while than the teachings of all the other branches of learning put together? While, therefore, Sukra's limitations must be acknowledged in so far as his theory like the undemocratic philosophy of Plato fails to rise to the height of absolute justice consisting, as it might, in the formulation of a universal class-equality, it is not justifiable on the other hand to ignore in it the existence of the avenues through which the "lowest" individual can be educated up to the highest civic virtues and responsibilities.

The Sudra's claims to citizenship are on the same level as those of the other castes. He is not a helot, the slave or "living tool" of Greek theory. He differs indeed from the other members of the community not, however, as a legal or civic animal, but only in certain socio-religious rites and ceremonies. And as in the case of the Mlechchhas, Khasas and other "barbarians," in the case of the Sudra also there is no constitutional or political discrimination against him as a member of the state. He is an integral part of the *saptanga* organization. So far as nationality or citizenship is concerned, Sukra's theory of the diversity of *dharma*, according to the difference in station, is thus quite of a piece with his conception of the multiplicity of races and creeds in a state. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that *Sukra-niti* places all economic functions and political offices at the disposal of any individual who is competent enough to handle them.

(d) *The Doctrine of Inter-changeable Sva-dharma (Functions).*

In Sukra's state birth and social (or racial) affiliations are not to influence politics (I, 75-76). His sense of justice makes him an unequivocal champion of the dignity of manhood as embodied in the individual. He would not permit the civic life of the people

to be prejudiced or affected in an untoward fashion by their caste considerations. "Work, character, and merit,—these three are to be respected," as we read in *Sukra-niti* (II, 111-112), "neither caste nor family: Neither by caste nor by family can superiority be asserted." Accordingly, in appointing councillors, e.g., the viceroy, the premier, the finance minister, the chief justice, the war secretary and others (II, 150-155) "one must not take note merely of the caste (or race) or of the family" of the candidate for the office (II, 110). The same indifferentism to caste and "social standing" is adumbrated with equal clearness in the general statement regarding the qualifications of the councillors. "Those who are versed in the arts of politics," says Sukra, those who possess intelligence and are known to be men of good deeds, habits and inclinations, those who are impartial to friends and foes alike, those who are God-fearing and devoted to truth, those who are not slothful and prone to anger, lust and cupidity, those who are gentle in speech and have the experience of age are to be made members of the council, irrespective of caste" (II, 333-336; IV, v, 33-34). The tests recommended are exclusively those of personal competency or fitness.

In these general propositions Sukra is, however, over-stating himself, for his indifferentism to caste does not seem to be comprehensive enough to include the Sudra. All that he really means to say is perhaps that the councillor may be appointed from the Brahmana, Ksatriya or Vaisya indifferently, just as the magistrates of Plato's republic are to be selected from the "superior class" exclusively, and we are to understand that the Sudra is never to be appointed to the highest functions in the state "even if he be qualified" (II, 859-861, IV, v, 27-28). Allowing then, that Sukra's sense of justice is not more liberal in politics than in social regulations, it must be observed that so far as the other three castes are considered they do not represent three water-tight functional compartments, but that the duties, responsibilities and virtues (i.e., *sva-dharma*) of the one can be observed and practised by the others. Constitutionally speaking their standing is the same. The Vaisya, for instance, is not barred from discharging the functions that the Brahmana or the Ksatriya has a right to perform. This inter-

changeability of political office in spite of the difference in birth and "station" is a conception which the sociologist should not overlook in *Sukra-niti*.

The categorical negative against the Sudra needs further examination. We may believe that Sukra himself is to be identified with the person responsible for the liberal sentiments in regard to all castes which we find in the general statement of qualifications for councillorship. The anti-Sudra injunction has then to be ascribed possibly to the traditional thought on the subject which has been inadvertently recorded in the treatise. The inconsistency is too glaring to be explained except as an instance of plurality in authorship, and this is brought home to us by the consideration that Sukra's liberalism is quite manifest in regard to another aspect of national life, viz., in regard to the war-office.

In the first place, we are to understand that a commission in the army may be conferred indifferently on the Brahmana and the Ksatriya, although preference is given to the latter. War office is not to be the preserve of the Ksatriya (II, 865). In regard to the Vaisya and the Sudra, one ruling is that they are not to be made commanders (II, 866). But in the very next passage it is declared that the "commander is to be selected from any caste," since the only qualification to be looked for in the candidate is valor, and along with it Sukra states the general law that "fighting is the duty of the four pure as well as of the mixed castes" (II, 868). It is clear, therefore, that *Sukra-niti* does not seek to create the fighting profession as the special calling, exclusive sphere, monopoly or preserve of a particular class, group or caste of the community. This ruling is all-inclusive. The Sudra is not to be discriminated against, nor, as we have seen, is the "barbarian." While discussing the qualifications appropriate to each office-bearer of the Government, Sukra has, of course, some attention to devote to the question of national defense, and he is of the opinion that those who are well up in political science, in the use of arms and ammunitions and in the manipulation of battle-arrays, those who know how to organize and establish discipline, those who are not too young but of middle age, and those who are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of

their duties and devoted to their chiefs, and those who are filled with the hatred of the enemy should be made commanders and soldiers, no matter whether they be Sudras or Ksatriyas, Vaisyas or descendants of Mlechchhas (II, 276—280).

Thus, as in council work, in warfare also Sukra is an advocate of the interchangeability of functions between all the castes. The state of *Sukra-niti* is peopled by men who, whatever be their birth connections, are to be qualified to discharge the duties of a member of the executive council or of a soldier and military officer.

We thus see that in addition to the functions of begging, teaching and conducting sacrifice (IV, iii, 32) the Brahmana can be a general, and, of course, a councillor too. He is also competent to be appointed the chief executive of the village government (II, 862). Nay, agriculture and farming are quite decent occupations for him (IV, iii, 37). Similarly in addition to the functions of cultivation, cattle-raising and commerce (IV, iii, 34), the Vaisya can be a councillor or an army officer, and on the staff of the village establishment the Vaisya is recommended to be the collector of duties (II, 864). Altogether, then, we have to conclude that in *Sukra-niti sva-dharma* or "one's own duties" are thoroughly transferable in a convenient manner and that, occupationally or functionally speaking, the castes display a remarkable elasticity.

If in politics, in warfare, and in economic avocations the castes or social orders are so dynamic and so easily adaptable to new conditions, what on earth are these demographic groupings meant to serve? Sukra replies that it is only "in marriages and dinner parties that considerations of family and caste are compulsory" (II, 113), and this observation is perfectly in keeping with his position in regard to the legal and civic status of the barbarians (Mlechchhas). Sukra's nationalism is, as we have stated above, a totally secular concept which can reconcile a thousand and one diversities in social and racial *mores* with the unity of one lawfully constituted *samuha*, a legal person, the *saptanga*.

SECTION 6.

The Organization of Industry and Commerce.

In the state conceived by Sukra we can-

not then invariably guess the occupation or profession of an individual by knowing the caste or birth group to which he belongs. For instance, as we have just noticed, among cultivators, peasants or agriculturists one is likely to find not only Sudras and Vaisyas but also Ksatriyas and Brahmanas (IV, iii, 36—39). *Sukra-niti* is not by any means as rigid as Plato's *Republic* in regard to the economic distinction between the "producer" class and the "superior" order. While trying to understand the organization of Sukra's society in its material phases, we must not obtrude the notions conventionally associated with the stereotyped *sva-dharma* of the different castes. The sociologist must here be prepared for the phenomenon that the economic grouping of the functions is no index to the blood-orders or birth-relationships. These remarks are to apply as much to the "eight means" of livelihood (III, 554) as to the schedule of industrials who deserve encouragement by the state (II, 390—411) and to the sixty-four *kalas* (IV, iii).

We shall now discuss the organization of economic interests as suggested in *Sukra-niti*. No special remarks are necessary in regard to the individualistic character of Sukra's material polity. The personal and proprietary basis of agriculture, manufacture and trade is the fundamental feature in his ideal of economic functioning. He is not a "communist" as regards the distribution of wealth, but although the pursuit of happiness is left to the initiative and responsibility of each citizen in his own way, the Sukra state is conceived to be the theatre of collective endeavors and organized efforts in diverse fields. In *Sukra-niti* the citizens are exhibited as pursuing their individual worldly ambitions by clubbing their intellects and combining their brawn and bullion. Such capitalistic co-operation is manifest in farming, handicrafts, banking and commerce. All the economic functions of the society, in short, are known to be organized into soviets or unions, although, of course, the possibility of peasants, artisans, money-lenders and traders carrying on their professions independently, i. e., outside of the occupational groups, is not gainsaid. These sovietic or conciliar combinations fall into two main groups. The first belong to what may be described as joint stock companies or associations. The second class of unions

may be called the gilds. It is to be understood that juridically speaking, joint stock activity, whether in agriculture, manufacture or commerce, is not identical with the enterprise of gild-unions.

(a) *Production by Companies.*

To take the joint enterprises first, Sukra is quite aware of their importance and prevalence in economic life. His state, therefore, is to take legal cognizance of joint stock institutions. Accordingly, among all sorts of public records we find in *Sukra-niti* the mention of business deeds. These are called *samayika-patra* (II, 627—628), and are to be drawn up when individuals combine their capital for some business transaction. This joint effort may be resorted to not only by merchants, as may be presumed, but also by peasants (IV, v, 618). As regards merchants, joint commerce is specified in three classes of commodities. There may be companies of dealers in gold or of traders in grains, or of merchants in liquids (IV, v, 614—615). Company transaction is also mentioned in a fourth enterprise. This consists in perpetrating robbery in another (a neighboring) state with the sanction of one's own rulers (IV, v, 610—611). In addition to agriculture and trade, the joint effort is to be noticed also in the arts and crafts of Sukra's territory. We are told of the unions of goldsmiths who combine to make a work of art (IV, v, 603—604) and of architects who build palaces or temples. The irrigation engineers may likewise be organized into soviets. So also the carpenters and upholsterers (IV, v, 606—607). Professional musicians have their own union too. Concert parties are evidently quite familiar associations in the Sukra state (IV, v, 608—609). In all these combinations of capital, labor or talent, the general principle of *Sukra-niti* is declared to be that "whatever is stipulated beforehand must have to be arranged according to the terms of the *samaya* (compact) which brought the company into being (IV, v, 616—617). Sukra's ideas in regard to the remuneration of partners will be discussed in the section devoted to the problem of labor.

(b) *Gilds and Functional Sva-raja.*

But, the production of wealth, in so far as it is brought about by combined, collective or

corporate effort, need not necessarily involve the merging of capital, labor, or the material resources into unitary associations of the nature of joint stock companies. The producers, no matter whether they are operating their profession as isolated individuals or as companies registered under the law of *sāmāyika patra*, may still form themselves into unions, soviets, corporations, committees or associations, for sundry purposes relating to the common interests of the calling to which each belongs. Such associations are the guilds of peasants, workingmen and merchants, known as *srenis* (i. e., classes) in *Sukra-niti*. To state, therefore, that Sukra mentions a *sreni*, say of musicians or moneylenders does not imply that all the musicians or all the moneylenders of a particular locality are to be understood as forming members of one joint company of moneylenders. It is implied simply that the *sreni* or guild frames certain rules and regulations of the profession which all its members, whether individuals or groups, consider to be binding upon themselves in their business capacity. The *sreni* of *Sukra-niti* can thus be easily identified with the guild of medieval European polity. It must not, however, be confounded with the guild advocated by the present day theorists of "guild socialism" according to whom, as in Cole's *Self-Government in Industry*, and *Labour in the Commonwealth*, the guilds are to be organizations exclusively of workingmen entrusted with the function of directing production undisturbed by "employers" or "capitalists."

In the Sukra state the guilds are expected to be rather large in number. The legislator has, therefore, to take into consideration the causes that are likely to arise out of the disputes of these group-persons (IV, v, 517). *Sukra-niti* offers accordingly suggestions as to how the legal adjudication of corporational affairs is to be transacted. We are told that witnesses, documents as well as possession are the three classes of evidence to be utilized by the court of justice (520). In regard to witnesses, however, it is mentioned in a special clause that no evidence should be treated as valid which comes from a person who bears prejudice against the *srenis* or *vargas* (582). Sukra's solicitation for the "interest groups" the '*groupes professionnels*' of Durkheim, is thus quite clear.

Sukra is not content, however, with merely assuring a position of legal security to

these economic or occupational group-persons. His conception of the functional organization of society leads him to advocate for the *srenis* a substantial share in the political administration of his state. In *Sukra-niti* the state resolves itself by this process virtually into an association of *imperium in imperio*, i. e., a union of lesser corporations almost in the manner in which Gierke and Figgis would desire the modern state to do. Like Althusius, Sukra may then be regarded as an exponent of the decentralized state embodying the principle of functional *sva-raja* (self-rule) which, as is well known, was a fact of medieval Eur-Asian polity, and has obtained forceful advocacy over again in recent times in the theories of Gumplowicz, Ratzenhofer, Durkheim, and Duguit [but see Section 10 (e)]. It has to be remarked, however, that although the theory of an all-powerful and centralized political machinery is thus avoided, Sukra does not contemplate the total negation of the state as desired by the "syndicalists" of today.*

The *imperium in imperio* exercised by the *srenis* is primarily twofold: (1) legislative and (2) judicial. In regard to the legislative autonomy we are told that the customs or laws of "corporations" are among the numerous other usages of the land which the state must have to observe (IV, v, 89-91). We are to understand that such lawmaking is practised by cultivators, artisans, artists, moneylenders, dancers, ascetics, and even robbers (IV, v, 35-36), all of whom are known to have guilds of their own.

Secondly, in regard to adjudication, Sukra is of the opinion that the disputes of guilds are to be set right by themselves (*ibid*). It is said, however, that their competency, as judicial tribunals, does not extend to the cases of robbery (57-58). The position of the guild-courts in the hierarchical organization of justice is defined in *Sukra-niti* in the following terms: "The *srenis* will try the

* For recent tendencies in the theory of the relations between economic functions and political sovereignty vide Gide and Rist's *History of Economic Doctrines* (London, 1915), pp. 480-482, 592-606; C. E. Gehlke's *Emile Durkheim's Contributions to Sociological Theory* (New York, 1915), pp. 163-178; E. Barker's *Political Thought in England from Spencer to the Present Day* (New York, 1915), pp. 175-182; A. F. Bentley's *Process of Government* (Chicago, 1908), pp. 206-222, 263-264; H. J. Laski's *Authority in the Modern State* (New York, 1917), and *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (1918).

cases not tried by the *kulas* (families), the *ganas* will try the cases left by the *srenis*, and the officers will try the cases not decided by the *ganas*" (59-60). In Sukra's conception the state is thus the final arbiter of justice, and the *svaraja* or autonomy of the communal courts, *vis.*, the three successively higher bodies, the *kula*, the *sreni* and the *gana*, is not absolute or unconditioned.

Of these three entities the lowest in the rung, the *kula*, seems to represent kinship by blood. The intermediate, the *sreni*, is the community of persons who although belong-

ing to different families or tribes are united by a common occupation or profession, and the highest, the *gana*, is presumably the *puga* of other theorists, which embodies the local or territorial principle. In other words, the *gana* court is the court of the town or the village, the *municipium*, which is an association of people who live within the same geographical boundaries but belong to diverse tribes and follow varied economic pursuits.

(To be continued.)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

INDIA IN 1605 A.C.

BY BENI PRASAD, M.A.

MR. MORELAND'S "INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR—AN ECONOMIC STUDY."

MR. W. H. Moreland, late of the Indian Civil Service known to academic fame as the author of "An Introduction to Economics for Indian Students," "The Agriculture of the United Provinces" and "The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces" and as the writer of several historico-economic articles, has recently given to the world a monograph on "India at the Death of Akbar." The first of its kind in the entire range of Indian historical literature, the work aims at presenting "a sketch of the economic life of India at the opening of the seventeenth century." With the exception of the contemporary vernacular literatures, Mr. Moreland has drawn upon all the principal available sources of information—the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the unique invaluable Imperial Gazetteer which mirrors the conditions in North India towards the close of the 16th century; the numerous Persian chronicles, which though mainly concerned with political and military transactions, condescend to notice famines and pestilences, social or economic facts; and stray notes and the journals or memoirs of the various foreign visitors such as Conti, Nikitian, Abdur Razaq, Nuniz, Barbosa, Linschoten, Ralph Fitch, the Jesuit Father Monserrate, William Hamkins, William Finch, Sir Thomas Roe, the Rev. Edward Terry, Master Thomas Coryat, John Jourdain, Pietro Della Valle, Pyrard de Laval, Steel and Crowther, Peter Mandy, Sir Thomas Herbert, Manrique John Fryer, Obarius, Bernier, Tavernier, Thenenot, and Manucci. The compilations of Jean de Laet (*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*) and Father P. Du Janic (*Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*), based on the letters of contemporary Jesuit missionaries in India, have been laid under contribution. Nor have the stupendous volumes comprising the correspondence of the agents of the East India Company during the seventeenth century

been neglected. Having been engaged for a long while in the study of more or less the same historical material, the present writer may be permitted to discuss some of the conclusions Mr. Moreland has reached, some of the hypotheses he has advanced.

MR. MORELAND'S POINT OF VIEW.

First of all, however, a word must be said about the general point of view from which he regards his subject. "What does Macaulay do in his observation of the past?" writes J. C. Morison in the course of his excellent critical appreciation of the History of England. "He compares it, to its disparagement with the present. (Author's italics). The whole of his famous Third Chapter is one long paean over the superiority of the nineteenth century to the seventeenth century—as if an historian had the slightest concern with that. Whether we are better or worse than our ancestors is a matter utterly indifferent to scientific history. Whose object is to explain and analyze the past, on which the present can no more throw light than the old age of an individual can throw light on his youth. Macaulay's constant preoccupation is not to explain his period by previous periods, but to show how (vastly) the period, of which he treats, has been outstripped by the period in which he lives. Whatever may be the topic—the wealth or population of the country, the size and structure of the towns, the roads, the coaches, the lighting of London, it matters not—the comparison always made is with subsequent England, not previous England. This enthusiasm for modern improvements is so sincere that it produces the comical effect of a countryman's open-eyed astonishment at wonders of Cheapside..... This is to invert the historical problem; to look at the past through the wrong end of the telescope."* It may appear blasphemous to mention

* * Morison's Macaulay (in the "Englishmen of Letters" Series) pp., 170-171.

in the same breath two men of such diametrically opposite temperament, training and literary style as Macaulay and Moreland, but, with obvious alterations, the above remarks are as applicable to the latter as to the former. Mr. Moreland's plan "to write from the standpoint of readers who have a general knowledge of recent conditions in India, and to state the past in terms of the familiar present, or, to speak more precisely, in terms of the years between 1910 and 1914" sometimes betrays him into strange paths of reasoning. Only too often does he evince an anxiety to take as favourable a view of the present and as unfavorable a view of the past, as possible. It is much to be wished that the first serious attempt at the collation and interpretation of the scattered economic data of the most notable period in medieval Indian history were conceived in a more scientific spirit. Nothing is so fatal to the progress of real historical research as artificial exaltation or disparagement of the past.

WHEN DOES MODERN INDIAN HISTORY BEGIN?

Mr. Moreland's lack of what Acton called "historical-mindedness" is indicated not only by his general point of view but also by incidental reflections. He finds the most convenient date for the close of medieval and the dawn of modern Indian history in the year 1608, when a ship of the East India Company, the *Hector*, first anchored at Surat. The arrival of the *Hector* certainly constitutes a landmark in the history of European intercourse, particularly European commerce, with India, but neither the trivial incident nor the subsequent momentous developments deflected the general course of Indian History for more than a century. The dawn of the Modern age in Indian History may be dated from the reforms of Akbar (1580-1600), the death of Aurangzeb (1707), the English occupation of Bengal (1756-65), or the final establishment of the British supremacy over the whole country (1708-1805), but certainly not from the arrival of the "*Hector*."

BROAD POLITICAL DIVISIONS.

Mr. Moreland recognises the necessity of studying economic phenomena in relation to the entire set of social and political circumstances by devoting nearly one-third of his book to a discussion of the country and population, the government and the consuming classes. The physical configuration need not detain us. Politically, the whole country was divided into three broad belts of territory. The Mughal Empire stretched from the borders of Persia and Central Asia to the Bay of Bengal on the east and from the Himalayas to (roughly speaking) the Godavari, but the country south of Allahabad, now called Bundelkhand and the Central Provinces and then styled Gondwana was but half-subdued. The Rajput States were, in internal affairs, autonomous; many other petty rajas exercised ruling powers in various degrees; the frontier tribes were half independent and very troublous.

From the Southern border of the Mughal Empire to the Krishna river, the country was parcelled into three main kingdoms—Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda—reduced to a sorry plight from internal dissensions, mutual warfare and the relentless Moghul pressure. The third broad political division

was represented by the territory extending from the southern border of the Deccan sultanates to the sea, once the mighty empire of Vijayanagar but spilt up since 1565 into numerous petty kingdoms and chiefships.

POPULATION.

The battle of Talikot which extinguished the Vijayanagar Empire for ever, had been contested on the southern side by some 700,000 troops and on the side of the Sultanates by nearly half as many. Making allowance for outposts and wastage, the military strength of the Deccan and Vijayanagar, comprised substantially more than a million men. Before 1914, France had arranged to mobilise one out of 31, and Germany one out of 32, "so that, if the recruiting organisation of the Deccan and Vijayanagar was as efficient as that of modern France and Germany, their united strength of a million would imply a population of about 30 millions, while the population would be more if the efficiency was less." The efficiency of every country was necessarily much less in the 16th century than in the year 1914. In India, moreover, the social and religious system exempted large classes altogether from military service. It follows that the population of the country south of the Nerbada was substantially over 30 millions in 1565. It may have slightly increased by 1605.

Never called upon to put forth its whole strength for one supreme effort the Mughal empire lends itself to no such computation, but a comparison of the density of cultivation as revealed by the statistical figures in the *Ain-i-Akbari* with the present density shows the Western Gangetic plain as extensively cultivated and, therefore, presumably, as thickly populated as at present.

The density of cultivation and therefore of population in the Eastern Gangetic plain to the border of Bengal appears to be far lower though one cannot believe with Mr. Moreland that it was as low as one-fifth of the present standard. Thus the Mughal empire minus Bengal and Gujrat and a few smaller tracts for which figures are not available contained over 60 millions of people. The allowance of ten millions for the excluded areas by Mr. Moreland appears to be much too low. Something must be allowed for Gondwana. The modern exportations of grains must be taken into account. On the whole, it seems that the Mughal empire excluding Afghanistan contained somewhat over 90 millions. The rest of the country, as we have seen, supported more than 30 millions. The total may have been somewhat more than 125 or even 130 millions. While thus regarding Mr. Moreland's computation of 100 millions as somewhat too low, it is only fair to acknowledge that the methods of computation themselves reflect the highest credit on his scholarship and constitute one of the achievements of his work.

THE CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE.

The bulk of the population was represented by the Hindu village peasantry. It is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of exactness, the proportion of the Muslim to the total population of the villages or the cities. Allowing for migrations from the north-west and for the conversions to Islam during the last three centuries as well as for the comparatively

greater fecundity of the Muslem population, it may be laid down that the proportion was less than at present—less than one to five, possibly one to six or even one to seven.*

The Muslims congregated largely in cities or round the Imperial, Deccan and provincial courts, leaving but a small margin for the rural area. There the Hindu village community, organised not on communistic or socialistic lines but on the general patriarchal pattern, lived its simple life. Thanks to difficulties of communication, it sought, as far as possible, to be self-sufficient and developed a strong sense of autonomy. It would require the hand of a George Eliot to paint the scenes of this rural life in all their truth and beauty, but one cannot help wishing that the interpreters of Indian history had firmly grasped the nature and the character of this form of organisation and the results flowing therefrom. In his observations and deductions, Mr. Moreland does not seem always to remember that custom is the law and the regulator of such an association, that it usually sets more or less effective limits to the tyranny of the petty agent of the distant governor and to the rapacity of the local tax-gatherer; that it leads to the peaceful adjudication of most of the local disputes in the absence of regular courts; and that it maintains a surprising amount of internal tranquillity and security in the absence of regular police. Nor should it be forgotten that during the period in question, village life over the greater part of the country, was free from the blasting influences of the later zamindari system.

Between the village and the metropolis there ranged towns and cities of all sizes. The contemporary, chiefly, foreign, records contain vivid descriptions of the situation, the walls, the streets, the houses, temples, mosques, pleasure-resorts, the commercial and industrial activity of the urban localities.† The better sort of trader, the more flourishing priest, physician, artist, astrologer, together with the second class military and civil officer formed what may be called a middle class. It is impossible to believe Bernier when he says that "in Delhi there is no middle state. A man must be either of the highest class or live miserably." Bernier, whose charm of style has invested his narrative with a fictitious importance, seeks in his letters to Calvert, the chief minister of his native country, to paint the darkest possible picture of India and to bring the prosperity and good government of France into the boldest relief. One wonders how an impression similar to Bernier's, is left on Mr. Moreland's mind "by a perusal of the narratives and chronicles relating more particularly to our period."

From the middle class and from the crowd of hardy foreign adventurers was recruited the nobility. The Moghal emperors fully realized the political danger inherent in the existence of a rich, hereditary, landed aristocracy and prevented its rise by means of confiscating the bulk of a deceased nobleman's effects. This practice of escheat has been denounced in scathing language by Bernier and by some

modern writers but really it contributed more than anything else to render the government stable and effective, to check the rapacity of satraps, and keep open a free career for talent to serve the state. But for the ruthless policy of escheat, the country might have found itself at the mercy of a territorial nobility such as brought Poland to misery, anarchy and dissolution in the 18th century. Left with little more than what was necessary for a fair start in life, the sons of the nobles sank, many of them forever and some for the time being, into the middle class from which their fathers had arisen. This intercommunication naturally served to bridge the gulf between the highest and the middle ranks of society.

THE NOBILITY.

The official nobility of the Mughal Empire was practically synonymous with the Imperial service graded according to the number of the personal and additional state contingents which each 'mansabdar' was to maintain; performing both civil and military duties (for the division of functions was unknown in India at the time); drawing enormous salaries, part of which had to be expended on establishments and a fraction of which returned to the emperor in the form of presents. It is a misnomer to call it a Mughal nobility; it was not even an exclusively Muslim nobility; it ought to be designated an Indian nobility.

THE SCOPE OF STATE-ACTIVITY.

The nature, character, functions and organs of the administration which rested largely in the hands of this nobility were determined by the general geographical, social and economic circumstances of the country. In the absence of the modern facilities of communication, the people of a vast agricultural country scattered over thousands of miles largely in knots of scores or hundreds, speaking numerous different languages and dialects and following all sorts of manners and customs could not develop that intensity of life, that sense of homogeneity, that habit of co-operation, that feeling of identity of interest which lead to democracy. On the other hand, in spite of the fundamental geographical and cultural unity of the land, the centrifugal tendencies of an extreme type predominate; the village develops a distinct life of its own. In exchange for its quota of the seasonal produce, the state protected the village from aggression but did not otherwise interfere with the life of the village. A very great limit is thus set to the scope of state activity. An equally important limit is set by the religiousity, the social exclusiveness and the conservatism of the people. Prudent policy and sheer necessity alike inculcated abstinence from disturbing the religious beliefs and ceremonies, the caste-system and manners of the Hindus.

The vast amount of legislation on religious and social affairs in the west could have no counterpart in medieval India. Religious belief and worship could be, as they actually were, modified only by reformers from within; the priests, mendicants and ascetics, together with scholastics of the usual medieval type, continued to fill the place occupied in modern society, besides their modern representatives, roughly by the department of public instruction and by journalists. Neither in Europe nor in India did the state directly concern itself with education.

* Bernier places the proportion at a far lower figure but he wrote from mere observation and made no systematic calculation.

† Finch, Herbert, De Laet, Della Valle, Peter Mundy, Tavernier and Thénart are specially valuable for information about towns.

But the Mughal Emperor, the Deccan Sultans, Southern Hindu chiefs, together with their nobles, generals, provincial governors and jagirdars as well as the numerous great and small Hindu rajas patronised a large number of poets, writers, astronomers, painters, musicians and gave an immense impetus to the cultivation of literature and the fine arts. Some of the greatest names in vernacular literatures, such as Tulsidas, Surdas, Kabir, are certainly unconnected with any royal or aristocratic courts, but as one reviews the long array of medieval Indian literatures one is struck by the number of geniuses and lesser lights that were kindled in contact with the rays of royal favour. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the rulers employed and advanced to fame and opulence numbers of workers in fine arts, architects, painters, musicians and dancers.* It is unfair to argue as some modern writers have argued, that all this activity was prompted solely by self-centred vanity. One need only peruse the writings or reflect on the character of the Emperors from Babur to Shah Jahan, and of high personages like Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Khana to realise, what common sense would lead us to suppose *prima facie*, that higher motives were at least as responsible as the lower ones for the vast encouragement to the elevated intellectual pursuits. Many a religious bequest by the state was used partly in support of seminaries of theology, logic, medicine, astronomy, literature and grammar.† Add to this the occasional earnest, though unsuccessful, attempts at social reform and humanitarian legislation and it will be difficult to deny that the medieval Indian state had risen beyond the level of a police state to the rank of a culture-state. Unfortunately, Mr. Moreland writes as if the medieval administrations were supremely callous to the interests, and confined their activities solely to the fleecing of the people.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION.

The necessity of controlling the everpresent centrifugal tendencies determined that the government should be a highly centralised one. Like all despotisms, however, the Indian governments were governments by council. In the provinces, the Mughal central power was represented by the Sipahsalar, Sahib Subah or Subahdar who was seldom allowed to rule for more than three or four years in a single province‡. He combined the supreme military, political and judicial authority in the province, but in matters financial he shared his power with the Diwan who owed appointment and responsibility to the Central government alone and whose status may be compared roughly to that of the Quæstor in a Roman province. A further check was devised in the Waqiahnawis or Recorder who reported on all affairs to the Emperor and who occasionally exercised such high influence as to lead Thenenot to compare him to a French Intendant. The Faujdar or governor of a district derived his authority and appointment directly from the Central

* On this point see specially Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jahangir's *Memoirs*, Abdur Hamid Lahori's *Padshahnama*.

‡ Hindu pathashalas and Muslim Makhtabs, continuations or descendants of the medieval institutions, still cultivate the study of all or some of these subjects.

‡ This statement is based on a careful compilation of the lists of provincial governors.

government.* An elaborate system of espionage was put into force to detect and report any mistakes or oppression on the part of any government official. During the short reign of the Emperor Jahangir (1605-27) there occurred several cases of the recall, trial and punishment or reprimand of oppressive governors like Mirza Rustam, Chin Qulich K., Raja Kalyan, and Abdullah K., Firoz Jang and Muqarra K.

The paraganas, the smallest regular administrative subdivision was placed in charge of the Choudhari.† The urban areas knew nothing of municipal self-government but were administered by Kotwals, combining administrative, police and judicial powers.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

It is clear that the Mughal administration was a highly organised machine but its close association with adjudication left judicial organisation proper in a comparatively rudimentary condition. As Roe, Terry and other contemporary observers perceived, there were no regular codes of substantive law or "procedures, no assessors or juries, no definite gradation of adjudicating authorities, no advocates. The Mir Adl and the Quazi entertained suits arising in their cities or the country round; examined the parties and the witnesses and pronounced judgment according to Quranic or customary law or Imperial ordinance. An appeal lay, probably only in the more important cases, to the court of the provincial Quazi, Diwan or Governor (who likewise exercised original jurisdiction in important cases in the capital and the country round) and thence in practice only for the wealthy people, to the Imperial Quazi or Diwan and finally to the emperor, who also formed courts of first instance for cases round their seats. The sentences were immediately carried out; the punishments specially for treason and heinous social offences were severe and sometimes barbarous; fleecing was rare, trampling by elephants occasional, but mutilation was the order of the day. Capital punishments, however, could be inflicted only by the provincial or Imperial authorities. Debtors, it may be noted, could be imprisoned or even sold into slavery.‡ That many a judicial functionary was open to corruption and that in the lower courts rank, wealth and power usually escaped lightly admits of no doubt; but the modern vexations of the law's delays and the lawyer's perquisites did not obtain at the time and the emperor, when informed, usually dealt severely with the offences of overmighty subjects. Besides, prolonged oppres-

* The numerous entries about the appointments of faujdars in Jahangir's *Memoirs* are conclusive on this point. The biographical notices in the *Maaser-ul-umara* point to the same conclusion.

† The *Ain-i-Akbari* is silent on this official, but his position is clear from other documents, notably Jahangir's *Memoirs*.

‡ The account of the judicial system is based on Abul Fazl (*Ain*, II, 37, 42-3); Jahangir (*R and B*, II, 28); Rai Bihari Mal (*E and D*, VII, 172-3); Monserrate *Commentarius* tr. Father Hosten in *J. A. S. B.* VIII, 1912 pp. 194; 200, II, 320-1. Terry, *Voyage to India*, pp. 353-4, 364-5, 370-1. Roe, I, 123, 107, Peter Mundy, *Travels*, II, 232-3, 72-3; Thenenot, III, 19.

sion seldom failed to provoke armed resistance in an age when the Government enjoyed a far smaller degree of awe, prestige and stability and when the disparity between the organised strength of superbly equipped state troops and a disorganised armed rabble was far less, than at present.

SECURITY.

From these considerations one is justified in thinking that Mr. Moreland seriously underrates the amount of security which the people in general and the merchants in particular derived from the administration. He falls into two similar unfortunate errors. In the first place, he asserts that the state confiscated the effects of deceased wealthy merchants. There is absolutely no warrant for the statement. The Persian chroniclers and the foreign visitors refer to the confiscation of the bulk of the high state officers' effects, but nowhere refer to the extension of the practice to the earnings of the mercantile profession.* In the second place, Mr. Moreland transplants the prevailing state of insecurity on the Mughal marches to the whole empire. Travelling at night could not but be dangerous all over the world in the 16th or 17th century; but during the day the roads, except on the borders, were usually secure, specially to the large caravans of merchants. Most of the local disturbances and most of the instances of the prevalence of robbery, noted by indigenous and foreign writers, occur either on the hilly, wild regions such as the north-west frontier or on the Deccan, Mewar, Gondwana and Arrakan frontiers of the Mughal empire. In the interior one could travel by day and rest at night in the serais which, as the foreign visitors emphasize, could generally be found at the conclusion of a day's fair march on the principal highways at least and which comprised whole streets in large mercantile centres like Ahmadabad. All passengers were required to lodge at night in these buildings and for the safety of the life and property of all, the royal local officers were responsible to the Emperor.†

William Hawkin's statement, made about 1610, that "the country is so full of thieves and outlaws that almost a man cannot stir out of doors throughout all his (Jahangir's) dominions without great forces" is entirely inconsistent with other contemporary evidence though in full harmony with several others of his own sensational passages. A minute study of the traveller's tales of medieval India has led the present writer to the conclusion that while invaluable for information about towns, roads, harbours, houses, courts, armies, etc., which the narrators saw with their own eyes, they are seldom to be followed in their inferences and generalisations.‡

* See Sir Thomas Roe, Embassy to India, pp. 110-11. Mawkins' Voyages pp. 424-5.

Joseph Salhancke in Letters Received by the East India Company, Vol. VI, p. 187. Bernier (ed. Constable) p. 3. Manucci, Storia do Mogor (ed. Irvine), I, p. 205.

† Sir T. Roe, Embassy to India, pp. 88, 90. Finch in Purchas, ed. Macle hose, IV, p. 49. (All references in this article to Purchas relate to the Macle hose edition). Steel and Crowther in Purchas, IV, 268.

Patro Della Valle, I, p. 94, 95. Terry, p. 187.

‡ Salhancke surpassed even Hawkins. "My

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

While therefore one must regard Mr. Moreland's picture of the political background of economic life as far darker than is warranted by the critical use of available evidence, one is bound to admire and assent to his relation of the difficulties presented to commerce by the variety of weights, measures and currency (pp. 52-60). The maund, while in many places weighing about 28 or 29 lb. avoirdupois, ranged generally between 20 and 33 lb. * Coinage, of course, varied in the different kingdoms and even within the frontiers of a single state. In short, medieval India resembled medieval Europe in this respect.

CUSTOMS AND TRANSIT DUES.

Nor should the difficulties involved in the frequency of customs and transit dues be overlooked. The Mughal Emperors, one after another, tried and failed to abolish the inland duties charged by fraudulent governors, jagirdars and protected chiefs. Mr. Moreland rightly emphasises the grave inconveniences to commerce involved in this state of things, but he underrates, passes over, palliates or excuses the blasting effects in Indian commerce of the Portuguese maritime supremacy and license system enforced by diabolical cruelties.

THE CONSUMING CLASSES.

One of the most interesting chapters in Mr. Moreland's book† is devoted to a discussion of the consuming classes. The salaries of the higher officers, specially when viewed in the light of the prevalent cheapness of prices, were simply stupendous, but they served to check corruption and rapacity and in part, returned to the state by way of escheat. The number of lower officers was enormous, but that was inevitable if government was to be maintained at any degree of efficiency.‡ A moderate degree of magnificence may have been essential to Imperial dignity, but little can be said in defence of the huge expenditure on the personal luxury and vices, whims and fancies, of the monarchs. Like the Persian Kings and the Roman Emperors, the medieval Indian sovereigns, as a rule, spent the poor man's money like water on personal gratification. That constitutes the darkest stain on medieval Indian

passage from Surat over a large part of the country as far as the city of Agra, I was subject to a world of dangers on the way, it being well-known that no country in the whole world is more dangerous to travel in than this, by reason of many thousand blood-sucking villains that for so much as (one?) of their brass pieces of money as countervaileth the third part of a penny sterling, will cut a man's throat." He goes on to cite the example of "one of our poor countrymen" who was "so often assaulted" and robbed but whose throat was never cut off!

* In Kashmir the maund weighed less than three modern seers, while in some localities it equalled 40 modern seers.

† Ch. III, pp. 63-95.

‡ Officers were, of course, liable to dismissal but Mr. Moreland exaggerates when he says, (p. 84): "In Akbar's Empire, then the chief characteristic of a professional career was insecurity."

administration, even on that of Akbar. The ascetics and mendicants constituted a burden, a tax, on industry, but in fairness it must be acknowledged that some of them ministered to the religious and educational needs of the people.

SLAVERY.

The existence of slaves is patent from the contemporary records but they seem to be confined mostly to royal and aristocratic families and therefore to cities.

SERFDOM.

"In the villages," says Mr. Moreland, "the labourer was, at least in practice, in the position of a serf," but the inference from later conditions ignores the intervening political revolutions, and the payment of wages in kind was only a part of the general system of barter.

ABSENCE OF THE ZAMINDARI SYSTEM.

The methods of Indian agriculture in India in the 17th century were not different from those in the 14th or 20th, but the system of land tenure has undergone a radical change. Over the greater part of the Mughal Empire there were no intermediary landlords between the state and the peasant. That is the central fact in the whole situation and its implications and corollaries should be clearly realised. The state demand of one-third or even more of the gross produce and the illegal exactions of the revenue collectors, left the peasant in ordinary times enough to keep body and soul together, the existence of waste culturable land points to the same conclusion. The peasant, however, does not seem to have been able to lay up for the next year, for the failure of rains always reduced him to distress or starvation.

FAMINE.

The frequency of famines admits of no doubt, but Mr. Moreland forgets that most of the famines were local in character, and confined generally to a province or two. Thanks to the difficulty of transport, the suffering within the afflicted area was intense, but surely we cannot define famine as a period of general cannibalism.

The language of Persian chroniclers certainly countenances such a definition; but if we were to accept all their rhetoric at its face value we should paint many a ruler as more than virtuous gods and his country as happier than paradise. A few cases of cannibalism may have occurred, but civilised human nature can hardly ever lapse into the most primitive stage of savagery. In particular, all our knowledge of the sentiments and instincts of the contemporary Hindu population tells against such a supposition.

FAMINE-RELIEF.

The medieval Indian governments failed to rise to a true conception of their duty of famine-relief. But it is a mistake to suppose that they looked on the terrible depth of misery and loss of life with perfect heartlessness. Besides the remissions of revenue which are mentioned by the Persian historians, they sometimes organised relief, though on a rather unsystematic plan. In the fearful famine of 1598, the king ordered that alms should be distributed in all the cities

and Nawab Shaikh Farid Bokhari being ordered to superintend and control their distribution did all in his power to relieve the general distress of the people. Public tables were spread and the army was increased in order to afford maintenance to the poor people.* Abdul Hamid Lahori gives the following account of Shah Jahan's efforts to relieve distress in the Gujrat famine of 1633 :—"The emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhanpur, Ahmadabad and the country of Surat, to establish soup-kitchens, or alms houses such as are called *Lan-gar* in the language of Hindustan for the benefit of the poor and the destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was ordered that so long as his Majesty remained at Burhanpur 5000 rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday.... Thus, on twenty Mondays one lac of rupees was given away in charity. Ahmadabad had suffered more severely than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people.... Under the directions of the wise and generous emperor taxes amounting to nearly seventy lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue-officers—a sum amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue.†

It is hardly possible, at any rate in the present stage of historical research, to know more about the actual working of the relief measures but it stands on record that the mortality was appalling.

The various grains were several times cheaper than to-day and consequently would bring a far smaller amount of money from sale. But it should be remembered that barter was the usual way of exchange within small rural areas; the peasant generally paid in kind to the village weaver, the village potter, the village smith, the village druggist. Hence, he was not so worse off as he would have been if he had been obliged to exchange his whole surplus corn for money at first. It is on this supposition, however, that Mr. Moreland's discussion of the standard of village life proceeds. "Regarding the actual cultivator of the soil," he concludes, "... he was much worse off in ordinary seasons than is the case at present; in any case he had less money to spend on clothes, comforts, and luxuries and in some parts of the country he must sometimes have been short of food."‡ The result is too gloomy a portrait. The evidence available does not warrant us in pronouncing the village conditions prosperous but, on the other hand, it does not justify such a gloomy view as some modern writers are inclined to take.

NON-AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

• Passing from agricultural to non-agricultural produce, the extensive forests yielded plenty of wood but harboured many a wild beast, to the injury of standing crops and cattle. Fish formed an important article of diet in Bengal, Orissa, Sindh and the South, while pearl-fishery occupied some 60,000 persons off the Indian or Ceylonese coast. Gold and silver, lead and zinc, were mined in small quantities and imported from abroad. Coal was not mined but iron was

* Shaikh Nural Haq Zubdat Tawarikh. W. Elliot and Dowson's History of India, vol. VI, p. 193.

† Badshahnama. Elliot and Dowson's History of India, vol. VII, p. 24-5.

‡ P. 137.

smelted in large quantities. Salt was obtained from sea and the hills as well as from the lakes—the chronicles speak of elaborate governmental organization of the Sambhar salt works.

AGRICULTURAL MANUFACTURES.

The travellers speak in glowing language of Indian agricultural manufacturers in the cities they visited. Similarity of conditions would lead us to suppose the existence of similar industries in other towns, but Mr. Moreland thinks that "we are entitled to infer only that industries had developed along certain main lines of transport, such as the Ganges and the Indus or the roads from Agra to Lahore and to the west coast." He likewise fails to make due allowance for the cottage industries which prior to the 18th century were practised in villages all over the world. Except on the western coast there was practically no organised flour-milling in 17th century India, but many a poor family supplemented its income by grinding wheat or gram for others, gur or jaggery was produced everywhere and refined sugar manufactured pretty extensively. Even a cursory reading of contemporary vernacular literature will suffice to refute Mr. Moreland's supposition that sweetmeats were comparatively rarer. Oil pressing, the ginning and spinning of cotton were carried on under the hearth according to primitive methods. The use of tobacco, first introduced towards the close of the 16th century, spread with marvellous rapidity and created a new industry in the 17th century. Opium was manufactured principally in Bihar and Malwa, while fermented liquors were prepared everywhere from the palm tree, from mahua, molasses etc.

HANDICRAFTS.

The finer handicrafts flourished as they did nowhere else nor did they cater, as Mr. Moreland assumes, "for an exceedingly narrow market." The skill of the handicraftsmen won the ecstatic applause of foreign visitors. "In short," concludes Pyrard de Laval, "I could never make an end of telling such a variety of manufactures, as well in gold, silver, iron, steel, copper and other metals, as in precious stones, choice woods and other valued and rare materials. For they are all cunning folk and owe nothing to the people of the west, themselves endowed with a keener intelligence than is usual with us, and hands as subtle as ours: to see or hear a thing but once, is with them to know it..... And what is to be observed of all their manufactures is this, that they are both of good workmanship and cheap. I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians: They are unwilling indeed to adopt the manners and customs of the Portuguese: yet do they readily learn their manufacture and workmanship, being all very curious and desirous of learning."*

LEATHER.

Leather was put to a smaller number of uses than at present, but it is hardly possible to follow Mr. Moreland in his reasoning on shoes. "Barbosa," he writes, "states that in his time the common people in the city of Bengal wore shoes, but with the

exception of this statement I have not found a shoe mentioned anywhere north of the Nerbada river and while this fact is not conclusive, the silence of such a writer as Bahur appears to me to be at least suggestive; it is possible that shoes were as widely worn as now, but the probability lies in the contrary direction. If, as I believe, shoes were less worn than now throughout India, the cause is not to be found in the high cost of leather, which, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was probably abundant, at least in the raw state, and we must assume that, though the cost was small, the means of the people were insufficient to provide articles which were not strictly necessary for subsistence."*

PAPER.

An enormous number of buckets and mashaks were also manufactured. Similarly paper, though not required at all for newspapers and only in moderate quantities for books and letters, was consumed in heaps in government offices in the innumerable reports and memoranda of public servants, specially clerks, newswriters and spies.

UTENSILS.

Mr. Moreland believes that metal vessels were comparatively little used by the people and yet thinks the potter's industry to have been on the same footing as at present, producing chiefly coarse earthenware for the common people, though a few localities may have possessed a certain reputation for somewhat superior goods.†

BUILDINGS.

Every one who has seen the old cities and monuments still standing more or less in their old form or in ruins, will be surprised to learn from Mr. Moreland that in the 17th century "the use of brick and stone was probably less extensive than now."‡

MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

Nor is anyone likely to accede to the learned writer's conclusion based on very insufficient evidence, that there was no wheeled traffic in India south of Golconda. Owing to the non-existence of railways, motorcars, etc., the rarity of bridges, the inadequacy of metalled roads, boats plied by the hundred for transport and passenger traffic, but lighter carts drawn by trotting oxen were available all over the plains and not, as Mr. Moreland asserts, only "in some parts of the country." Besides boats, ships were built on the shore for coasting and high sea traffic.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURES.

Space does not permit a discussion on the textile manufactures from silk, wool, hair, hemp and jute. "Cotton weaving," as Mr. Moreland remarks, "was by far the most extensive industry in India and... it is fair to say that the aggregate production was one of the great facts of the industrial world of the year 1600." It is hardly relevant to emphasise that none of the medieval industries were organised on the modern plan. In the village the craftsman formed part of the village system; in the towns, if not shifting for himself, he worked in the workshop of

* The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval, vol., II, pp., 248.

* P., 277.

† P. 164.

‡ P. 165.

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some great noble or the emperor himself. In the Delhi palace, writes Bernier, "large halls are seen in many places called karkhanas or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another, you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and fine muslins." One is reminded of modern industrial conditions by Bernier's criticisms that the profits of the workshops mostly found their way into the pockets of the employers.

The average rate of wages for servants in towns was about three rupees a month which purchased several times more than at present.

COMMERCE.

Commercially, India formed one of the most important countries in the world, but the control of Indian seas had by the 17th century passed from the Mahammadan into Portuguese hands. Portuguese atrocities diverted a large volume of trade to the north-western—Kandahar—route along which Steel and Cromther noticed about 15000 camel loads pass in 1615. It is impossible as yet to calculate with any degree of precision the volume of Indian exports of textiles or indigo or spices to the countries round the Indian ocean (north of the equator) and to the Mediterranean world, but that it was very large is obvious not only from the travellers' tales but also from the huge number of commercial letters still extant. The inland trade was also considerable, though, of course, far, far smaller than to-day.*

* The present writer hopes to discuss the whole

STANDARD OF LIFE.

On the basis of the foregoing conclusions and conjectures it is possible to form a rough idea of the standard of life among the various classes of the community. The nobles drew extravagant salaries and spent prodigally. The middle class avoided pomp and splendour but otherwise lived in comfort. It is difficult to make sure of the economic condition of the lower classes but, as we have seen, Mr. Moreland's picture is much too dark. "We cannot be sure," runs his final judgment, "whether they (the lower classes) had a little more or a little less to eat, but they probably had fewer clothes, and they were certainly worse off in regard to household utensils and to some of the minor conveniences and gratifications of life while they enjoyed practically nothing in the way of communal services and advantages. That is the picture itself: in the background is the shadow of famine, a word which has changed its meaning within the last century. In Akbar's time, and long afterwards, it meant complete if temporary economic chaos, marked by features which, repulsive as they are, must not be left out—destruction of homes, sale of children into slavery, hopeless wandering in search of food; and finally starvation, with cannibalism as the only possible alternative."*

CONCLUSION.

This string of statements which lack positive evidence, serves very well as an illustration of our author's mental bias. Nevertheless, his work deserves commendation as the first serious attempt to grapple with some extremely difficult problems in Indian economic history.

subject of Indian commerce in the 17th century in a separate paper.

* Pp. 279-80.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN THE 'PALAIS DE JUSTICE'

(Translated from the French of M Gaston Denys Perier)

"Messengers with news from other lands
greet me and pass along the road."

—Gitanjali.

TWENTY-ONE years ago, in this very journal, the Hindu priest, Brahmachari Bodhabhikshu, wrote as follows: "Hindus are very reserved in nature: they open their hearts only to those who are in sympathy with them."

This avowal came back to our minds, not without some apprehension, on the evening of October 4, 1920. For around us, preparations were being made to receive perhaps a similar confession. Everything was in a bustle of confusion,

in anticipation of an extraordinary event. Busy people, in spite of their usual indifference about such matters on ordinary occasions, were seen in dense numbers squeezing themselves against the railings of the 'Palais de Justice,' where the gathering was to be held.

From eight o'clock, a heaving sea of faces could be observed, extending along the marble passages leading to the Court Room. Not a seat in the court itself was vacant. Tables, window sills, even the steps of the platform, were all occupied by spectators. Junior members of the Bar were there, with the tired and solemn

looks of elderly justices of the peace. The sombre robes were all marked by the customary ermine. The eager, but silent, crowd was swelling more and more each moment.

What figure were they expecting? Whom was the President going to ask to address the meeting, when he rose with his usual phrases and gestures to introduce the lecturer?

Curiosity made the assembly slightly impatient and betrayed the Western spirit only thinly cloaked and veiled for the occasion.

Then an aged man rose from his seat.—There was a pause.

At the farthest end of the wooden semicircular barrier, within which the distances were strictly preserved, a dignified and stately figure stood up before the rows of barristers and judges. He let fall his eye-glasses, which remained loosely hanging and shining like a star on his ample mauve-coloured robe.

A face like that of Christ, bronzed, serene and superb, came into view. Now, there were no more rows of judges, no more individual men; there was one common humanity, all attentive. High over them was the commanding form of the Poet, with his white beard, and his white, flowing hair.

Rabindranath Tagore read his message in English. It was entitled "The Meeting of the East and the West."—"Le Rencontre de l' Orient et de l' Occident."

From the wide sleeves of his robe there emerged a hand full of expression and at times tightly closed, which rested on the railing. His movements were rare, but each one had a touch of character. His courtesy had a scrupulous care that made it almost religiously refined. At times the fingers of his hand would open and slowly describe an image in the air. Then again they would close and softly move over the desk-stand in front of the speaker. I have witnessed such solemn movements while listening to the dance music of Hindustan.

The right hand alone was used for giving expression. The left hand held a number of loose leaves of manuscript, tied together at one corner by a string. This

messenger from other shores had an admirable command over the language he uttered. He chanted at times some of his own Bengali songs. As we listened to him we seemed transported into the open air and sky of Nature herself,—to the very threshold of the Poet's own far off retreat at Bolpur.

Then again the voice of the speaker would be raised high, only to become soft once more with a cadence full of pathos, far different in its effect from the pathos of our dramatic artists in the 'Comedie Francaise.' There was nothing that could bear resemblance to our own melo-dramatic ways,—nothing also that was of the nature of the excited orations of Hyde Park. There were none of those pauses at expected places. At the close of each succession of long limpid sentences, there would start afresh another series. The voice of the Hindu sounded clear and distinct,—it spoke the Truth. Everyone could follow the words spoken, from the farthest end of the Hall to the platform itself.

In a touching comparison, this Christ of India traced the course of the two civilisations,—the East and the West,—flowing side by side without ever meeting. For, oppression prevents communion. The Poet depicted the superficial vandalism which the English masters have inflicted upon the age-long untouched beauties of the Ganges. Discarding at this point all metaphorical expressions, which would only serve to glaze over the very evils they are meant to describe, he made use of direct and plain language, as he set forth the wrong done by the destructive methods of western Imperialism.

The Western exploiter of the East travelling in first class carriages, carrying with him his portmanteaus and his prejudices, holding fast to his false notions of superiority, which separate him from the people whom he wishes to gain over to his own ways, fondly imagines that he has obtained his object by officialism and by circulars. But the latter are not even read by the Eastern people; for they give orders, they do not speak to the heart.

Where there is no mutual confidence,

how can one ever hope to attain the good will among men? The peoples of the world must first be sincere towards one another. This sincerity should be a potent influence from within. Nothing can be done by an organisation superimposed from without,—hypocrisy written all over its surface. Heart must speak to heart. The only creative work is that of Love.

This is the outline of the doctrine, which the Poet sage of Bengal is intent to spread everywhere, as the surest means to awaken the hitherto divided and oppressed world of humanity and to bind it into a union of brotherhood and freedom. No longer should conventional ideas of ruler and ruled regulate the ordinances of the children of mankind. It is by this very gift of the child-heart, which Nature offers to us in the first fresh hours of life, that the 'children' among men are able to recognise one another, coming unitedly near to their common source, their equal origin. This idea of the 'child-spirit' in man has been the perennial theme of song among the purest of our poets; but it required the brutal reversals of war to make the more practical races listen to it and accept it as a revelation.

It may be of service to point out, at this place, how the prophetic words of Rabindranath Tagore have already penetrated the minds of the English missionaries. It may be remembered how, a few years ago, the Poet, in his address to some Japanese students said,—

"If I could show you my heart, you would find it green and young, perhaps younger than that of some of you who are standing here before me. And you would find also that I am childish enough to believe in things which the grown-up people of the modern age, with their superior wisdom, have become ashamed to own."

It would appear as though this conception of the Poet has been almost consciously copied by a highly intellectual missionary lady, Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, when she urged her colleagues in India to adopt this spirit of child-like humility.—

"What we must endeavour to do," she writes, "is to learn to know and to love,

in order to sympathise with every human being. We shall find each one astonishingly similar to ourselves, having the same wonderful and adorable ways of remembering and forgetting, of loving and hating, of joy and fear. And then, when you have done this, you will have learnt how to get rid of your own little self, to understand your own weaknesses and prejudices, to laugh unreservedly at them. Still more, you will remember over again your early childhood,—the old nurse and her talks; you will come to understand more easily the full human nature of a human being of another race."

This passage came to our mind, when Rabindranath Tagore related in his lecture the following story. Recalling the early days of his own youth, the Poet stepped aside for a moment from the elevated desk-stand and said in a subdued voice,—

"In those days, I came across a European, whom we had not known before. He was a young Swede, well versed in our literature and in our art. He had resolved to devote his meagre savings to the undertaking of a voyage to India. He waited for a long time in England to get a passage. Having arrived in our country he mingled with the people. Ever fearful lest he should transgress against Indian customs, in any way, he was timid in seeking admission into families. While working and spending for the poor, his ardent desire urged him on to be useful to all. Completely indifferent about changes of climate and tropical diseases, his labour of love carried him from our midst by death all too soon. He died without leaving any visible trace of his zealous work behind him. He was buried among our dead, according to his own wish; his memory lives in me as that of a sensitive nature whose loss to us can never be replaced. Never have I come across such a one on that road, along which so many foreigners walk. He was a simple man speaking to his fellow men about things common to all mankind."

Hardly had the story of this young Swede, so devoutly and lovingly recalled, escaped from the lips of the lecturer, when, in a most moving peroration, Rabindra-

nath Tagore told his audience how the vast multitudes of Asia and Africa were waiting for such a service of good will and friendship. He exhorted Europe to pay regard to these multitudes to raise them to the joys of Western Science and progress. "Be afraid," he said to us, "to leave them to their weakness. The very strength of that weakness passively threatens to set up a barrier to civilisation and to compromise that Peace to which the Universe aspires."

The aged Poet then sat down at the extreme end of the semicircle, to listen for a while to a speech which in no way disturbed the harmony of our rapt meditation at the close of the lecture.

As we crossed the threshold, leaving the meeting place, where the East and West had exchanged thoughts of love together, we seemed to read on the porch the word written,—

'Shanti-niketan.'—'The Home of Peace.'

THE ARCH FROM EAST TO WEST

SOME time ago, it was my privilege to translate for the "Modern Review" an article sent to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, by Romain Rolland, the French writer on international subjects, whose influence is now at its height with the younger French thinkers. Along with the article, Romain Rolland wrote a letter of reverent appreciation, inviting the Poet to become one with them in a Brotherhood of the Free Spirit.

The title, which I chose for the translation of Romain Rolland's article, was taken from a passage in it, wherein he speaks of a 'Fairy Arch from the East to the West,'—an Arch not altogether broken down amid the vicissitudes of human history. Poets, philosophers and thinkers had upbuilt it in the past. Of one of them, Empedocles, he wrote. The men of the sword had often pulled it down. But it had remained,—half suspended in the air,—the 'Fairy Arch from the East to the West.' During the past months, while Rabindranath Tagore has been in Europe, I have been able to read some of the correspondence which has been sent to him from all sides, while he has been on his tour, and also to follow the impressions of that tour which have appeared in the continental journals. One of these impressions, called 'Rabindranath Tagore in the Palais de Justice,' will be found in another part of this issue of the

Modern Review. The words of Romain Rolland concerning the 'Fairy Arch between East and West,' have often come back to my mind. Amid the world tumult of destruction, which has been no less ruinous since the armistice than in the Great War itself, while links between continents and nations have been breaking on every hand, there have appeared, here at least, the signs and tokens of a re-binding and a building up. I propose, in these articles, to give to the Indian public some of these signs and tokens, and I shall do so largely from letters which have been received and the accounts which have been written.

The first is a description given by one who was present at an interview between M. Bergson, the French philosopher, and the Poet,—

"It was a noble meeting,—this meeting of the two great men, of the East and the West, of India and France. M. Bergson is small in stature and slight, while the Poet is tall and full built. At once I noticed that M. Bergson had a quick and acute mind, taking each point with the utmost vivacity and ease. The conversation the two thinkers had together was most fascinating and most instructive. Both men had to say such big thoughts, leading into wide fields of discussion. I was able to make notes of what M. Bergson said. I am sorry I did not get down equally well

all that the Poet uttered ; for his observations and reflections were most striking, and with most of them M. Bergson seemed to agree and to regard them as entirely well-founded.

"M. Bergson began. To him it appeared that the European mind was more precise, while the Indian mind was more intuitive. He went on to explain, that he thought the European mind had become precise, simply because it had had so much to do with matter, and with the outward conquest of nature. Matter claims attention in dealing with it, and so comes precision. Mathematics and Geometry were the basis of European civilisation and these deal with matter, and are subjects of precision. But M. Bergson went on quickly to explain that he agreed with the Poet and with the East, that this was not the end. The true end must always be the Realisation of the Spiritual : and the East was right in laying such stress upon Meditation and Contemplation. But, as conditions now were in the world, it was only the very few, who could be above the material. M. Bergson thought that, even for the East, the pressure of the material world must be very urgent. He only hoped that the pursuit of matter would not lead to the forgetting of the true end of life, which was the spiritual.

"M. Bergson then said, that, as the world stood, he would not advise any one nation to give itself up wholly to the neglect of matter, to the neglect of the study of Western science, which brought power over matter, and to go into meditation, leaving aside the material basis. For, if the other nations did not act in the same manner, then the one nation, which neglected matter, would be crushed ; and even the few able intellects and spirits, which could rise above matter, would be crushed also.

"Then Bergson went on to state, that Art, Literature, and Religion were different expressions of human sympathy. There was a sharp distinction between these and science. Philosophy ought to have been the intellectual bridge to unite and harmonise these opposites. But Philosophy had now itself become a 'Science' in the

West. It had lost the touch of human sympathy in a great measure, and must retrace its steps, and go hand in hand with Poetry, Art, and Religion. He hoped that Indian Philosophy, which had preserved its religious character, might bring to the West this gift of a philosophy which had not been divorced from religion.

"M. Bergson explained that he did not *know* Indian philosophy, because to *know* it, you must understand the Sanskrit language in which it is written. The European translations were, he imagined, very inaccurate and inadequate, especially in the finer shades of meaning, on which so much depended. Yet all the same, from the quite inadequate study he had made he was quite certain that India had something very great to give to the West, which the West had not yet received.

"The Poet then told M. Bergson, that the English Governors of the country had so despised the Indian mind, intellect, and everything Indian, and had so depreciated things Indian that Indians themselves had tended to lose faith in their own powers. It was, therefore, something which he valued very deeply, when he heard the opinion M. Bergson had expressed.

"M. Bergson said that in Europe the Indian mind was held in very great respect. He had frankly mentioned the one defect, which had been noticed in it, namely, the lack of precision. The Poet agreed on that point with M. Bergson.

" 'Nature,' said M. Bergson, 'seems always to have two ends in view which are apparently opposite and contradictory. Human misery, maladjustment, pain, war, evil, appear to be due to this opposition. The two opposite ends are self-renunciation and self-assertion. The first implied a life of meditation and spiritual devotion, a getting above matter by the power of the inner spirit. The other implies the conquest of matter, the possession of matter, the handling of matter, the power over matter. Thus there appears something fundamentally wrong in Nature. But it is impossible to remain in that contradiction. These two ends are somehow to be reconciled. Logic is

not everything: and a 'logical' explanation may not always be a true explanation. Sentiments also count, and this leads us directly back to Religion. But religion in the West has tended to become mere words; there is no soul in it.'

"The Poet then told M. Bergson that he felt the West had been doing a great injury to its own soul by its selfish aggression upon the rest of the world. Bergson admitted it and said it was only too true. The Poet went on to state, that each country of the world has a great mission to fulfil. This was the Age of Europe, but Europe had not answered to its real call and mission. Instead of teaching some great truth and some great ideal, Europe had turned its new found knowledge into exploiting the minds and bodies of weaker peoples in order to obtain wealth.

"M. Bergson agreed that this was only too true also. He hoped, however, that the evil would soon lead to its own righting.

"Then the French philosopher spoke of his own studies. He said that in his own philosophic thinking, which he was now modifying and re-stating in a fresher manner, he had arrived at his conclusions after very roundabout ways of discovery. Then turning to the Poet he added,—'But you, in your *Sadhana* and *Personality* appear to have arrived at your conclusions by direct intuition. The power of the Indian mind, in this direction, appear to me to be particularly great."

"At a later stage, M. Bergson expressed the opinion that the English mind was on the whole very matter of fact and too bound up with the practical. The American mind was more idealistic and romantic than the English mind itself. He trusted that India might come into contact, not only with the English mind, but with the mind of continental Europe, which had an outlook in many ways differing from insular England.

"The Poet then told M. Bergson, that in India they know next to nothing of Europe. What they learnt of Europe, was at second hand through the eyes of their English rulers. Again, much that Europe

knew of India came at second hand through English channels, and so the knowledge gained by either side was poor and lifeless. He therefore wished to send his own pupils to France and other European countries, and he was also intending to try to get French teachers and students to come out to his own 'Shantiniketan' in order to live there and to learn what India was, and to bring back the news of what they had learnt to continental Europe.

"The physical and geographical possession of India,—so the Poet concluded,—had taken away from the English conquerors and rulers the mystery of awe and respect. There was lacking that sensitiveness of approach which is the prerequisite of all true study. Thus England was handicapped. She had barred herself out from entering into the *soul* of India. If Europeans came to India, who were not under Government control, either directly or indirectly; who had no selfish interests, no question of Government prestige or Government favour always at the back of their minds, then there might be a far better chance of a true appreciation of India and a mutual understanding between East and West.

"M. Bergson agreed absolutely. The interview, as far as discussion went, then drew to an end. It did not last long, but both men were so cheered to meet each other. M. Bergson has a very high appreciation indeed of the Poet's philosophic writings and of his great originality in the field of modern philosophic discovery."

The Poet met in Paris M. Sylvain Levy. I shall venture, at the end of this article, to quote his own words about the great French Indologist. They are far more than a personal tribute and strike a universal note. They read as follows:—

"I suppose that I told you in my last letter that I met M. Sylvain Levy in Paris. He is a great scholar, as you know, but his heart is larger even than his intellect and his learning. His Philology has not

been able to wither his soul. His mind has the translucent simplicity of greatness, and his heart is overflowing with trustful generosity, which will never acknowledge disillusionment. His students come to love the subject he teaches them, because they love him. I realise clearly, when I meet these great teachers, that only through the medium of personality, can Truth be communicated to men. This fundamental principle of Education, let us realise in Shantiniketan. We must know that only he can teach, who can love. The greatest teachers of men have been lovers of men. The real teaching is a gift, it is a sacrifice. It is not a manufactured article of routine work. And because it is a living thing, it is the fulfilment of knowledge for the teacher himself. Let us not insult our mission as Teachers by allowing ourselves to become mere school-

masters—the dead feeding-bottles of lessons for children, who need the human touch lovingly associated with their mental food..... I am busy writing lectures; for, I have several engagements in Holland and also in Paris, when I came back there from my tour in the beginning of October. In Sorbonne University, I have decided to read,—‘The Message of the Forest,’ and I am rewriting it for the occasion. I have an invitation from the ‘Comite National D’ Etudes Sociales et Politiques’ where I am preparing to read a paper on ‘The Meeting of the East and the West’.”

In the next issue, it will be possible to see something of the Poet's visit to Holland and his welcome in that country.

(To be continued.)

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

UNIVERSITY PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

BY PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.

I. EXTRA COST INVOLVED IN NEW UNIVERSITIES.

WE have entered an age of the creation of new small universities in India. To our five older universities, viz., those of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, and the Panjab, five new ones have been added between 1917 and 1920, and three more (Nagpur, Lucknow and Agra) are in contemplation in the no distant future. It is, therefore, necessary, before we proceed any further, to survey our real situation, take accurate account of our ways and means and decide on a well thought-out scheme of advance with full knowledge of our existing resources and needs.

First and foremost, we should never blink the fact that a modern university is a very costly thing. The creation of a second university in a province means the duplication of the entire administrative staff,

office buildings, examination halls, senate house, library, &c., printing and (to a great extent) travelling expenses and cost of setting and printing question papers. When the same number of colleges and students are divided between two universities instead of one, we have to pay for two Vice-Chancellors, two Registrars, two sets of office staffs, double groups of examiners, instead of one. Separate notices, reports, calendars, minutes, &c., have to be printed for the two. In short, we have all the wastefulness of what economists call “production on a small scale.”

Let us take a concrete example. The Patna University (separated from Calcutta on 1st October 1917), is at present a purely examining board, it does no teaching work at all; it has only six colleges under it, and turns out less than 300 graduates in a year. Yet the extra cost due to the duplication of the administrative and

other machinery exceeds a lakh of rupees a year, or nearly Rs. 400 per graduate per annum :

Figures for 1920

| | Rs. |
|---|-----------|
| Vice-Chancellor | 31,400 |
| Establishment (office) | 28,500 |
| Provident Fund Contribution | 1,300 |
| Bonus & gratuities fund | 1,900 |
| Travelling Allowance of non-official members | 15,000 |
| Printing charge (excluding books) | 23,000 |
| Travelling allowance of official members (approximately) | 19,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,20,000. |

The above figure does not include the recurring expenditure on and the annual interest on the capital value of the university buildings proposed. Such a huge expenditure can be justified only if the new Universities succeed (a) in making the education of our youth more thorough and liberal and (b) in promoting research more effectively than was possible under the old universities. But so long as they merely act as examining machines and reproduce the work of the Calcutta University in its old unregenerate age of imitation of the old unregenerate London University, and before its recent assumption of direct post-graduate teaching in many and specialised branches and its organisation of research, these new Universities have no reason for existing.*

Now, it should never be forgotten that each of these two desirable ends involves a *further expenditure* of money, and when in the fulness of time these ends are achieved (as we hope), the heavy cost of duplication of machinery, buildings, etc., referred to above, will *not* be decreased in any way.

(a) Of the work of improving the efficiency of teaching, the Colleges must

* Where an old federal university has grown unwieldy in the size of its constituency it must be split up, or where a province (like Bruma) is apt to be neglected by reason of its distance from the seat of its old university, it ought to have a provincial university of its own. Here the gain in efficiency outweighs the expenditure involved in duplication of machinery, but not where universities are multiplied in the *same* province with a small English-educated population.

bear the brunt; the central or administrative body of the University can contribute but little to it, and that too only by the inspection of the Colleges, wise regulation of the courses, and judicious direction of examinations with a view to influence the teaching in the right direction. Therefore, the creation of a new University, while the colleges are as much starved as before, cannot in itself improve the teaching and raise the efficiency of the education given. On the contrary, by diverting the public funds into mere duplication of the examining machinery, it automatically deprives the colleges of the means of strengthening themselves, and postpones their much needed improvement.

II. THE EVIL OF SMALL CLASSES.

(b) When the new Universities undertake post-graduate (or Honours) teaching and organise research, they will no doubt become *teaching* bodies, and universities in the true sense of the term. But it should be always remembered that such teaching requires a vast expenditure; (at Calcutta, on the Arts side only, about 3 lakhs of Rupees a year, of which only a small portion is recovered from tuition fees). Another and equally important point is what few people other than actual teachers know, *viz.*, that in order that post-graduate teaching may be fruitful there ought to be annually produced a large body of graduates to pick out of, large Honours classes to select capable research students from. A few hundred graduates of mediocre merit and no ambition to distinguish themselves by the advancement of learning cannot supply the necessary material for a research class; with them for the audience even M. A. teaching degenerates into mere mechanical preparation for passing an examination, higher than the Intermediate or the Bachelorship in theory, but not differing in quality. The Patna University supplies the intellectual needs of an entire province, but last year only *one* student secured Honours in History. The situation is

as bad in Political Economy. The organiser of research in such a place is, therefore, called upon to make bricks without straw.

It is futile to argue that in many of the Universities of Europe the total number graduating every year is as small as at Patna, and yet valuable research is being done there. We should remember that in these happier European countries only the pick of the youth, the men of brain who feel a *call* for intellectual pursuits, go to the Universities, and research scholars from other provinces or even countries and Civil service probationers (selected by the stiffest competition) attend the lecture of the highest teachers, who thus get a fit audience though few. Not so in India, where everybody must graduate at a University before he can read for the legal, medical and even commercial professions.

Fairly large classes are also necessary for the efficiency of higher teaching, as distinct on the one hand from mere lecturing and on the other the conducting of specialised research, in the first of which the number of the audience is immaterial and in the second a hindrance. But an Honours or M.A. class must have enough boys to make it possible to hold discussions, mutual criticism of papers written by the boys, and informal exchange of ideas by students of the same "school". In such classes the teacher's duty is to inspire and guide; the student must do his own reading and noting; and therefore the impact of keen young mind on keen young mind is absolutely necessary to stimulate, precipitate and clarify thought. Seminar work is as essential at this stage as mere lecturing, and a Seminar implies a fairly large group of students of the same "school" (subject). Our new small Universities will fail to secure this element for several years to come, and in this respect they will tend to lower the standard and work for inefficiency of result compared with the cost,—not through any fault of the teacher, but simply through his lack of the necessary material for a 'school'.

III. TENDENCY TO LOWER THE STANDARD.

The success or failure of these new Uni-

versities must depend upon the capacity and spirit of the gentlemen (necessarily local magnates and educationists, predominantly Indian) who form their Senates and Boards. If we remain content with duplicating the administrative machinery (miscalled University) and fail, for want of funds, to improve the Colleges, and what is even *more* important, the secondary schools,—then the actual teaching being nowise better than before, there will be the same heavy failure at the examinations. The representatives of the public on the Senate will year after year condemn this "massacre of the innocents"; the teachers on the Senate cannot be expected to approve of a 'result' which is a scathing commentary on the efficiency of their teaching. Who then can be expected to stem the tide of agitation for cheapening degrees by lowering the standard of examination or profuse liberality in 'grace marks'? The few foreigners on the Senate? A proconsular Chancellor barricaded behind despatch-boxes? Vain hope. Therefore, the mere creation of new Universities unaccompanied by the much-needed and long-delayed improvement in the prospects and quality of the college teachers and school-masters at an immense recurring expenditure, will lower the standard of education here more quickly than the overgrown federal old Universities ever did.

IV. THE PRE-REQUISITES OF RESEARCH.

I trust it will not be considered presumption on my part to offer advice in the matter of research. Having been engaged in the original investigation of history for over 22 years now and groped my way in the dark, unassisted, for years till I unlearned my mistakes and found out the right method for myself,—I consider it my duty to place my dearly-bought experience at the disposal of my countrymen.

Original research presupposes the collection of materials, such as manuscripts, rare old printed books, back volumes of the journals of learned societies, antiquities, coins and prehistoric remains (which last, however, are often supplied by the

Museum in the provincial capital, the seat of the University). The collection of all these requires *time* and a long-thought-out and steadily-pursued plan of acquisition, as much as money. (In science we require apparatus, which is a question of money only).

As Professor Ernst Leumann (of Strassburg) writes :

"It is generally not known or scarcely noticed, to what an extent the history of any science is dependent on the local distribution of its materials.....Denmark has only produced Pali scholars, Northern Buddhism is chiefly cultivated in Paris, and other branches of Indian studies are more or less confined to particular seats of learning. The real explanation [of this fact] lies in the dispersion of the materials. Rask furnished Copenhagen with a splendid collection of Pali MSS., which roused the interest of Danish scholars, just as Hodgson sent to Paris an excellent collection of the writings of the Northern Buddhists as preserved in Nepal. So the famous general Sanskrit library of Chambers went to Berlin and found there an indefatigable interpreter in Weber, while the India Office and the Bodleian have become seats of Indian philology through the MS. libraries of Colebrooke and Wilson. In later years also Cambridge received a series of MS. treasures from the enlightened activity of Daniel Wright with the consequence that two Cambridge scholars (Cowell and Bendall) have made them their special study..... The majority of the 500 MSS., which Buhler sent to Berlin belong to the literature of the Svetambara Jains. This has had the effect that Jain philology [? philosophy] is comparatively much cultivated in Germany." (*Ind. Antiquary*, 1898, p. 368.)

Research, then, depends on the collection of materials, and the materials must be *complete*, i. e., light from *all* sides must be thrown on our subject, the original sources in *all* languages must be brought together. Thus, for a complete life of Shivaji one has to study books and MSS. written in seven different languages : Persian, Marathi, English, Hindi, Dutch, Portuguese and French. Even the old printed records are not always available except at the European capitals. Witness the extreme rarity in India of the French printed sources on Shivaji and his son cited by Orme in the appendix to his *Fragments*.

V. HOW TO COLLECT RARE BOOKS.

The collection even of printed books

when rare is a slow process. It took me fifteen years of patient watching before I could procure a copy of Ravenshaw's *Gaur* or Robinson's *Asam* (1841). And rare books are becoming rarer and more difficult to acquire with every succeeding year. I have recently been buying the old Portuguese works dealing with the history of India, among them Castanheda's *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India* in 8 volumes, giving a contemporary Portuguese account of Sher Shah's wars in Bengal. A high price had to be paid for a set of this work. As my Lisbon correspondent, Dr. D. G. Dalgado, wrote to me in April last. "The reason why all the old Portuguese books are so very costly is that the Brazilians buy them at any cost. One of them, who came here for a month took away 30 cases costing about £1,000. They are starting new libraries everywhere there. There were two copies of Castanheda at £7 and £8, and both of them were bought by the Brazilian referred to above." Indian Universities must be prepared to meet such competition, if they mean to acquire the indispensable requisites of research.

The case of Persian MSS.,—which it is hopeless to expect to buy and can only be transcribed for the use of our research scholars,—is even worse. In my experience, ten years have to be spent in the preliminary hunt before the apparatus for the history of a single Mughal Emperor can be exhaustively collected by the purchase of the printed works and transcription of the MSS., in the various European and Indian libraries. For instance, there is a history of a portion of Aurangzib's reign in Persian verse in the Nizam's library, but though the authorities were most courteous, it was exactly one year from the date of my application when the MS. actually reached my hands for being copied. Again, the earliest and most authentic history of the Muslim monarchies of the Deccan, viz., the *Burhan-i-masir*, was kindly lent me by the India Office, London. But this volume lacks the first eight leaves, which I had to get photographed from the British Museum copy of the work

before my transcript of the *Burhan* could become complete. It is only after many years of patient and persistent effort that I have completed my collection of the Persian MSS., which form the original sources of the history of the Bahmanis and the five Muhammadan kingdoms that succeeded them in the Deccan.

Even books printed in India have in many cases entirely disappeared from the market. Marathi printed materials often become absolutely unprocureable within twenty years of their publication. Thus, I have failed to secure any copy of the *Chitragupta Bakhar* and the *96-qalmi Bakhar*, both printed. The Calcutta University, I learn, has not been able to get any copy of the *Shiva-digvijay*, which I luckily bought ten years ago. Similarly, the old Reports of the E. I. Co., and the early Parliamentary Blue-books, so indispensable to students of our economic history, are extremely rare and in some cases appear in the second hand book market at intervals of 20 or 25 years only.

These examples will clearly demonstrate the necessity of a well-planned, sustained and expert-directed search for MSS. and rare books on the part of our Universities if they aim at true research. First make your bibliography of desiderata with the help of experts, then spread the hunt over years, never relaxing your efforts, but keeping your eyes ever open on the book-lists of the second-hand dealers of France, Holland (Martinus Nijhoff) and Germany as well as England: in some cases advertise your wants in England. Thus only can you succeed within a reasonable space of time.

VI. HOW TO USE THE RAREST MSS., WHICH ARE NOW IN EUROPE.

The rarest and most valuable Sanskrit, Pali, Persian and Arabic MSS. have found their way to the great European capitals and Universities and thus been saved to mankind. The India Office, London, has a very rich Sanskrit collection, the nature and value of which can be judged from Eggeling's catalogue (1884-

1904). Manuscripts from this library are lent to scholars in any part of the world on proper security. But most of the other great collections, notably the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Bibliotheque Nationale,—do not send any MS. outside. All that scholar in India can do is to take copies of them by the rotary bromide process which is quicker and cheaper than ordinary photographs. Indians working on our antiquities or philology do not sufficiently realise the necessity of securing such rotographs of the rarest and oldest Sanskrit or Pali MSS. in their subjects belonging to these European libraries. They prefer to work on corrupt modern printed editions of these books and where they have not been printed to ignore their existence. The value of the colophons of very old MSS. to the historian has been demonstrated by the light which the Nepal MSS. have thrown on the chronology of the Pala kings. There must be many more Sanskrit works of equal importance in the British Museum, the Bodleian or even the Vatican.

VII. LET THE UNIVERSITIES CO-OPERATE AND AVOID OVERLAPPING.

The task before the Indian Universities if they want to do their duty is, therefore, a heavy one, a costly one. It is necessary for us to economise our resources. When people pursue reckless or extravagant schemes of University expansion, and talk glibly of the custodian of the public purse footing the bill and snarl at the custodian when he naturally pleads inability to be eternally assisting with State doles those who are constitutionally incapable of cutting their coat according to their cloth, these people forget that all money spent by the Universities, whether fees, sale-proceeds of monopoly books, private subscriptions or subsidies from the public revenue,—comes ultimately from the Indian tax-payer. India is a country of poor people, of a population whose elementary wants have not yet been fully supplied by State activity. Waste and improvidence would be a crime here.

Our Universities must, therefore, practise the strictest economy and vigilantly avoid every kind of superfluous luxury, "window dressing," needless duplication and overlapping of effort. They should *pool their resources*, and co-operate with one another, so that by a deliberate *co-ordination of effort* among all the Indian universities the efficiency of each would be increased and the maximum good would accrue to *the country taken as a whole* for the minimum of expenditure, though some Universities may have to retrench their ambitions and ever-ramifying programmes.

How can this be done? Certain subjects will probably have to be taught in all the Indian Universities; these are the irreducible minimum of higher education. But all other subjects should be divided among our Universities, no two of them doing the same thing. Above all, *specialised study* at the postgraduate stage and research must be *localised*. If an elaborate course of Ancient Indian History and Culture is taught by a large and competent staff at Calcutta, it should be a sufficient reason for not attempting it anywhere else in India. If certain branches of Physics are cultivated at the Bose Institute, no other institution should undertake them. Biology is flourishing at Lahore; let it flourish there; Calcutta or Bombay should not attempt the highest study of this Science till our country is richer and better educated. Geology may well be specialised at Patna or Nagpur, Islamic studies at Aligarh. The highest students, *viz.*, the researchers and candidates for doctorates, must be left free to migrate from one University to another, as they do in Europe and America. There should be no water-tight separation of province from province above the Bachelorship stage. The corporate life and discipline which the membership of a College supplies to the freshman are no longer necessary after he has become a graduate. He should then be regarded as a free citizen of the entire academic world, a *sannyasi* who can make his pilgrimage to any shrine of learning that he likes. On the continent anybody can join a University and become a doctor of it.

I should like to go even further and advocate an exchange of professors between our Universities, as was the practice between England and the United States and between the U. S. A. and Germany before the war. An expert adorns (say) Madras. Let him spend a month or two at Bombay or Aligarh also, delivering there readership lectures followed by what I may call "workshop talk" on his subject with the local research students and teachers of it. In this way the *normal* work of neither Madras nor Bombay will be interrupted; but two or three universities instead of one will benefit by the inspiring personality and genius of the specialist originally engaged by only one of them.

So, too, in the collection of sets of journals of learned societies, our universities should co-operate with one another, to avoid unnecessary waste or repetition. Everyone of them will keep the few universally necessary journals, but as regards others, if Bombay takes A. B. C., Madras ought to avoid them and take D. E. F., Calcutta G. H. I., and so on. A resolution to this effect was agreed upon at the All-India Librarian's Conference held at Lahore in January 1918. Each university should notify its valuable acquisitions to the others, so that all may know where in India a certain rare volume is to be found. We may, in time, even have a *Catalogus Catalogorum* of the university libraries of India.

How very necessary such economy of expenditure and co-ordination of work among universities is in India we can realise when we see that even England, the richest country in the world, needs it to-day. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher (the Education Minister in the Cabinet) in his address to the British Association at Cardiff "asked that *each university* in the country *should limit itself* to some special field of research. *'Every university should not attempt to do everything.'* It is feared lest there should be overlapping and waste of energy as well as money." (*Times Ed. Sup.*, 2 Sep. 1920.) But Calcutta is prancing on to bankruptcy in supreme disdain of such sound advice.

VIII. BUSINESS-LIKE METHOD OF UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION.

After all it is not bricks nor printed papers nor scientific apparatus that really constitute a University. It is *men*. The university is, or ought to be, a *brotherhood of Scholars* assisting each other, co-operating in various ways, to promote the advancement of learning. The quality of its work will depend upon the capacity and spirit of its professoriate. If they are trained men, if they are ever alert to learn and to try the latest methods of education devised anywhere in the civilised world, if they frequently meet together (informally as well as formally) to exchange their ideas and discuss their different personal experiences, and above all if they are inspired by the spirit of self-criticism and divine discontent with things as they are, then only can our universities fall into line with the Universities of Europe and America. Otherwise, they will remain for ever pack-oxen importing to India the ready-made (intellectual) goods of the West, but producing nothing of their own. They will remain academic brokers and not manufacturers; the Marwaris and not the Parsis of the world of letters and science.

Nothing can have a more demoralising effect on the staff of a university than insecurity of tenure and advancement according to personal favour or family influence. These evils are not dreamt of in English Universities, which first of all secure the indispensable financial basis of a new chair, and then recruit its officer publicly in the open market of scholarship. Here in India in certain universities the unbusiness-like method is followed of creating chairs without any endowment or permanent source of income, but on mere speculation that it would attract some pious founder later on, that "something would turn up" to save the extinction of the

chair through bankruptcy. Mr. Macawber as vice-chancellor is a sight peculiar to India and the results cannot be happier than his well-known method when applied to his domestic economy. This uncertainty about the financial basis of the post-graduate teaching organisation and the chronic rumours of deficit and impending bankruptcy every year, are the surest means of unsettling the minds of the staff and the students alike and effectually preventing any substantial work being done. I shall not insult the intelligence of the reader by labouring the point that a university cannot add to its reputation if it once abandons the principle that men are to be valued according to the work actually done by them and not according to their family influence or the country where they took their degrees.

The greatest enemies of a king are his flatterers and the most harmful poison that can enter into the chiefs or staff of a university is self-conceit and impatience of criticism. English universities welcome criticism and have periodical reviews of their work by impartial outside commissions. Self-criticism is their normal daily duty. As the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher rightly says, "The spirit in a university—wide, tolerant, *self-critical*, alive to generous issues, *disinterested*,—should penetrate into every part of the educational system of the country, saving it from dull mechanical routine, from the unintelligent pressure of stereotyped examinations, and keeping it fresh and wholesome by contact with the living movements of thought and discovery and the true intellectual pleasures of the world." Prof. Sir Oliver Lodge says the same thing, when he remarks that "everybody in a university is subject to sane and healthy criticism, and each is judged by his peers."

The banishment of criticism would cause academic atrophy.

FACTORY LEGISLATION IN INDIA :

A HISTORICAL REVIEW

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.S., Ph.D.,

LECTURER IN FOREIGN TRADE, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

THE factory system of production is the foundation of the modern industrial organization. Machinery, mechanical power and division of labor have made the factory system much more economical than the handicraft system. But this economy has not been achieved without bringing in some problems of vital importance to society. Under this system, workers have lost the control of the time and place of their work. They are often unable to make a good wage bargain and are even subject to unemployment. To solve some of the problems, the state in all industrially advanced countries has enacted law after law. Factory legislation has thus become one of the most important institutions of modern society. While the avowed principle of all factory legislations has been the protection of workers without interfering with industrial development, this ideal has been hard to realize in India owing to her political and economic dependency. Factory legislation has resulted out of the conflict between labour and capital. But in the factory legislation of India, there has been a third element, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, which was the prime mover of Indian factory acts. The factory legislation in India is, therefore, one of the most interesting chapters in the history of labor.

THE FACTORY ACT OF 1881.

The first steam-power factory was established at Bombay in 1863. The cotton industry made a rapid progress soon after and created apprehension among the British public, especially among the Manchester interests, that the cotton manufacture of India might successfully compete with that of Great Britain, both at home and abroad. Goaded by the spirit of

rivalry, Lancashire manufacturers started strong agitation with a twofold object in view; first, to have the Indian market, where they sold one-fourth of their annual export, free from any import duty on cotton goods; second, to apply the British factory law to India so that their competitors could not enjoy any "undue" privilege over them.

In 1874, a deputation of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce waited upon Lord Salisbury, then the Secretary of State for India, who soon after advised the Government of India to repeal the import duty on cotton goods and commended the subject of factory legislation to the best attention of the Government of Bombay.

The Government of India was unable to repeal the import duty on cotton goods owing to financial difficulties. The demand of the Secretary of State upon the Government of India to repeal a revenue duty in order to please the Manchester interests was strongly criticised both in India and England. But the Manchester agitation in Parliament resulted in 1877 in the passing of a resolution that the import duty on cotton goods should be repealed by the Government of India as soon as the financial conditions of the country would permit.

In the meantime the Government of Bombay appointed a Commission in 1875 to inquire into the conditions of factories and to report on the advisability of enacting a law for the regulation of child and woman labour. The Commission was divided in its opinion. The majority failed to see the necessity of such regulation and the Government of Bombay refused to take any further action.

The refusal of the Government of Bombay to regulate child and woman labor

in Indian factories revived the Manchester agitation. At the same time similar agitation was started in India. The Indian public resented the attempt of Lancashire manufacturers at interfering with the import duties and at forcing the British factory law upon India. The manufacturing interests in India, being alarmed that the cotton industry in which they had invested a vast amount of money, might be strangled in its infancy, started counter-agitation to thwart the designs of the Manchester interests. On the other hand, philanthropists in India also started agitation to ameliorate the conditions in factories and in their attempt at enforcing government regulation, appealed to both the Manchester interests and British philanthropists for help. A resolution was moved in parliament in 1879, praying to Her Majesty for immediate regulation of child and woman labor in Indian factories.

At last the Government of India drafted a bill and, with the approval of the Local Governments, introduced it into the Legislative Council in 1879. The Bill was passed with some modifications in 1881. The Bill was called the "Indian Factories Act, 1881." The most important provisions of the Act were the fixation of the minimum and maximum age limits for employment of children at seven and twelve respectively and the limitation of their hours of work to nine in any one day. It came into force on July, 1881.

THE FACTORY ACT OF 1891.

In 1881, the very year the first factory act was passed, Lancashire manufacturers sustained a still further loss of their trade with India and sent a deputation to the Secretary of State for India to urge the repeal of the duty on their goods imported into India. In 1882, the duty was completely abolished. Manchester interests thus won the first object of their agitation.

About the same time agitation was started to amend the Factory Act. In 1882, an inspector of cotton factories in the district of Manchester went to

Bombay and made several suggestions to improve the conditions in factories. In order to consider these recommendations in all their bearings, the Government of Bombay appointed a commission in 1884. Meanwhile the factory laborers of Bombay held a conference and sent a memorandum to the Commission for the redress of some of their grievances. The chief recommendations of the Commission were the increase of age limits for the employment of children and the certification of their age and physical fitness. The report of the Commission was sent to the Government of India, but the latter declined to take any action. In 1887, another inspector of British factories made an investigation of Bombay factories and, on his return to England, made several allegations against the Indian factory system. In 1888, the Secretary of State directed these charges to the attention of the Government of Bombay.

In the meantime, the cotton industry of India was making still more progress. The spirit of rivalry among Lancashire manufacturers was again aroused. In 1888 the Manchester Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution extending the British child and woman labour law to India and soon after sent a deputation to the Secretary of State for the purpose. Such an attempt of the Manchester interests created strong resentment and great apprehension among the Indian public, especially cotton manufacturers.

In reply to the inquiry of the Secretary of State, the Government of India denied the charges of the British factory inspector, but consented to amend the Factory Act according to the recommendation of the Factory Commission of 1884, and introduced a bill into the Legislative Council. Under the pressure of the Manchester interests, the Secretary of State insisted on stricter measures and the Government of India, therefore, postponed the Bill.

Meanwhile, an international labor conference of western European nations was held at Berlin in 1890, and resolutions were passed increasing the minimum age of children for employment to twelve in

Western Europe and eleven in Southern Europe, and limiting the work of women to eleven hours in any one day, with an interval of rest of an hour and a half. These resolutions were made a pretext for fresh agitation by Manchester interests. This time the honor of Great Britain as signatory to the Berlin Labor Conference was also invoked for regulating child and woman labor in Indian factories. A demand was made that the Government of India should submit the draft of the Bill to the British Parliament, before its passage by the Indian Legislative Council. The latter proposition was opposed by some members in the House of Commons on the ground that it would violate the constitutional right of the Government of India, and that India did not have any representative in Parliament to take part in any controversy.

When such agitation was going on in Great Britain, India was not free from similar demonstration. Indignation prevailed among the Indian public at the repeated attempts of Lancashire manufacturers to strangle the manufacturing industry of India. Manufacturers in India revived agitation for self-defense. On the other hand, philanthropists founded an association called the Bombay Millhands' Association, and held a mass meeting of a thousand people, drawing up a memorandum to the Millowners' Association for a weekly holiday. The demand was readily granted.

On the advice of the Secretary of State, the Government of India appointed, in 1890, a commission to inquire into the conditions of factory workers. The Commission received an address from the Millhands' Association and, after due investigation, recommended increasing age limits of children and regulating the hours of work for women. But the recommendations of the Commission were not satisfactory to Manchester interests, who influenced the Secretary of State to demand further restrictions. The Government of India made several concessions, though under protest and submitted the Bill to the Legislative Council for final consideration. Both official and non-official members of the Council deprecated the attempt of Manchester interests and of the Secretary of State at en-

forcing upon India the resolutions of the Berlin Conference, in which she had never been represented. The Bill was passed in 1891.

But no sooner was the Bill passed than agitation to amend it was started again. The agitators in Parliament became quiet, only when accused of not applying to Great Britain the very resolutions of the Berlin Conference which they were insisting on pressing upon India. Agitation outside of Parliament also subsided after a few more unsuccessful attempts.

The act was called the "Indian Factories Act, 1891." The chief provision was the regulation of woman labor to eleven hours in any one day with an interval of rest for an hour and a half. It came into force on January 1, 1892.

THE FACTORY ACT OF 1911.

Following the enactment of the Factory Act of 1891, the cotton industry met with one misfortune after another. Due to the demonetisation of silver and the disorganization of foreign trade in 1893, the Government of India sustained a heavy financial loss and had to increase its revenue by imposing import duties on cotton fabrics and yarns. But the Manchester interests strongly protested against it, and the Government repealed the duty, but at the same time, levied a uniform duty of three per cent and half on all cotton woven goods, whether imported from abroad or manufactured at home. After a decade of similar other misfortunes, the Indian cotton industry underwent a complete revolution in 1904-05. The low price of cotton and the profitable market both at home and abroad led to unusual activities in the factories and were soon followed by overwork.

The Anglo-Indian press representing Manchester interests in India soon started a strong agitation, drawing the attention of the Government to factory conditions. The investigation by the Government in 1905 revealed the fact that out of 74 mills, the exact working hours of which were ascertained, 18 mills worked 14 hours or more and 33 mills 13 hours or more.

About this time a momentous event

took place in the Indian national life. The Government of India conceived the idea of partitioning Bengal. The Bengalees boycotted all British goods as a protest. Meanwhile, Bombay factory laborers sent a memorandum to the Government praying for the regulation of their working hours. The Government of India reopened the question of factory legislation and introduced a bill in 1905 to amend the Factory Act of 1891.

The boycott was soon followed by the Swadeshi, or the use of country-made goods, and many handicraft industries were revived and even a new cotton factory was started by the leaders of the movement. Considerable apprehension was, therefore, felt by Lancashire manufacturers, who sold to Bengal more than one half of their export into India. On the other hand, unusual activities in Indian factories again stirred up their spirit of rivalry. They had already succeeded in abolishing the duty on their cotton goods imported into India and even in compelling the Government of India to levy a counterbalancing excise duty on Indian cotton manufacturers, when import duty on such goods became inevitable for revenue. Restrictions had been put on child and woman labor. The last thing for them to do was to regulate adult male labor. In 1906, a deputation of the Factory Workers' Association of Lancashire waited upon the Secretary of State for India to urge this new demand.

At the advice of the Secretary of State, the Government of India appointed, in 1906, a committee to inquire into the conditions of textile factories. The Committee found some of the abuses, complained of and recommended the regulation of adult male labor to twelve hours in any one day and the prohibition of night work for children and women. But before any change could be made in the existing law, it became necessary to investigate into the conditions of other factories.

In 1907, a factory commission was, therefore, appointed. The Commission also recommended the regulation of adult

male labour, but strongly deprecated any direct legislation for the purpose.

In 1909, a new bill was introduced in the Legislative Council. The Government did not believe that an indirect method would bring the desired result, and, therefore, provided direct limitation of adult male labor to twelve hours in any one day. This provision was severely criticised by several members, but the Bill was at last passed in 1911. The chief provision of the Act was the limitation of the working hours of adult males to 12 hours and of children to 6 hours in textile factories. The textile factories were also prohibited from using any mechanical and electrical power for more than twelve hours. The act came into force on January 1, 1912.

SIMILARITY WITH THE BRITISH LAW.

The provisions of the Indian factory acts are more or less similar to those of the British. There are several reasons why the factory law of India resembles so much that of Great Britain. First, Great Britain has been a pioneer in factory legislation and India, like other countries, has naturally based her law on the British. Secondly, India is politically dependent upon Great Britain and her laws are made by the British officials, who, in enacting the factory law, have formulated the provisions according to those with which they were more or less familiar. Thirdly, India is also economically dependent upon Great Britain, and the provisions of the Indian factory law were dictated by Lancashire manufacturers, who, goaded by the spirit of rivalry, demanded the application of the British factory law to India, so that their competitors might not have any "undue" advantage over them.

There are, however, some essential differences between the provisions of the law in the two countries, of which the most important are the following:

1. The British law applies to both factories and workshops, i. e., even to places where no mechanical power is used.

2. The British law recognizes a class

of workers, called young persons, between children and adults.

3. The Indian law, on the other hand, limits the hours of work of adult males in textile factories.

4. The Indian law applies to a country

much larger in area and much broader in the scope of industrial conditions. The Local Governments have, therefore, been granted greater power to make rules for dealing with local conditions.

THE NEW LOGIC*

It is a truism to observe that we live in an age of revolution and iconoclasm. Tradition has been broken everywhere and authority flouted in every direction. But in no other sphere of human activity has this been more true than in the world of science. There is scarcely a single classical theory or scientific authority which has survived recent revolutions. The chemical 'atom' has been broken up and immutable matter dissolved into a dance of electrons. Conservation of mass and indestructibility of matter has become meaningless. Energy is now nucleated and stratified into quantum units. The all pervading ether has vanished and space itself has acquired a twist in the new dynamics of relativity.

The revolution in the world of logic is also no less complete. The Aristotelean system has become obsolete. The reason is not far to seek. The traditional system was a mere collection of technical terms and rules of syllogistic inference. It was too trivial to be of any help in rendering an adequate account of the actual world of human experience. In spite of its great authority, dissatisfaction increased and various attempts were made, from time to time, to widen the scope of logic.

The first great innovation was the introduction of the inductive method by Bacon and Galileo. This was further developed by Mill, Jevons, Pierce and others and gradually came to include the logic of Chance and Probabilities as an integral part of all inductive reasoning. The development of logic as dialectic was due to Hegel and his followers. But the work of the Hegelian School belongs more to metaphysics than to a technical critique of accurate reasoning.

But the most significant modern development of logic has taken an altogether different direction. The New Logic is chiefly mathematical in its outlook and aims, as well as in its technical methods. Historically it has been the outcome of symbolic logic on one hand and of mathematical research on the other.

Symbolic logic arose in the attempt to improve the technical methods of the old traditional system. So early as the end of the 18th century, Lambert had developed a systematic notation and had enunciated the fundamental principles of symbolic logic. He had used definitely mathematical symbols. His work, however, was left unnoticed for a long time and during

the next 70 or 80 years there is almost a blank in the history of the subject.

There are periods, when the adoption of special technical methods become essential for the further progress of a subject. Failure to recognise this often hampers the growth of a subject for a long time. In the case of symbolic logic, one cannot but suspect that the narrow exclusiveness of the metaphysicians was responsible for the failure to adopt suitable technical methods. Logic was jealously guarded against the encroachment of mathematical methods, but in spite of this enforced purity of technical methods, or perhaps because of it, the subject remained singularly barren until the middle of the 19th century.

Boole now independently re-introduced the mathematical method (without any knowledge of Lambert's work in the same field), constructed a logical calculus and established symbolic logic on a firm foundation. His extensive use of algebraic operators made his calculus almost a branch of mathematics. In fact Boole himself thought that "the ultimate laws of logic are mathematical in their form and expression." One unfortunate result of Boole's achievements, however, was the *algebraic* obsession which persisted for 50 years after him.

Meanwhile, in the field of geometry, a revolutionary movement had started, in connection with Euclid's famous axiom about parallel straight lines, which finally led to the establishment of Non-Euclidean systems of geometry. Gauss, Lobatschewsky and Bolyai denied the axiom of parallels and yet obtained consistent systems of geometry. This led to a searching analysis of the *logical* foundations of geometry by many mathematicians, notably by Riemann and Helmholtz, who as a result of their geometrical researches, made important contributions to the logic of ordered systems. With the perfection of technical methods in the hands of Cayley and Klein, geometrical truths of a very fundamental character were established. These exerted a far-reaching influence in the domain of pure logic.

In other fields of mathematics too, the new spirit of search for logical foundations was working. It was gradually discovered that all traditional pure mathematics can be derived from the theory of natural numbers. Peano enunciated the fundamental logical concepts and propositions on which the theory of numbers itself can be erected. Frege succeeded in giving an exact definition of a natural or inductive number. Dedekind supplied the axioms of "continuity" and Cantor laid the foundations of the theory of transfinite (or infinite) numbers. The mathematico-logical

* *The Analysis of Propositional Relations as the Basis of Inference* by Benoy N. Seal, B.A. (Cantab.) Bar-at-Law, Lecturer in Logic and Psychology, Calcutta University. Thacker Spink and Co. Calcutta & Simla, 1920.

researches of a large number of other workers like Staudt, Pasch, Pieri, Veblen, Schroder and others helped in the gradual building up of a comprehensive system of mathematical logic. A. N. Whitehead and Bertrand Russell began the task of embodying all these researches, in a connected and systematic manner, in a series of volumes on *Principia Mathematica*, of which three large quarto volumes have already been published.

In the introduction to the first volume Whitehead and Russell have explained that the work has been constructed under the guidance of three different purposes. "In the first place, it aims at effecting the greatest possible analysis of the ideas with which it deals and of the process by which it conducts demonstration, and at diminishing to the utmost the number of the undefined ideas and undefined propositions (called respectively *primitive* ideas and *primitive* propositions) from which it starts. In the second place, it is framed with a view to the perfectly precise expression, in its symbols, of mathematical propositions; to secure such expression, and to secure it in the simplest and most convenient notation possible, is the chief motive in the choice of topics. In the third place the system is specially framed to solve the paradoxes which, in recent years, have troubled students of symbolic logic and the theory of aggregates; it is believed that the theory of types, as set forth in what follows, leads both to the avoidance of contradictions and to the detection of the precise fallacy which has given rise to them."

Mathematics has been throughout used as synonymous with logic. Russell insists that logic and mathematics are one and claims that the New Logic "may be called indifferently either logic or mathematics." So much of modern logic is purely formal and symbolical in character that Russell's claim can scarcely be disputed.

The new logic "though not directly philosophical is of great use in philosophising. The new technical methods "enable us to deal easily with more abstract conceptions than mere verbal reasoning can enumerate." The difficulties encountered by traditional philosophy in giving an adequate account of "continuity" has been overcome by the positive theory of infinity.

The attack on a logical interpretation of the world has been concentrated, by a long line of philosophers from Zeno to Bergson, on the supposed impossibility and self-contradiction of infinite collections. Mathematical logic has rendered a great service in freeing the infinity from logical contradiction. Even outside the mathematical school, there are a number of people (like Prof. Taylor or Mr. F. W. Westaway) who believe that the mathematical theory of infinity is the basis on which philosophy must build. Whether this be true or not, the growing prestige of the new logic cannot be denied. The importance and significance of its methods can scarcely be exaggerated. Neither can its achievements be minimised. And it is a matter of deep regret that the study of such an important subject has failed, hitherto, to receive its proper share of attention in this country.

After all this has been said it must yet be confessed that the success of the new method has been confined, on the whole, to the more formal and mathematical aspects of reasoning. As regards the application of the new logic to the concrete world of experience very little has been done. The programme sketched out,

some time ago, by the New Realists (Perry, Marvin Spaulding, Holt and others), remains as yet a programme only. In the domain of physical science valuable work has, indeed, been done. Robb has given a complete logical theory of Space and Time, which anticipated some of the most startling conclusions of Einsteinian theory of Relativity. Russell has made a preliminary analysis of the External World and Whitehead has begun a series of analysis of the Concept of Nature and of natural laws. But all this is concerned with the fundamental concepts of physical science—entities like space, time, matter, continuity, and the like. Practically nothing has been done as regards the application of the new logic to the experience of everyday life or to the mental and social sciences.

The reason is not far to seek. The very nature of its methods has necessarily restricted the systematic development of the new logic to domains more or less formal and abstract. There is some danger of the new logic losing itself as a mere branch of mathematics. This purely formal character has been clearly recognised and even emphasised by the new school. Russell says "the absence of all mention of particular things or properties in logic or pure mathematics is a necessary result of the fact that this study is, as we say, "purely formal"..... At present we find ourselves faced with a problem which is easier to state than to solve. The problem is, "what are the constituents of a logical proposition?".....No particular things or relations can ever enter a proposition of pure logic. We are left with pure forms as the only possible constituents of logical propositions."

Russell has defined, mathematics (or pure logic, which according to him is one and the same thing) as the set of propositions of the type: "if P, then Q." He explains that "pure mathematics consists entirely of such asseverations as that if such and such a proposition is true of anything, then such and such a proposition is true of that thing. It is essential not to discuss whether the first proposition is really true, and not to mention what the anything is of which it is supposed to be true.....Thus mathematics (or pure logic) may be defined as the subject in which we never know what we are talking about, nor whether what we are saying is true." (Italics ours).

Thus in spite of the great achievements of mathematical logic we are ultimately faced with a rigid formalism as abstract as the barren schematism of the traditional system. But what we want is a systematic application of logical principles to the concrete facts of human experience. Such application must constantly keep in sight the important results established by the mathematical method, must fully preserve the formal validity of pure logic, and yet must possess material significance. This is exactly the task which Mr. Benoy N. Seal has set himself to perform in a proposed series of papers on logic, of which the first has recently been published. He proposes to investigate the actual content of human experience (specially in the sphere of the mental and social sciences), without sacrificing formal validity, but avoiding at the same time mere formalism, whether of the syllogistic or of the mathematical tradition.

In his first paper he investigates how the system of relations subsisting in the actual world may be made the basis of distinctive forms and types of inference. He points out that immediate reasoning stands for the

transformation of propositional relations into equivalent forms. This is identically the same standpoint as that adopted by mathematical logic. The analysis of relations as the basis of inference is of course a very important contribution of the new logic. As Russell says, the traditional dogma "that all propositions are of the subject-predicate form—in other words, that every fact consists in something having some quality—has rendered most philosophers incapable of giving any account of the world of science and daily life..... Traditional logic, since it holds that all propositions have the subject-predicate form, is unable to admit the reality of relations." Mathematical logic has completely refuted this opinion by a careful analysis of relations.

Mr. Seal has given a system of classification which is in substantial agreement with the results of the mathematical school. The fundamental notion is the possibility (or otherwise) of reversing a relation. Some relations when they hold between A and B, also hold between B and A. For example, 'A is similar to B,' necessarily implies that 'B is similar to A.' Such relations were called *symmetrical* by Peano and formed for the purposes of immediate inference, the basis of all subsequent classification of relations. There are other relations, known as *asymmetrical*, which, when they hold between A and B, never hold between B and A. For example 'A is the father of B' definitely excludes the possibility of B being the father of A.

Mr. Seal defines a 'co-relation' in the following way. If A has a definite relation *r* to B, then the relation which B has to A is defined to be the co-relation of *r*. We do not see any particular advantage in coining a new phrase for this concept. What Mr. Seal calls a "co-relation" is more usually known as the "inverse relation" (Royce) or better still, the "converse relation" (Conturat, Russell and others). The accepted symbolic representation of a (dyadic) relation and its converse by *R* and \bar{R} , will probably be found more convenient than the notation of the present paper. Unless there are very special reasons, it is better to adopt the terminology and notation accepted by current usage.

There is one point to be noticed however in connection with Mr. Seal's analysis. It seems that his "equipollent" relations are more general than the "symmetrical" relations of mathematical logic. The greater generality is due to the richer content of material significance admitted by Mr. Seal but necessarily excluded by the more formal school of logicians. His analysis of "non-reversible" and "irreversible" relations (which correspond to the "non-symmetrical" and "asymmetrical" relation of mathematical logic) is also interesting as illustrations of the application of the new method to cases not ordinarily discussed by the mathematicians.

The second topic discussed in the present paper is the problem of mediate reasoning for "duplex" propositions that is, propositions involving dyadic relations between two terms. The general problem is recognised to be one of elimination. That is, given a set of terms with a set of dyadic (or two term) relations given in a certain order or arrangement, the problem is to eliminate any common term (or set of common terms) and thus pass to a new relation (or set of new relations) between terms originally not given as so related. Mr. Seal has given a fresh classification into two groups "positional" and "non-positional," the distinction turning on the presence or absence of fixed ordering and direction, that is, of a determinate linear ordering of 'before' and 'after.'

In mathematical logic, the classification into *transitive*, "non-transitive" and "intransitive", serves the same purpose. A relation is transitive, if whenever it holds between A and B, and also between B and C, it holds between A and C. Thus *before* and *after* (or greater and less) gives rise to a transitive relation. If A is before B and B before C, then A is necessarily before C. Mr. Seal's classification differs in certain details from the above scheme but is again in substantial agreement.

Mr. Seal has considered positional relations under three sub-groups. When all the relations are of the same type, a "gradational" series is obtained. This type has been extensively studied from a mathematical standpoint by many different workers. Knepe and Royce have constructed a definite system which they have named the "order system Σ ." On the other hand Dedekind, Frege, Cantor, Russell, Whitehead and others have discussed the problem from the side of *progression* and *series*. The formal results reached by Mr. Seal in this section are not thus fundamentally new. The great interest of Mr. Seal's work lies in wealth of new material to which he has so successfully applied the new method. The significant character and suggestiveness of his work is indeed great. His analysis of "rights" (p. 17) as giving rise to a "symmetrical" relation of greater generality than that reached by mathematical analysis is one illustration. His treatment of certain fundamental logical and ethical concepts (p. 39) which are based on the compounding of disparate conceptual relations are also important.

Mr. Seal has considered the "positional" relation series in great detail and made many important suggestions. It is interesting to note that his suggestion about the least perceptible interval as being capable of giving rise to a theory of mental measurements in Experimental Psychology (p. 28) has already been worked out by Norbert Wiener in the October number of the Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society.

Mr. Seal has emphasised the function of increasing determination in the genesis of the actual type of a relation, so that the same situation may be made to unfold itself with more (or less) fulness of content and thus to pass from one class of relations to another in ascending (or descending) order of complexity. The importance of this principle in the actual analysis of the world of experience, will be easily appreciated.

The paper ends with a suggested extension of the analytic method from "dyadic" to "polyadic" (that is, many-termed) relations and from "one-dimensional" to "poly-dimensional" ("multi-scaler", would probably be a better word) relation-series. Mr. Seal has also promised an analysis of hypothetical inference, of negative proposition, and of compound propositional forms in subsequent papers. The publication of these papers will be awaited with interest.

As regards, typographical arrangements, we have already suggested that current symbols and definitions should be adopted as far as practicable. It would also be an improvement if the subject matter is broken up into different sections together with a splitting up of all important propositions in separate paragraphs. As we have already indicated, the great interest of the present paper consists in its concrete application of logical methods to social, psychological, juristic and ethical concepts.

Purely formal results can be easily demonstrated (and have already been so demonstrated in a large majority of cases,) by the powerful technical methods of mathematical logic. Hence it is to be hoped that Mr. Seal will concentrate on what constitutes the most important feature of his present paper, namely, the actual analysis of concepts not hitherto discussed by mathematicians. Pure logic, however elegant in its technical methods, will never succeed in vitalising the study of philosophy, unless it comes down from an abstract world of formalism, to the concrete world of reality.

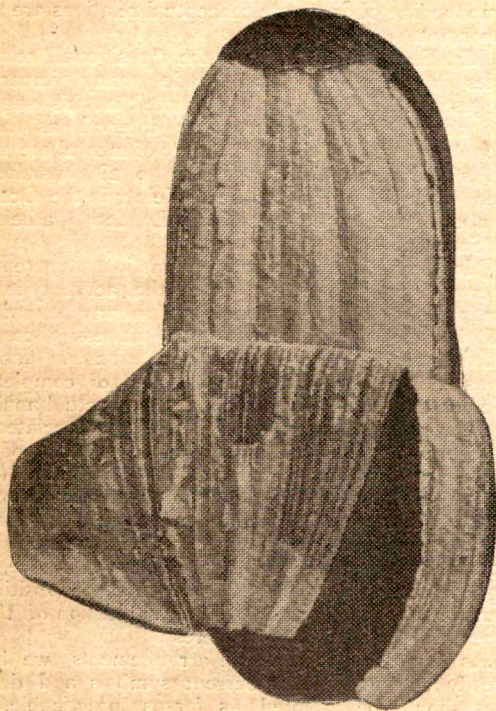
There is a special reason why we welcome the publication of this paper at the present time. The New Logic has not yet found its home in Bengal. The influence of Aristotle and the authority of Hegel still reigns supreme. The publication of the present paper is a healthy sign of the interest taken by the younger generation in a very important and significant development of modern logic. Mr. Seal, imbued with the enthusiasm of the Cambridge School, will be able to infuse the spirit of exact reasoning and precise analysis into the logical researches of this country.

N. M.

GLEANINGS

A Four-in-One Banana.

Have you ever peeled a fat banana and found four complete bananas within? Such a quadruplet is shown herewith. Each banana, naturally is small, but is completely developed. Just why



• A Four-in-One Banana.

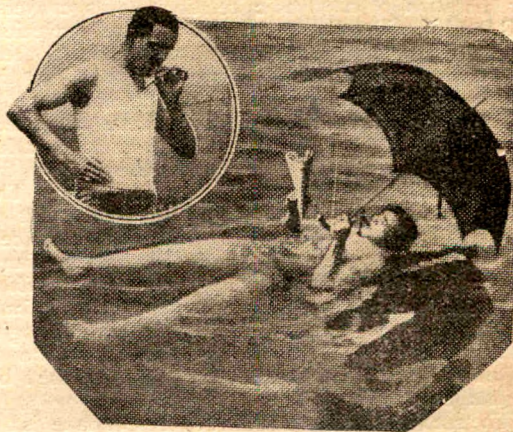
freaks of nature like this turn up every so often, no one really knows.

Next time you see a very fat banana, investigate it.

To find two nuts where only one should grow is a common experience, and one that causes no surprise; but this banana is a unique case.

Swimming Made Easy.

The new inflatable linen jacket which one puts on under his bathing-suit makes swimming or floating an easy and safe accomplishment for every one. The round inset in the picture above demonstrates the fine fit of the jacket and the



Swimming Made Easy.

simple method by which it is inflated. Wearing this jacket concealed under a bathing-suit, a mere amateur at swimming can swagger around with the best of 'em.

It is interesting to consider how the average man approaches the stage of being a "floating" rather than a sinking body. A piece of metal will sink if it is thrown into the water. If the human figure, a living, breathing body, is

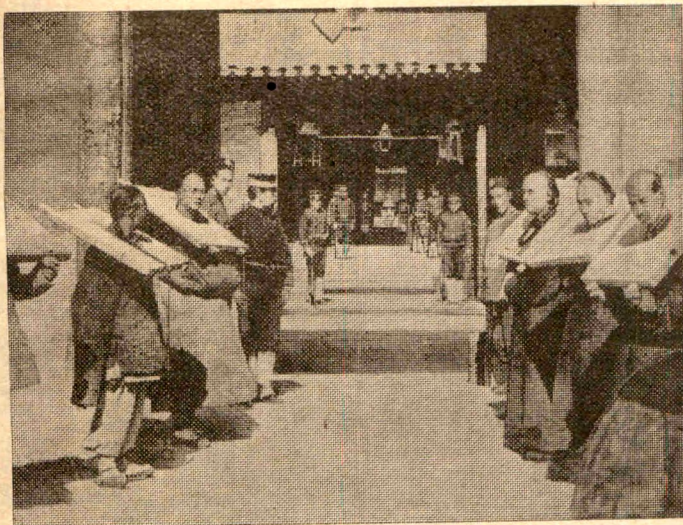
thrown into the water, a very little effort and skill will enable it to keep afloat for surprisingly long intervals.

covered with blood, they seek a pool in which to bathe.

The custom is no longer permitted in the city of Manila. But on Easter Sunday morning hundreds of penitents leave the city to indulge in this horrible torture for their sins.

Men with Yokes of Crime.

Japan and China are great countries for



Men with Yokes of Crime.

making the punishment fit the crime. In fact, they are keen on punishment in general.

In China it is still the custom for criminals to stand in the public market place with a great wooden block around their necks on which is written the history of their crimes. Passers-by may stop, read, and make whatever comments they wish.

From the number of police necessary to guard the six criminals in the picture given here, it would seem that they were truly desperate characters, and yet one would think their neckwear rendered them helpless.

Self-Torture Indulged in by the Filipino.

A strange-looking creature is this harmless *flagellante* of the Philippines: which being interpreted means a Filipino whose conscience bids him do penance for his sins. A great many Filipinos spend Easter in this fashion.

These penitents hide their faces in a white cloth topped by a circlet of twigs and leaves, probably in emulation of Christ's "crown of thorns." From time to time they bind cords about the body and limbs in order to stop excessive loss of blood.

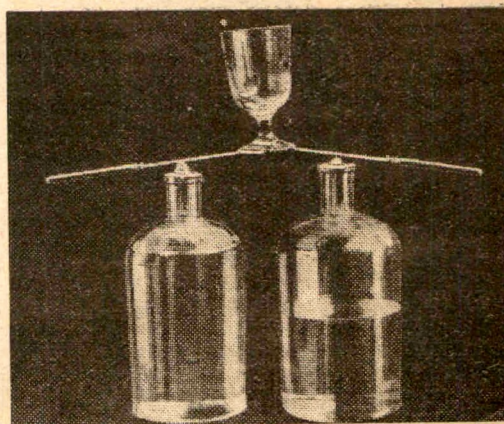
Thus they wander about, flogging themselves with a bamboo rod, until sunset, when, often



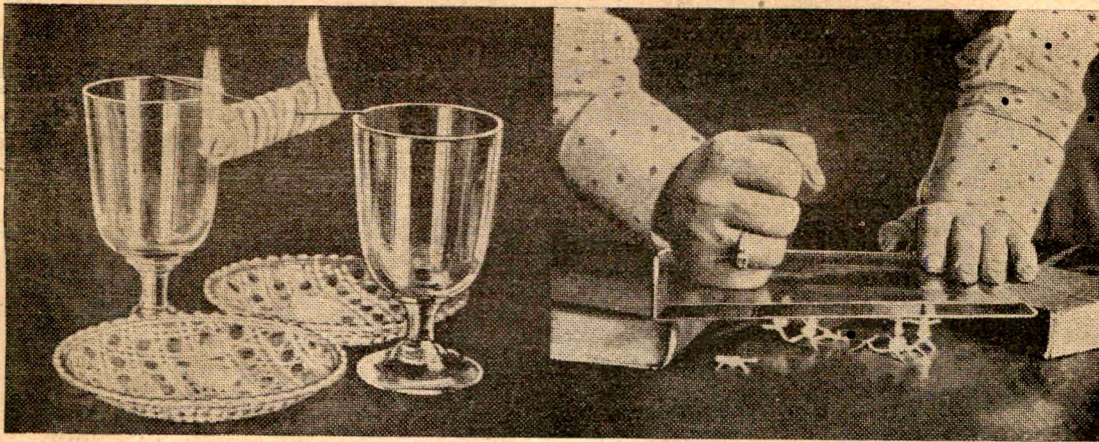
Self-Torture Indulged in by the Filipino.

Parlor Tricks Now in Vogue.

Here is a simple trick that requires only two table-knives and a drinking-glass. The bottles are used as supports for the knives. The knives are so placed that their handles point outward. In this position, they will support the weight of the drinking-glass on their blade ends if it is put in place carefully.



An Acrobatic Drinking Glass Tilted on the edges of two Table knives.



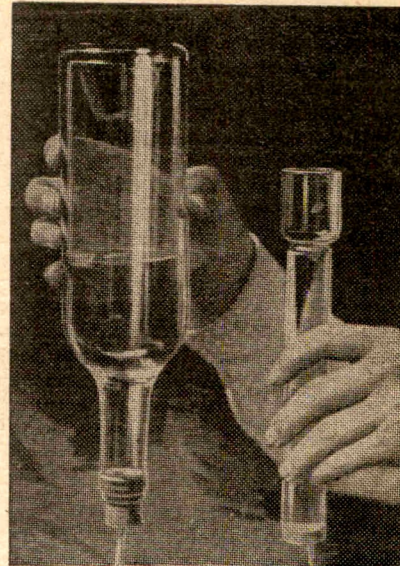
A Candle Playing Seesaw.

Dancing Paper Figures.

Did you ever see a candle play seesaw? You run a hatpin through the center of the candle, balance the hatpin on two glasses, and then light both ends, one after the other. As the ends drip off, the candle will seesaw.

Cut out some small figures. Place them on the table between two books supporting a lukewarm glass plate. Rub the glass with your hand. The tiny figures will bob up and down in a weird dance. Static electricity scores.

Take a bottle and a tube, say a narrow chimney, having corks, and run a straw through holes bored in the corks. Turn the bottle and tube upside down and pour water into the tube. It will run through the straw and rise in the bottle until the level in each is the same.



Water always keeps the same Level.



A Balancing Egg of Stable Equilibrium.

Prick a little hole in each end of an egg and blow out the contents. Pour in a little sand. Then the egg will stay in whatever position you place it, for the sand will always shift to the bottom as the egg is turned, apparently self-balancing.

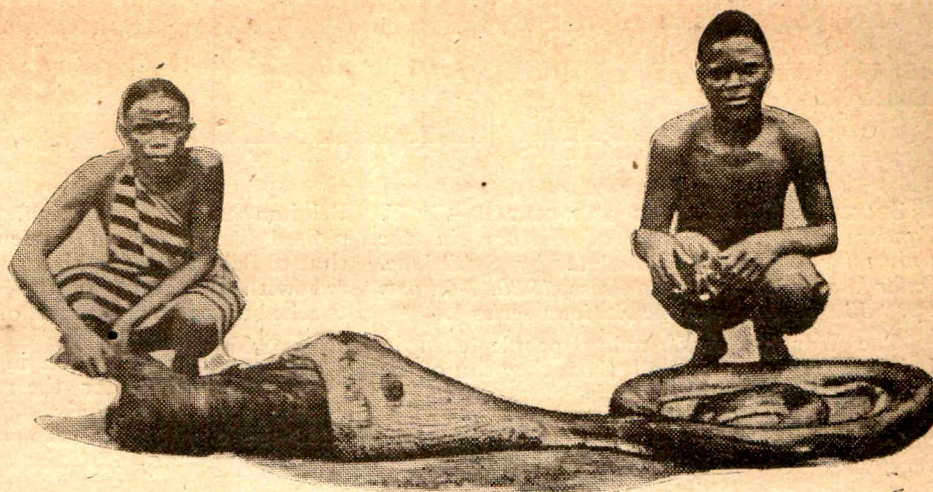
He Bit off More Than He Could Swallow.

That one half the world does not know how the other half lives becomes pertinent when we think of people in civilization and those in remote jungle countries.

Some natives near the Congo set forth for adventure, and ran across a python that had just tried to swallow a pig. Once in a while a

python's dinner is too big for the diner, and something must be done.

These native adventurers removed the obstructing pig from the monster's throat and appropriated it for themselves. Later they ate the python itself!



A Python Caught in the act of swallowing a pig.

Tenting on the Accommodating Back of a Camel.

Owing to the camel's accommodating back, Arabian women can cross the desert in comfort. A tent is strapped around the camel's hump and inside it are placed cushioned seats. So the women are protected from the intense heat of the sun. The men walk at the side of the camel to guide him. Thus, you see, Arabian women are not considered inferior to men. They often enter the business world, and in time of war they even lead regiments into battle.

The picture to the right shows the camel resting after a long journey. The two passengers have emerged for air. It seems strange that an animal having as thin legs as the camel can carry heavy burdens across many hot miles of desert. But it is peculiarly adapted for life in the desert. The soles of its feet are very callous and the heat of the sand does not bother it. Camels eat thorny desert growths and carry water with them.

An ordinary camel will travel twentyfive miles a day; the fleeter breeds are capable of covering fifty miles a day for five days without drinking.

How to Sleep.

What happens to your body when you sleep? First, your breathing slows down and your heart drops six or eight beats a minute. Then cellular repair begins. The muscles, nerves, and tissues get new life; your whole body breathes more freely.

When you waken, you should feel refreshed. If you don't, perhaps you have slept too long; or slept in a room not properly ventilated. Eating heavily before retiring will also

make you wake up tired.

When you go to sleep, stretch out. If you draw your knees up under your chin your body will not relax properly. Small pillows and light bedding are also recommended.

If you follow all these rules and sleep eight hours every night, you will wake up full of pep each morning.



Tenting on the Accommodating Back of a Camel.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

BELGIUM: THE MAKING OF A NATION—By H. Vander Linden, *Professor of History in the University of Liege*. Translated by Sybil Jane. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1920. 7-6d net. Pp. 356 (*Histories of the Nations Series*).

The War has made many people even in India eager to know all that they can of the history of Belgium, and this book, written by an acknowledged authority, will satisfy that curiosity to a large extent. The author has very wisely refrained from dealing with the most recent history of his country, for the bitter passions left by the war can hardly have been obliterated yet. A large part of the volume is taken up with the early history of the country. Up to the sixteenth century Belgium was a part of the Netherlands, and the history of those times will be found depicted in Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*. Erasmus was the greatest figure in the intellectual world of the country in those times, as Rubens and Van Dyck were among the foremost painters of the age. Belgium then passed under the Empire of Austria and then, towards the end of the eighteenth century, under the rule of France. From 1804 Belgium was treated on a footing of absolute equality with France, and Napoleon wanted to assimilate it entirely to and incorporate it in the French fatherland. The Gallicizing process diffused in Belgium the principle of equality before the law and the ideas of modern liberty and national sovereignty. After passing through some more vicissitudes, in 1830 Belgium was formed into an independent state under a most liberal constitution of limited hereditary monarchy. The soil of Belgium was neutralised by the Conference of London in 1831. The most wellknown figures in Belgian contemporary literature are Maeterlink who has however settled in France and made it his adoptive country, and E. Verhaeren. In painting the most distinguished name is that of I. Verheyden.

One chapter of the book is devoted to Independent Belgium during the period of expansion, from which we learn that the city of Antwerp has benefited greatly from the Congo rubber and ivory trade. Belgium is the land best served by railways. "A large number of villages were linked together by light railways, and in consequence obtained with more ease machines, chemical manures, and all the materials and implements required for the new methods of agriculture. They were also brought into closer contact with the towns." Belgian cattle are proportionately the richest in Europe. By the acquisition of Congo, Belgium added to her Empire an area equal to eighty times that of

Belgium and a population, to be used and exploited like beasts of burden, more than twice that of Belgium. The history of 'Red Rubber'—red with the blood of the natives—is lightly touched upon, with most of the horrible facts omitted.

The language question in Belgium has some interest for us. After the revolution of 1830 French became the only official language. In 1866 the city of Antwerp made Flemish the official language. But the language of the central administration remained French down to 1873, when Flemish was raised to that position. In 1898 it was directed that all future laws should be drawn up both in French and Flemish. In 1883 Flemish had been made the language to be used in all secondary schools. "But this law was only imperfectly carried out and higher education remained still essentially French. At the time when the war broke out, a new policy was taking shape, the policy of organising in the State Universities courses given both in French and Flemish."

The book is on the whole a useful compendium of Belgian history, but lacks those detailed touches on important epochs and events, showing the gradual growth of a national spirit and development of the people, which make history really interesting and useful apart from a mere catalogue of facts.

RECONSTRUCTION: ONE ADMINISTRATION FOR MANKIND.—By Bijoykumar. Price 6 annas.

The author of this pamphlet dreams of a world-state and the two fundamental propositions on which he bases his dream are: (1) That it is to the best interest of each nation and individual to be politically included in the widest circle of society and (2) that the political interests of all men are capable of peaceful adjustment.

THE RENAISSANCE IN INDIA: by Aurobindo Ghose. Prabartak Publishing House, Chandernagore. September, 1920. Pp. 87.

Spirituality is indeed the master-key of the Indian mind. "But this was not, and could not be, her whole mentality, her entire spirit; spirituality itself does not flourish on earth in the void,..... When we look at the past of India, what strikes us next is her stupendous vitality, her inexhaustible power of life and joy of life, her almost unimaginably prolific creativeness. For three thousand years at least—it is indeed much longer—she has been creating abundantly and incessantly, lavishly, with an inexhaustible many-sidedness, republics and kingdoms and em-

pires, philosophies and cosmogonies and sciences and creeds and arts and poems and all kinds of monuments, palaces and temples and public works, communities and societies and religious orders, laws and codes and rituals, physical sciences, psychic sciences, systems of Yoga, systems of politics and administration, arts spiritual, arts worldly, trades, industries, fine crafts, —the list is endless and in each item there is almost a plethora of activity. She creates and creates and is not satisfied and is not tired; she will not have an end of it, seems hardly to need a space for rest, a time for inertia and lying fallow. She expands too outside her borders; her ships cross the ocean and the fine superfluity of her wealth brims over to Judæa and Egypt and Rome; her colonies spread her arts and epics and creeds in the Archipelago; her traces are found in the sands of Mesopotamia; her religions conquer China and Japan and spread westward as far as Palestine and Alexandria, and the figures of the Upanishads and the sayings of the Buddhists are re-echoed on the lips of Christ. Everywhere, as on her soil, so in her works, there is the turning of a superabundant energy of life. ... The mere mass of the intellectual production during the period from Asoka well into the Mahomedan epoch is something truly prodigious, as can be seen at once if one studies the account which recent scholarship gives of it, and we must remember that that scholarship as yet only deals with a fraction of what is still lying extant and what is extant is only a small percentage of what was once written and known.... Indeed without this opulent vitality and opulent intellectuality India could never have done so much as she did with her spiritual tendencies. It is a great error to suppose that spirituality flourishes best in an impoverished soil with the life half killed and the intellect discouraged and intimidated. The spirituality that so flourishes is something morbid, hectic and exposed to perilous reactions. It is when the race has lived most richly and thought most profoundly that spirituality finds its heights and its depths and its constant and many-sided fruition."

"To judge therefore the possibilities of the Renaissance, the powers that it may reveal and the scope that it may take, we must dismiss the idea that the tendency of the metaphysical abstraction is the one note of the Indian spirit which dominates or inspires all its cadences."

The author then traces the decline of Indian civilisation as follows: "The evening of decline which followed the completion of the curve was prepared by three movements of retrogression. First there is, comparatively, a sinking of that super-abundant vital energy and a fading of the joy of life and the joy of creation..... Secondly, there is a rapid cessation of the old free intellectual activity, a slumber of the scientific and the critical mind as well as the creative

intuition; what remains becomes more and more a repetition of ill-understood fragments of past knowledge. There is a petrification of the mind and life in the relics of the forms which a great intellectual past had created. Old authority and rule became rigidly despotic and as always then happens, lose their real sense and spirit. Finally spirituality remains but burns no longer with the large and clear flame of knowledge of former times, but in intense jets and in a dispersed action which replaces the old magnificent synthesis and in which certain spiritual truths are emphasised to the neglect of others."

The crude impact of European life and culture gave three needed impulses when the Indian civilisation had reached its lowest ebb. "It revived the dormant intellectual and critical impulse; it rehabilitated life and awakened the desire of new creation; it put the reviving-Indian spirit face to face with novel conditions and ideals and the urgent necessity of understanding, assimilating and conquering them."

"This is bringing back to the Indian mind its old unresting thirst for all kinds of knowledge and must restore to it before long the width of its range and the depth and flexible power of its action; and it has opened to it the full scope of the critical faculty of the human mind; its passion for exhaustive observation and emancipated judgment which in older times exercised only by a few within limits, has now become an essential equipment of the intellect..... Secondly it threw definitely the ferment of modern ideas into the old culture and fixed them before our view in such a way, that we are obliged to reckon and deal with them in far other sort than would have been possible if we had simply proceeded from our old fixed traditions without some such momentary violent break in our customary view of things. Finally, it made us turn our look upon all that our past contains with new eyes which have not only enabled us to recover something of their ancient sense and spirit, long embedded and lost in the unintelligent practice of received forms, but to bring out of them a new light which gives to the old truths fresh aspects and therefore novel potentialities of creation and evolution."

Of the Hindu revival, the indication of everything Indian as it stood and because it was Indian, the author writes as follows:—"In reality, this reaction marks the beginning of a more subtle assimilation and fusing, for in vindicating ancient things it has been obliged to do so in a way that will at once meet and satisfy the old mentality and the new, the traditional and the critical mind. This in itself involves no mere return, but consciously or unconsciously hastens a restatement." The riper form of this return, has, according to the author, taken as its principle a synthetical restatement which has not hesitated to remould, reject and admit, and the leading exemplar, of this 'preservation by reconstruction' is Swami Vivekananda.

India is the meeting place of the religions, and "what will finally come out of all this stir and ferment, lies yet in the future." But in the author's opinion, probably the key of the Indian renaissance lies in a pervading return of spirituality upon life—the greater and greater action of the spiritual motive in every sphere of our living—the bringing us nearer to growing into the nature of the Godhead. But here again the philosophic author cautions us against the cheap boast of Indian spirituality. "If the majority of Indians had indeed made the whole of their lives religious in the true sense of the word, we should not be where we are now; it was because their public life became most irreligious, egotistic, self-seeking, materialistic, that they fell. It is possible, that on one side we deviated too much into an excessive religiosity, that is to say, an excessive externalism of ceremony, rule, routine, mechanical worship, on the other into a too world-shunning asceticism which drew away the best minds who were thus lost to society instead of standing like the ancient Rishis as its spiritual support and its illuminating life-givers. But the root of the matter was the dwindling of the spiritual impulse in its generality and broadness, the decline of intellectual activity and freedom, the waning of the great ideals, the loss of the gust of life."

On the social question, Mr. Ghose expresses himself as follows: "Indian society is in a still more chaotic stage; for the old forms are trembling away under the pressure of the environment, their spirit and reality are more and more passing out of them, but the facade persists by the force of inertia of thought and will and the remaining attachment of a long association, while the new is still powerless to be born.... We have had, too, a revival of orthodox conservatism, more academic and sentimental than profound in its impulse or in touch with the great facts and forces of life. We have now in emergence an increasing sense of the necessity of a renovation of social ideas and expressive forms by the spirit of the nation awakening to the deeper yet unexpressed implications of its own culture; but as yet not sufficient will or means of execution. It is probable that only with the beginning of a freer national life, will the powers of the renaissance take effective hold of the social mind and action of the awakened people."

The book is excellently got up, neatly printed and beautifully bound. If the views propounded by the author in this book find acceptance with the neo-revivalists who regard Mr. Ghose as a true exponent of Indian spirituality, then India has nothing to lose but everything to gain by it.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN POLITY: By M. Ramachandra Rao, B.L., Member, Madras Legislative Council. The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras. 1917.

This is a well-printed and well-bound volume of reference published when the Reform Scheme

was under discussion, and is therefore somewhat out-of-date at present. Nevertheless, the student of the evolution of constitutional government in India will find the various chapters of the book, and the appendices, very useful. The subjects treated of in the book come specially within the purview of the legislator, and we want our councillors to possess the knowledge and grasp of the author in order that they may serve their country usefully and make their influence felt on the executive government.

1898 OR INDIA'S RECOVERY: By Pramathanath Mullick. Newman & Co, Calcutta. 1899.

A brochure on the current Indian politics of the day.

ORIGIN OF CASTE: By Pramathanath Mullick. Newman & Co. 1899

A pamphlet on caste and religious unity.

THE CALL TO YOUNG INDIA: Lajpat Rai. S. Ganesan & Co., Triplicane, Madras.

This is a collection of salient passages from the Lala's speeches and writings, with an ably written introduction in which he is compared and contrasted with the other modern political leaders of India.

GANDHIAN NON-CO-OPERATION OR SHALL INDIA COMMIT SUICIDE? Published by the "New India" Office, Madras. 1920. Price Re. 1.

This is a comprehensive collection of articles showing the evils of non-co-operation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE: by M. Prothero, I. E. S. (retired). Macmillan & Co. 1918. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

The story of the growth of the Empire in the nineteenth century has been succinctly told in this little book. The story has been brought down to last year, and is therefore quite up to date. The book contains some maps and illustrations. It is fit to be placed in the hands of students of the Matriculation class, and will help them to understanding the current politics of the Empire.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE: A STUDY OF HIS LATER WORKS:—By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastry. S. Ganesan & Co., Triplicane, Madras.

In this modest volume, the later poems, essays and stories of Tagore are liberally quoted, chiefly from the pages of the *Modern Review*, and short appreciative remarks are added. There is little in it for the Bengali; admirer of the great poet and writer to learn, for he can always turn to the original Bengali, nevertheless one is glad to find that Tagore's views are gaining an ever-increasing appreciation in the caste-ridden and conservative South, where, let us hope, the lessons he has to preach will be brought home to the multi-

tude by vernacular interpretations of the one great message of his life, preached in a variety of forms which only his marvellous genius was capable of,—the liberation of the mind and the activities of man from the crushing thralldom of tradition and custom.

ENGLAND IN TRANSITION:—By William Law Mathieson, 1789–1832. A study of movements. Longmans Green & Co., 1920. Price 15s. Pp., 285.

The author has endeavoured to distinguish and illustrate that various forces which contributed to the great change in the political and social life of England which occurred between the outbreak of the French Revolution and the passing of the Reform Bill. Glancing through every page of the book, however, we do not find anything of general or universal interest in the author's views and reflections, nor is there a single reference to India, which must have played some part in the transition of England both political and industrial. The book is really a contemporary history of England, from which most of the details have been omitted, but nevertheless it is essentially one for home consumption and furnishes little guidance to the social or political thinker abroad.

POLITICUS.

ORGANIC CHEMISTRY: By A. Killen Macbeth. Longmans Green.

A very nice look for beginners, the arrangement is rather original and is favourable for preparatory classes and revision.

K. N. C.

THE INDIAN COOLIES AND PLANTERS IN THE ISLAND OF CEYLON: by K. R. Chidambaram Pillai.

This pamphlet is published by the Head Kanganies' Association of Kandy, Ceylon, to protest against an Ordinance of the Ceylon Government which proposes to relieve the excessive indebtedness of the garden coolies of the island by writing off their existing debts mainly at the expense of the Kanganies from whom the money was borrowed, and to leave untouched the root-cause of this indebtedness, viz., the low wages of the coolies which have remained unchanged since 1882, though prices have in the meantime nearly trebled. The author is of opinion that the true source of the measure lies in the desire of the European planters of Ceylon to keep down the Kanganies many of whom have from ordinary coolies by their energy and force of character risen to be themselves owners of gardens and estates and are proving inconvenient rivals to the European planters, and who may, in time, become leaders of local labour opinion in an agitation against its shameful exploitation by European planters. It seems that both planters and Kanganies have

hitherto been growing fat by exploiting the helplessness of the coolies, and the sooner this state of things comes to an end the better for the country.

THE INDIAN POINT OF VIEW IN ECONOMICS: by D. A. Shah, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Bombay Vaibhab Press.

This ably written prize-essay contains brief but impartial studies of certain problems of Indian Economics from the scholar's detached standpoint. Hence the conclusions of the author are nowhere vitiated by political bias or personal prepossessions, as is unfortunately the case with so many economic studies, both official and private, published in this country. The first part of the book is mainly historical—it discusses the economic opinions of the earliest of modern Indian economic writers, such as Naoroji, Dutt, and Ranade. The author shows how the views of the old school were generally one-sided and productive only of negative results. Ranade was the usher of the new school of thought which has, since his death, produced a number of able writers. In the next few chapters the author touches lightly on Indian production, distribution and exchange, special stress being laid on the problems of currency, high prices, the 'drain', and fiscal policy of the Government, all of which are discussed with great insight and ability. The brief study of the problem of Indian poverty at pp. 68-71, is one of the best we have seen.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MEASURES ADOPTED TO COPE WITH THE SEVERE FAMINE THAT RAGED IN THE AMRELI DISTRICT DURING THE YEAR 1918-19 A. D.: by N. K. Aloni, B. A., Bar-at-law, Subha and President, Famine Relief Committee, Amreli District, Baroda State.

This profusely illustrated pamphlet describes the work of certain voluntary relief organisation presided over by the author in one of the four main divisions of the Gaekwar's Dominions in Kathiawar during the famine which raged there in 1918-19. The peculiar feature of this famine was that it affected certain sections of the middle classes whose incomes had remained stationary more than the other classes of the community. In addition to the ordinary relief measures, such as the opening of Poor Houses and gratuitous relief to the disabled and the respectable poor in their own homes, cheap grain shops were opened in various places where grain was sold to the poor at below cost price. But the most notable feature of the relief operations was the establishment of a number of cattle camps where thousands of half-starved and diseased cattle were housed and looked after and thus saved from untimely death. The work of the voluntary agencies would have been impossible but for the princely donations of a large number of Kathiawar merchants residing in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta and other

places, and the help rendered by the Gaekwar's Government, to all of whom Mr. Aloni expresses his indebtedness. And the thanks of the public are due to the author for the very efficient manner in which he seems to have utilised his opportunities and performed his self-imposed duties. He makes certain suggestions at the end of the book to facilitate the work of relief organisations in future, such as the stocking of grass, fodder and grain, timely and prompt loans to deserving cultivators on the recommendation of village committees, greater reliance upon voluntary relief agencies, encouragement of private benevolence by offer of rewards and honour, etc.

BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1916-17 :
Published by order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. The Times Press, Bombay.

This official record of the administrative activities of the Maharaja Gaekwar's dominions during the financial year 1916-17 fully bears out their claim to be recognised as among the most go-ahead and efficient of the native states of India. Owing to the great European War many schemes of public improvement had to be held up during the year under review, especially in the direction of extension of railways, construction of water and drainage works, schemes of industrial expansion, etc., but in other directions progress was maintained. Every government department of British India has its duplicate in Baroda, and even a cursory study of the Report shows that the administration of the state is in many respects more progressive than that of the neighbouring districts of British India. For instance, local self-government seems to have made much greater advance in Baroda than anywhere in British India. In 1916-17, there were as many as 2,310 Village Boards in this small state of 8000 sq. miles, with a population less than that in many British districts, many of which enjoyed civil and criminal Lower courts and performed their work quite satisfactorily. Besides, there were over 30 'Vishistha Panchayets,' or special Boards, combining the functions of village Boards and self-governing municipalities; and all towns of any size have their municipalities. Baroda has even its City Improvement Trust which is doing good work in opening up congested areas and erecting model dwellings.

It is well known that free and compulsory primary education has been in existence in the state for some years, and special attention is now being paid to the organisation of female education and the education of the backward classes, for whom, where necessary, the state establishes separate schools. The central technical school at Baroda, the Kala-Bhaban, has acquired a wide reputation and attracts a large number of students every year from British India. There are other industrial schools in suitable centres and also schools for the instruc-

tion of the deaf and dumb. Regular moral instruction, on non-denominational basis, forms a special feature of primary and secondary education in Baroda, and particular attention is now being paid to the physical training of the scholars. The Library movement of Baroda is a thing to be proud of and deserves honourable mention. The Report says that most of the large villages and all towns have now fairly extensive libraries housed in adequate buildings of their own, while the travelling libraries continue to do their good work of popular education by means of books and lectures, "cinemas and lantern shows and stereographic pictures."

It has long been the policy of the Gaekwar's government to actively help the agriculture, industries and commerce of the state. The work of the Agricultural Department seems to compare favourably with that of similar departments in British provinces. The experiments carried on in the government agricultural stations have direct bearing upon the actual needs of the local cultivators and are not arranged to satisfy the peculiar whims or illustrate the pet theories of the directing heads of the department. Agricultural improvement is, therefore, proceeding at a more rapid rate in the Gaekwar's Dominions than in British India. No agricultural banks have yet been established in British India under the false impression that such banks will have a deleterious effect upon rural co-operative credit societies. But a number of such banks have been opened in Baroda, though their influence upon agriculture has not been very marked up to the present. The government encourages the industries of the state in various ways. In addition to imparting technical education, it has established a Central Industrial Advisory Board and District Industrial Committees (probably on the model of such organisations in Germany) whose work, says the Report, has been very fruitful and whose recommendations are frequently accepted by the government. The Government also patronises the products of local industries wherever possible and grants liberal concessions and loans to hopeful new enterprises. These measures have resulted in the growth of a number of new industries in Baroda—such as the manufacture of lime and cement, tiles, candles, metals, soap, etc., etc. Baroda had not to wait for the recommendations of an expensive Industrial Commission to initiate these measures.

Another direction in which the activities of the Gaekwar's government are now being specially directed is the reorganisation of the Sanitary Department and the improvement of the conditions of public health both in towns and villages. And we may be sure that once the work is taken seriously in hand it will be carried out with that thoroughness and efficiency which seem to be characteristic of every department of the state and will not end in gratuitous advice, vague promises and tentative measures which consti-

tute the most noteworthy features of the activities of this department in British India.

It will thus be seen that in all matters that are agitating the public mind in India at the present moment and which are likely to be the main problems before the reformed provincial councils for years to come, viz., local self-government, mass education, rural sanitation, and industrial development, the Gaekwar's Dominions are considerably ahead of British India and can even give a lead to it. It is often said that it is easy for a small state like Baroda to adopt a few progressive measures because their expense is small and the problems demanding solution are relatively simple. But if reforms in British India are more expensive, its revenues are also incomparably larger, and the greater brain power and organising ability which our rulers claim over mere natives such as rule Baroda should enable them to solve the more complex problems of British India without much difficulty.

ECONOMICUS.

THE INDIAN GUIDE AND DIRECTORY. *Arnold White & Co., 3-1 Bankshall Street, Calcutta. Pp. 1470.*

Absence of competition does not make for perfection. We had so long only one firm on the Bengal side producing directories. Now that Messrs. Arnold White & Co. have entered the field, we expect improvements in this line of publications. The Indian Guide and Directory which they have produced in the very first year of their efforts, is a commendable work. The special features of the publication are:—

1. The arrangements of each and everything connected with the place, the Location of the place, Conveyance to the place, its Temperature, Rainfall, Population, etc. Information regarding objects of interest, where to stay, Hotels and Dak Bungalows, Government, Legal, Medical, Ecclesiastical, Educational, Municipal, Clubs, Newspapers, Local manufactures and production, and the exhaustive lists of Business Houses and Industrial concerns.

2. The Index Cards which differentiate the sections.

3. The style and arrangement of the advertisements along with reading matter.

4. The Classification list, giving short synopsis of the statistics regarding the Imports, Exports, Local production and consumption. Also the differentiation amongst exporters, importers, manufacturers and dealers.

It gives, within the covers of one volume, facts and information to get which previously the inquirer would have had to go diligently through half a dozen books.

It is not merely a Guide or a Directory, but a combination of both. All the features of a Directory will be found in it and with them the name of almost every town, taluk and sub-division in every province of this great country

the exact location thereof, how to get there and what to see when there, the staple and subsidiary trades of the place, where to stay and whom to do business with—and information useful alike to the Government Official, the business man, the commercial traveller, or the tourist and pleasure-seeker. Wherever possible, statistics regarding the temperature, rainfall and population are also given. The last, but probably most important, section of the book is the Classification List. Here, not only are trades and articles classified, but at the head of each are given details, such as crops grown, the area under cultivation; the total output; the quantity consumed locally and figures relating to exports and imports. In the list of merchants appearing under the different trade headings manufacturers, exporters, importers and dealers are distinguished as such. A Section containing the names of the business Houses in Mesopotamia and South Asia, connected with Indian Trade has also been included at the end of the Classification List.

The price of the book, Rs. 10, is not high.

R. C.

HINDUISM by *Shyam Behari Misra, M. A., M. R. A. S., and Shukdeo Behari Misra, B. A., Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal, Publisher and Bookseller. Pp. v+44. Price Rs. 1-4.*

This little volume was originally written in Hindi and now it has appeared in its English garb. It is written as an exposition and vindication of Hinduism and the following points have been dealt with in three parts made arbitrarily: the nature of Hinduism, its development, its five natural epochs, *Gita Karma* and transmigration of soul, caste system and *Ashrama Dharma*, other minor points, the genesis as explained by certain other religions, the Hindu idea of genesis, the nature of the soul, four Indian views of its inner nature, *mukti* or deliverance, and the authors' own views.

It appears that the authors have not been able to fully explain what Hinduism is in all its aspects. Some of the points have been dealt with very superficially, while others could easily be omitted altogether.

As regards one's innermost religion Hinduism wisely allows complete freedom. Any body may embrace any form of faith according to his own inclination; but in order to keep society quite in tact it has bound its followers by a strong chain of different customs, and manners and practices or traditional usages. This is the most important peculiarity of Hinduism. And so in defining the term Hinduism the authors have rightly observed that it does not rest in any dogma and this is the point on which it differs from other religions.

We are told (p. 12) that the caste system among the Hindus has been established by the establishment of the *Sagunopasana* of God. But how it is so has not been shown. It has further

been observed (p. 14) that the idea of God (Ishvara) was the greatest support of the caste system and of the sacrifices of animals, or, in other words, the caste system is based on God. This is very curious, indeed, and we should have been very glad if the authors had explained this view of theirs.

ZOROASTRIAN ETHICS by Maganlal A. Buch, M. A., with an Introduction by Alban G. Widgery, Baroda. Pp. IV+200.

His Highness the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekward has established in his College, Baroda a Seminar for the comparative study of Religions and Mr. Buch as a fellow therein undertook the present volume as a subject of his study. The book opens with a short but well-written introduction by Prof. Widgery who guided the author in the plan and general working out of the theme. The introduction concludes with the following observation (p. 14) :—"In the following account of Zoroastrian Ethics, several fundamental principles are emphasised, but personally I do not find any one supreme principle. The only principle of which I am well aware, which might serve the purpose of unifying the elements of the moral life, is one which, found definitely in the literature of Jews, has become central in the ethics of Christianity *the principle of love*. The warning is perhaps necessary that—viewed as the supreme unifying principle of moral life—love implies no feeble sentimentalism but simply and solely the motive of an active service binding together all the individual moral virtues." This cannot be gainsaid; but from the very view-point of Prof. Widgery it may also be stated that the *principle of love* as described by him, giving the necessary warning, is not less central in the ethics of Mahayana Buddhism than in that of Christianity. The case is the same with Vaisnavism, too, but therein it is not free from feeble sentimentalism as it is viewed by some modern thinkers.

The Introduction is followed by a short bibliography of Zoroastrian literature in English including the English translations of both the Avesta and Pahlavi works.

The main book is divided into two parts and ten chapters. In the first part there are three chapters, the first of which deals with the description of the available Zoroastrian literature chiefly in Pahlavi, the works in Avesta being not fully described. A brief description of the

historical and social conditions of the Iranian people has been given in the second chapter, while chapter III treats of their psychological conceptions. Here in showing the constituent elements of human personality the word *daena* in Yasna, XXVI 4 and 6, is taken to mean 'ego' or 'self' (pp. 42, 47), evidently according to some scholars, but at least, so far as the passages of the Yasna referred to are concerned, that meaning cannot be accepted. The word implies, besides a religion, the sense of justice, the faculty of discerning good from evil, conscience. And it seems that it is used here in the latter sense. It is derived from the Av. root *dha*, sanskrit root *dhyai*, cf. *dhi*.

The second part comprising the remaining seven chapters deals with the different phases of the ethics of the Mazdayasnians. Here the subject of chapter IV is the general moral attitude of the Parsi faith and its characteristic principle, following which a man not only finds a moral rule through life, not only is he taught good thought, good word, and good deed, but he is also told that the good will prevail at last exterminating the evil from the world only if he does his duty.

The positive character of Zoroastrian ethics as shown by its reiterated emphasis on the value of life is treated of in chapter V. Here it will be found among other things that asceticism, mortification of the body by fasting or the continued celibacy for a long time have no place in Zoroastrianism. In the sixth chapter truthfulness and deceit, and purity and impurity are treated of, while chapter VII—X deal with the following subjects respectively: The Ethics of Sex Relation (VII), Benevolence: Other Virtues and Vices (VIII), The Ethical in Legal References (IV), and Theological and Metaphysical Conceptions (X).

Most of the chapters of the volume chiefly contain mere quotations or summaries from different works in Avesta and Pahlavi translated into English as well as from those of eminent writers on the subject; yet the passages are so nicely culled and arranged that they provide very pleasant reading. The second part of the book is rather a compilation. It is written popularly. And we can say that the book before us will be gladly received among those who have any interest in Zoroastrian literature.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE LAST JUDGMENT

When One shall deign, at the far end,
To note the measure of our deeds,
There will draw nigh such presences
Of might, love and awful needs

As may nowise of man be told,
Even they who from of old
Bore witness to the inscrutable
Transcendence of the soul.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

EGYPT'S FUTURE : ITS EFFECT UPON INDIA AND OTHER EASTERN UNITS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

I WISH that our politicians who belaud themselves for the concessions they were able to get out of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill could have been present on November 4th in the House of Lords during the Egyptian debate. They then would have been able to form some idea of the infinite harm they did to India through their inability to agree among themselves and make a common demand in the name of our people. They would further have realised how the effects of their futility extend far beyond the confines of our poor, unfortunate country.

Quite fresh from his labours as Chairman of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, (later Act) the Earl of Selborne told his compeers that while he had no personal knowledge of India, he was profoundly convinced that what the British do in Egypt "is going to have immense consequences in India." For that reason the British "responsibilities are involved to a degree that it would be scarcely possible to exaggerate."

Almost equally fresh from his labours on the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, Lord Sydenham confided to the Lords that the rumours which have been circulated regarding the scope of the Egyptian reforms have "done great harm in India because they have given rise to impossible demands."

The Marquis of Salisbury, who in the recent debate on "the case of General Dyer" put more vigour into his championship of Dyerism than any other peer, was more explicit than either Lord Selborne or Lord Sydenham. He reminded them that whatever they sow in Egypt they will have to reap in India." In elaborating that statement he added:

"All you do there, every principle you accept, every concession, you make, even if the concession is of itself defensible, must be considered in reference to its effect elsewhere. For you will most emphatically had a demand for similiarity of treatment in other parts of your Empire which are held to be analogous. Therefore you require to be extremely careful."

These statements, boiled down, amount to this: We have succeeded in giving India so little that if now we give Egypt so much India will become discontented. For that reason, we must refrain from making any concession to Egypt that will send up that demand in India.

Upon such external considerations the Egyptian debate was almost entirely conducted. Take, for instance, the speech made by the Marquis of Salisbury, who let the onslaught upon the Government. The considerations which he wished should "govern a settlement in Egypt" may thus be summarised:

"In the first place" Lord Salisbury declared, "it is of vital importance that whatever power is retained by Great Britain in Egypt should be real power." He was terrified at the thought that in any settlement in Egypt that principle should be reversed, and that Britain, should retain the form of power, but not the reality. Not for the sake of Britain, mind you, but because of "the necessary protection of the peasantry," which seemed to him "something hardly short of an obligation of honour." What cant!

In the second place, Lord Salisbury continued, "because of the relation of Egypt with foreign countries," he felt that no other European power, except Britain ought to be predominant in Egypt. "Suppose, for instance," a foreign power has reason to complain of the action of the Egyptian ministers. Evidently they will say to the British, "Either you must see that we are righted or we shall see that we are righted ourselves." In order to meet such a contingency Britain must have "the reality of power." That, he pointed out, would be "entirely in keeping with the last modern developments of international policy," for "in the Covenant of the League of Nations, in all protectorates, however liberal they may be in other respects, foreign relations are always retained in the hands of the protecting power."

The third condition urged by the Marquis of Salisbury was the position of the Sudan, the government of which, he insisted, must

be in British hands. "However far the development of self-administrative capacity may have gone in Egypt proper," he declared, "it certainly does not extend to a sufficient experience to govern a subject people." That is a very difficult task which the British "are specially qualified to fulfil, and which" they could not "abandon without discredit."

If the substantial government of the Sudan is to be retained in British hands, the noble Lord continued, "very difficult questions will arise as to the *status* of Egypt in respect of it." To-day two flags fly in the Sudan—the British and the Egyptian flag—"side by side, and, as a matter of law, the two countries are on an absolute level in respect to the Sudan." He did not fail to mention, however, that as "a fact, of course the British Government is supreme in Egypt, and therefore, the Government (in both Egypt and Sudan) is entirely in" British hands. That arrangement is possible so long as the British control, as they do control, the Egyptian Government. But "in proportion as the control of the British Government, over the Egyptian Government is relaxed, the position of Egypt as an equal (the italics are mine) in the Sudan becomes more difficult," especially since the "garrisoning of the Sudan is, not entirely but largely, by Egyptian troops." In proportion as British control over Egypt is lessened, "the employment of Egyptian troops with an allegiance to Egypt in the government of the Sudan," which, *ex hypothesi*, according to his way of thinking, is to be under the British, will be increasingly difficult.

Then the Marquis of Salisbury came to the fourth condition—the military position of Great Britain in the Sudan. He emphasised the fact that "a special difficulty will arise in respect to the supply of fresh water to the Canal zone." Fresh water is brought from the Nile, and unless the British control the fresh water supply of the garrison, they might be placed in a rather difficult position.

In the Statement that Earl Curzon of Kedleston made immediately after the Marquis of Salisbury resumed His seat, he did not attempt to say how His Majesty's Government would dispose of the four considerations which had been urged. For the most part his speech was confined to an attempt to refute the charges of secrecy and the "policy of delay, of drift, of uncertainty," which had been made against the Cabinet. The only two points

which he touched upon of any intrinsic interest to Indians were :

First, speaking with the authority of His Majesty's Foreign Secretary, and as the leader of the House of Lords, Lord Curzon deliberately acknowledged that while Zaghlul Pasha and his associates were not on an official visit and while they "did not represent the Egyptian Government," they nevertheless "were influential persons, speaking for large number of their countrymen," with whom it was the duty of Lord Milner and his colleagues to confer.

Second, Lord Curzon, with equal deliberation, pointed out that whatever statements Lord Milner and his colleagues may have made while in Egypt and whatever terms they may have offered to the Egyptian Delegation, they failed to commit His Majesty's Government, which had arrived at no decision nor had authorised any communication. The Egyptian Delegation had also not committed the Egyptian Government by anything they had said or done, because they had no authority from that Government to represent it and did not in fact represent it. "Both sides," he emphatically asserted, "retain an equal measure of liberty in the matter." He added :

"There is also the discussion, necessarily a complicated and prolonged one, to which the noble Marquis (of Salisbury) referred—namely, the discussion that must ensue with the Powers who enjoy capitulatory rights in Egypt and who will not surrender the privileges they enjoy under the Capitulation without receiving adequate guarantee in return. That is a stage that has to be gone through. When these discussions have reached a more advanced stage it is presumable that the Sultan of Egypt will depute accredited representatives to meet His Majesty's Government and proceed with a further solution of these matters. That is the position of affairs."

The Earl of Cromer, who followed Lord Curzon, could not withstand the temptation of paying a filial tribute to his father, who is called by the British "the Maker of Modern Egypt." And no better method of singing his paean of praise could he find than to remind the noble Lords of "certain cardinal principles of policy that" his "father adopted in Egypt." By those phrases he meant "due and real consideration for the welfare of the felaheen—the "native" tiller of the soil—whose prosperity is Egypt's prosperity, whose oppression has been, and might again be, Egypt's undoing." It was to the British that, the Egyptian peasants looked for security, justice, low

taxation, and water, the enjoyment of which benefits had given them a sense of freedom from oppression and afforded financial security to the Egyptian community.

Lord Cromer, therefore asked for an assurance from Lord Milner that the lot of the felaheen will not be impaired and that effective safeguards will be forthcoming against a return to former abuses, and that the High Commissioner will retain adequate powers.

Lord Sydenham, who rose immediately after Lord Cromer took his seat, merely crossed Lord Salisbury's t's and dotted his i's. For instance, Lord Salisbury had declared that the creation of the canal zone would not suffice, because fresh water is brought from the Nile, and unless the British control the fresh water supply of the British garrison, they might be placed in a rather difficult position. Lord Sydenham asserted that "no soldier could possibly agree to distribute a small British force along the banks of the canal dependent...for the whole of its fresh water upon the good will of a possibly unstable government in Cairo." In other words, Cairo must remain under British control, in order to safeguard British Imperial communications through the Suez Canal.

The loss of British prestige in the Sudan greatly worried Lord Sydenham. If Egypt were "to be handed over entirely to a native Government based on a democratic principle which Egypt had never known," he said, then British "prestige in the Sudan will crumble and perhaps disappear altogether." You "cannot ignore prestige," he emphasised. It is the thing which counts among Oriental peoples.

Lord Sydenham warned the Lords that "abuses and corruption will flourish and increase abundantly if there is no strong guiding hand in Egypt to protect the felaheen whom we have raised to a position of freedom and responsibilities unknown in their long history of centuries." The British cannot place Egypt "or India" in a position of independence without solid guarantees for the just government of the uneducated masses, for whose welfare they are directly responsible. Self-government in Egypt, the ex-Satrap of Bombay declared, must come by gradual and well-considered steps; otherwise the British would certainly see in Egypt the state of things now arising in India, "though happily they can

never be so serious in Egypt as they are in the much larger country of India."

Although Lord Curzon had taken the trouble to speak of Zaghlul Pasha and his colleagues as "very influential persons," Lord Sydenham could not forbear from belittling them and from making out that the Egyptian Nationalists were the born enemies of the felaheen and that already they were busy dividing amongst themselves the spoils of office.

Any effect that this solicitude might have had was destroyed by Lord Sydenham's insistence upon championing the foreign financial and commercial interests. "Since our authority prevailed in the country," he declared, "very great British and foreign interests have been built up in the belief that *that authority would remain largely unchanged*."*

The words italicised by me are in direct contradiction to the pledges that the British statesmen have been giving Egypt for more than a generation. The foreign interests use the Capitulations to render themselves immune from Egyptian taxation and consequently the burden is borne by the Egyptian masses. Yet Lord Sydenham dares to defend the foreign interests and at the same time talk cant about the fellaheen.

The only point of any consequence made by the Earl of Selborne in the speech that he delivered after Lord Sydenham took his seat has been dealt with at the beginning of this article.

I pass over the brief speech made by Lord Buckmaster, for it merely reinforced Lord Curzon's statement denying that information about Egypt had been withheld from Parliament.

Lord Milner, who made a lengthy speech, plunged immediately upon rising into what appeared to be detailed narrative of the course he and his colleagues had pursued since the appointment of the Mission. I say "appeared," because he gave that account so deftly that it revealed little that had not already transpired.

That little, however, was highly reassuring, especially in view of the fact that at the very time he said it rumours were flying about that the Milner-Zaghlul negotiations had come to a deadlock, and that Zaghlul Pasha was on

* It is interesting to note that a few days after Lord Sydenham had thus spoken, the British Empire Producer Organisation selected him their president.

the point of leaving for France. While taking care to tell the House of Lords that the result of those "conversations may or may not be the basis of some future agreement between the British Government and the Egyptian Government," and that "it may or may not be that...the Mission shall recommend the British Government to enter into some arrangement which might be called 'a Treaty,'" his experience had been that "when we came face to face with at any rate some of those who have been regarded as the most anti-British of the Egyptian leaders, undoubtedly we found that there was a great difference of opinion on many points, but we also discovered—or at least, an impression which some of us had had before was confirmed—that there was no reason to suppose either that Egyptian Nationalists as a whole are hostile to Great Britain, or that the attainment of their aspirations is necessarily inconsistent with the safeguarding of British interests in Egypt or with the safeguarding of the reforms which Great Britain has been instrumental in introducing into Egypt."

The "intimate and...friendly conversations" he had had with the Egyptians had given him a "more hopeful view than" he had "six months ago, and certainly than" he "had at an earlier period, of the possibility of dispelling the clouds of suspicion and bitterness which had gathered over the relations of British and Egyptians, which at one time were such good and promising relations." At one time he feared that the British would find themselves maintaining their Imperial position in Egypt against "the wishes of the Egyptian people and with a constant spirit of discontent and revolt on their part against what they may regard as an alien foreign yoke." He now believed, however, "that a course of action is possible which will enable" the British "to ensure all that" they "need in Egypt, including the maintenance of the order and progress of which" they are themselves the authors, without involving themselves "in permanent hostility with the Egyptian nation." His intimate conviction was that "between the honest pro-Egyptian Nationalist and British Imperialist statesman there can be a good and permanent alliance, and that there is no permanent conflict of interests."

While Lord Milner did not think that the time was ripe to enter into a spirited denunciation of the pleas advanced to keep Egypt

in leading strings; he did administer a rebuke to persons who sought to belittle the importance of the Egyptian leaders with whom the Mission had been conversing. He frankly confessed that while in Egypt he and his colleagues had found that no Egyptian with whom they discussed matters in private "was willing to come forward and say that he could express to" the Mission "the views of any large section of the Egyptian people." They were universally referred to "Zaghlul Pasha and others as being the men to whom" they should look to give them "a fair expression of Egyptian public opinion."

This debate in the Lords accentuated rather than dispelled the rumour that there is conflict in the Cabinet over the terms offered by Lord Milner to Zaghlul Pasha. The semi-official organs have done their best to kill the report, but it refuses to die.

In the meantime, Zaghlul Pasha publicly stated that he had every confidence in Lord Milner's ability and that he was not leaving London, as he had intimated a day or two earlier that he would do. Almost immediately afterwards, however, he did depart for Paris—and that gave rise to a fresh crop of rumours.

The matters which Lord Milner has now to adjust fall into three categories. The Egyptian Nationalists demand:

(1) that Great Britain, while recognising the independence of Egypt, shall acknowledge that the protectorate is at an end;

(2) that the functions of the two high British officials in the Ministries of Finance and Justice, who are to be retained by Egypt, shall be strictly defined and that they shall not interfere in any matters beyond their special spheres; and

(3) that the condominium in regard to the Sudan shall be a real one, giving Egypt a fair share in the administration of that territory.

Zaghlul Pasha is a born diplomat, and has conducted his negotiations with the Milner Mission with consummate skill. He is, however, a patriot first and a diplomat afterwards, and, therefore, with all his conciliatory attitude, will not compromise on the principle of Egyptian independence, which British statesmen have been promising since 1882.

An attempt is being made in Britain to represent the Egyptian demands for the amendment of the Milner terms as an extremist move. The *Times*, in its issue of Novem-

ber 5, showed how truly perplexed the British are by the Egyptian insistence upon the formal abrogation of the protectorate over Egypt. It sought to make out that the difficulty had arisen over the inability of the Egyptian delegates to grasp the real significance of the word "Protectorate". English, unfortunately, is not their mother-tongue, it pointed out, and thus English words are apt to acquire in their minds "implications strangely alien to their familiar, or customary, or legal interpretation in" Britain. If the difficulty is one turning upon the "technical implication of the word 'Protectorate'." The *Times* expressed the belief that it may not be so hard to overcome as some of the members of the Egyptian Delegation may have thought.

Other newspapers assert that the Arabic

equivalent of protectorate, officially adopted in Egypt, is unhappy and needlessly offends Egyptian pride. They ask the authority to change that term.

More than likely by the time this article is in print the report of the Milner Mission would have been published and probably also the decision of His Majesty's Government. It is, therefore, unnecessary to speculate about the result.

I may, however, call attention to the manner in which Egyptians have followed the lead of Zaghlul Pasha and, in spite of all inducements, have preserved their solidarity. What a contrast compared with the manner in which Indians behaved while constitutional reforms were in the formative stage.

VAJRATARA

By N. K. BHATTASALI, M. A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

THE Buddhists regard Adi Buddha and Adi Prajnā as the Universal Father and Mother. They occupy very much the same place in the Buddhist Pantheon as Purusha and Prakriti or Siva and Sakti do in the Brahmanical Pantheon. Five Dhyāni Buddhas (i. e., Buddhas deep in eternal meditation) are said to have emanated from them. They take no part in the affairs of the world but each of them has an active counterpart who by turns uphold the creation in successive ages. One of these is the Lord Avalokiteswara and his Sakti or female counterpart is called Tārā.

The goddess Tārā has five aspects according to the colour of her body, which may be white, yellow, dark, blue or red. Each aspect again, has several sub-varieties. The Tārā we are going to describe is a variety of the Yellow Tārā.

Dr. Foucher, in the second part of his *Buddhist Iconographie*, pages 69 to 71, gives the invocation and an illustration of this goddess. The illustration shows what Foucher calls 'a portable

sanctuary'—an octo-alloy metal lotus with eight petals which move up and down and thus can close and open the flower. This image was found at a place called Pātharghātā in the Bhagalpur district



The Naga Girl (one side) (Enlarged).

and is now in the Indian Museum of Calcutta. Fortunately, the Dacca Museum also has been able to secure a similar image from the village of Mājbari under the Kotālipārā P. S. in the Faridpur district.



The female figure on the 8th petal. (Enlarged).



The female figure on the 6th petal. (Enlarged).

It appears from Foucher's book that this method of representing Vajra-Tārā within a full-blown lotus was adopted as a convenient method of representing her in *mandala*, i. e., within the magic circle. When in *mandala*, she is to be surrounded by the 'mothers' who appear to be eight in number. Four of them are Yoginis called Vajrānkusi, Vajrapāsi, Vajrashphoti and Vajragantā. These guard the four doors of the Mandala in the four quarters. The four corners of the Mandala are guarded by four Tārās of the Flower, the Lamp, the Incense and the Perfume.

The device of a full-blown lotus with moveable petals was conveniently utilised to represent this magic circle. The goddess herself was seated on the pod of the lotus, while the eight Mothers occu-

ried the eight petals round her. The petals drawn up and a capping crown placed on them would close the lotus and range the Mothers round the goddess, thus creating a perfect and a mys-

teriously secret Mandala that inspired awe in the hearts of the devotees. The cap removed, the petals slid down and the goddess was revealed in all her glory to receive the homage of the worshippers, having, as if, just closed her conference with her eight attendants. The fact that the lotus is supposed to close in the evening and open with the rising sun was perhaps sym-

bolically utilised to close this miniature sanctuary with the approach of evening and open it with the peep of dawn.

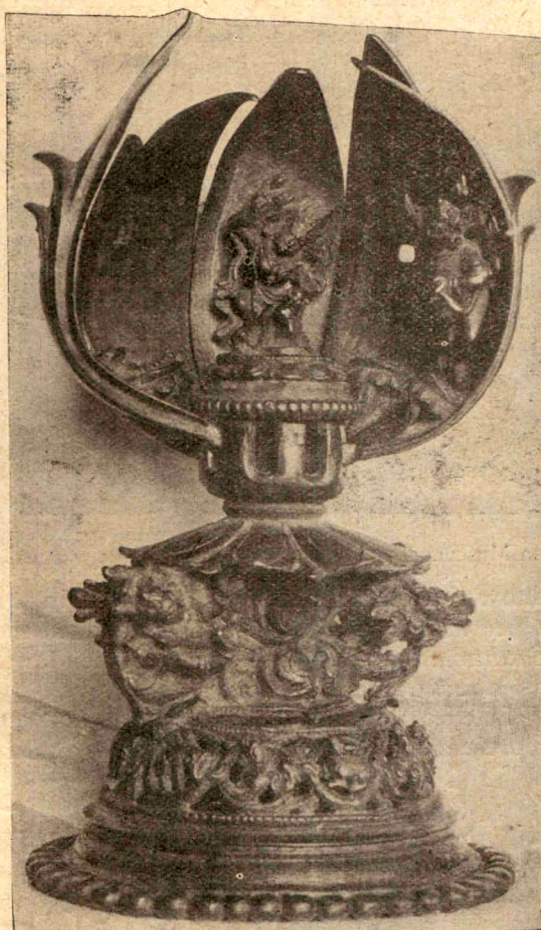
Vajra-Tārā is described to have eight arms and four faces, each having three eyes and of colour yellow, black, white and red respectively, turning to the right. She glows with all the distinctive signs of a young virgin. Enveloped in a red aureole, she sits with legs closely crossed inside a full-blown lotus with her eight attendants ranged round her. In her right hands are the thunderbolt, the arrow, the conch-shell and Varada Mudrā (gesture of charity). Her left hands hold the blue lotus, the bow, the elephant goad and the noose.

The image procured from the Faridpur district unfortunately was discovered in a rather mutilated condition. The main

image of Vajra-Tārā is broken away and lost and a pair of feet placed on the pod of the lotus in a graceful tiptoe attitude are the only remains to show where she sat. Three of the eight petals are gone and of the remaining numbers 1, 3, 6, 7, and 8,—only petals Nos. 6 and 8 have the attendant goddess on the inside of them. The capping crown is also gone.

The position of the attendant goddesses on the eight petals should be as arranged in the diagram on the next page.

With the right leg raised and standing on the bent left leg, they are dancing frantically with a curious expression of awe and ecstatic amazement in their faces and rolling eyes. Both of them wear the five-leaved crown and a flowing scarf, and both have a long garland coming down to their knees and made of what appear to be skulls. Both have the skull-cup in their left hands, but No. 6 has a knife or chopper in her right hand pointed upwards and No. 8 has a sounding kettle-drum. These hardly answer to the Tārās of Lamp and Perfume. No. 8 with the kettle-drum may be identi-



Vajra Tārā from Kotālipārā, at Faridpur.
(front view).

By this arrangement, petals Nos. 6 and 8 ought to be occupied by the Tārās of Lamp and Perfume. In this image, however, they are occupied by two dancing female figures.

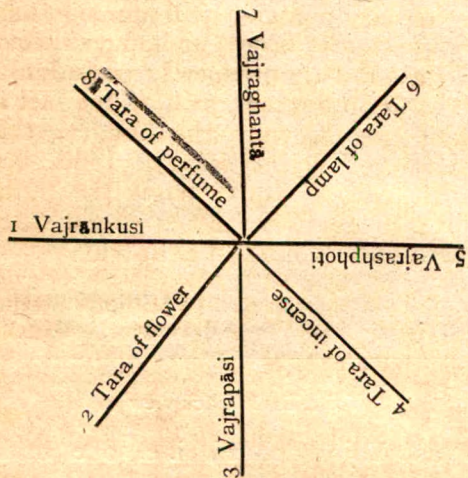


Vajra-Tārā (back view).

fied as Vajrashphoti, i. e., one making sounds like thunder-claps. But the other with the chopper in her right hand looks like a representation of Ekajātā or Kuru-kullā and seems to be out of place here.



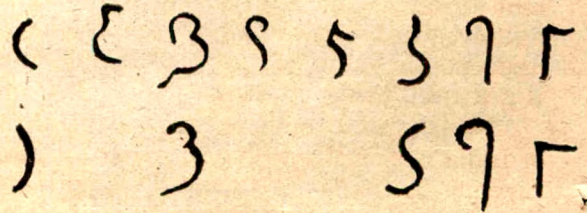
The image of Vajra-Tārā in the Indian Museum found at Pātharghat.



The graceful pair of feet of the Vajra-Tārā that remain on the pod of the lotus,

show that the goddess did not sit in her place with legs crossed, as provided in the *Sādhana*, but with both the legs pendant, as one would sit on a stool.

Below the moveable eight petals are represented eight other fixed petals, which



The figures on the petals of the lotus-seat of Vajra-tārā, again have eight smaller petals interspersed, one between each pair. The flower itself rises from a thick stem and two young double Nāga girls,—their bodies bifurcating

from a single upturned tail,—are represented supporting gracefully the fixed petals of the lotus.

The brim of the bell-shaped base is decorated by a series of connected pellets, 43 in number. Higher up, a circle of foliage in bold relief decorates the base. It twists into 11 circular folds, six of which are occupied by a goose, a monkey, an elephant, a deer, a hare and a lion respectively. The rest of the folds contain lotuses in various stages of blooming.

The whole thing is a delightfully pleasing work of art and must have been a pretty piece when entire. The attendant goddesses and the double Naga girls, though barely more than an inch and a half in length are finished with consummate ability.

Fortunately, the image can be dated with some amount of certainty. The

moveable petals and the bigger of the fixed petals are numbered with figures from 1 to 8. There are slight differences in the shape of the lower and the higher row of figures, the most remarkable being the differences in the shape of 1. On the moveable petal 1 is a concave stroke like this), which appears to be the correct shape. But on the fixed petal below, a convex stroke like (represents 1. The remaining four figures of the upper row agree in the main with those of the lower row. Paleographical considerations show that 9th-11th century A.D. was the period when these figures had the shapes we find inscribed on the petals.

When the petals of the lotus are drawn up, the top reaches a height of seven inches from the ground.

THE REAL INCIDENCE OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE IN INDIA

NOW that the Government enquiring into the recommendations of the Esher Committee an army organisation in India, it is imperatively necessary that the public should be fully acquainted with the real incidence of military expenditure even without the great increase now fore-shadowed. The need for these is all the greater because it has been the practice of the Government to present the Financial Statement in a misleading make, which, apart from other advantages from their standpoint, give the public a milder view of the military budget. Students of Indian Finance are no doubt aware of the persistent struggle waged by the late Mr. Gokhale against that misleading presentations of figures. He had a partial success but only a partial one.

To be more explicit, the Government of India is accustomed to showing a larger revenue than a strict financier would put it at. Thus several heads appear both under "Income" and "Expenditure". For instance, under "Posts and Telegraphs" there is an income of five millions and expenditure of four. The net revenue to the State is only one million sterling.

Again under "Railways", the income is shown to be 25 millions and the expenditure fourteen, giving a net revenue of eleven. Since the Government of India have these commercial departments which, in the usual course of events, are bound to have a larger turn over every year, the bureaucrat, by this method of manipulating figures, can show a growing revenue, which his apologist will immediately advertise as the most undisputable evidence of the growing prosperity of India.

More important still, if the net figures should be shown in the budget, the real nature of British Rule in India becomes quite evident. I give below the figures for 1918-19 as shown in the official statement and as they should be shown.

| Principal Heads of | In Millions Sterling | |
|--------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | Revenues | Expenditure. |
| Revenue | 69.7 | 11.6 |
| Interest | 4.0 | 7.7 |
| Post and Telegraph | 5.3 | 4.1 |
| Mint | 1.7 | .2 |
| Civil Depts. | 2.0 | 24.4 |
| Miscellaneous | 5.7 | 6.1 |
| Railways | 25.3 | 14.1 |
| Irrigation | 5.4 | 3.9 |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------|--------------|
| Public Works | ... | 3 | 5.5 |
| Military | ... | 1.7 | 45.7 |
| Famine Relief | ... | | 1.0 |
| | | <u>121.1</u> | <u>124.3</u> |
| Add Deficit for the year | | 3.2 | |
| Total | ... | 124.3 | 124.3 |

The net figures are :

| REVENUE | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------|-----------|
| Principal Heads of Revenue | ... | £58.1 | millions. |
| Post and Telegraph | ... | 1.2 | " |
| Mint | ... | 1.5 | " |
| Railways | ... | 11.2 | " |
| Irrigation | ... | 1.5 | " |
| | | <u>73.5</u> | " |
| Add Deficit | | 3.2 | " |
| Total | ... | 77.7 | " |
| EXPENDITURE | | | |
| Military | ... | £44.0 | millions. |
| Civil Depts. | ... | 22.4 | " |
| Public Works | ... | 5.3 | " |
| Interest | ... | 3.7 | " |
| Miscellaneous | ... | 4 | " |
| Famine Relief | ... | 1.0 | " |
| Total | ... | 76.8 | " |

Out of a total Revenue of seventy-three millions, forty-four are consumed by military expenditure and half of it by the Civil Department.

In fairness to the bureaucrat it must be stated, about two millions are spent on education and a smaller amount on sanitation. Is not the nature of British Rule in India quite evident from this?

Let us now see what is the real inci-

dence of military expenditure. The budget shows £44 millions. Add to it the interest of six millions on the war gift of £100 millions. Thus out of less than 74 millions the military burden now amounts to £50 millions, more than two-thirds or 66 p. c. One wonders whether any country in the world can show a more wasteful or unnatural record.

I am aware that in some European countries today, the incidence of military expenditure is no doubt large but it is only a passing phase due to the war. The large armies of occupation consume much of the money. But in India the figures quoted above pertain to the normal budget. It is doubtful whether the bureaucracy if left to itself will ever bring it down to even £40 millions. In all probability, the Esher report recommendations will raise it to £55 or 60 millions. Even if that catastrophe were not to happen, the vast bulk of the revenue will be devoured by the military for some years to come.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that this vast waste is due to the policy of making India pay for Britain's Imperial needs in the Far East. The creation of a National militia followed by a drastic reduction of foreign officers will bring down expenditure by several millions, and unless that is done, India is bound to remain the permanent home of ignorance, disease and starvation. Progress, if there should be any, is bound to be extremely slow; and the poverty and ignorance of the masses will form an excellent hunting ground to the foreign exploiter.

M. SUBRAYA KAMATH.

THE ONE SONG

TO DR. ROBINDRANATH TAGORE.

Every thing on earth has its song and lives
by singing it all day long, the song of its life.
The man and the cow he drives along
and the road and the flowers by its side,
The clouds in the sky and the stones on the road
and the mountains far away.
And all their songs are part of One Song,
which gives its meaning to every one,
And there is One Singer who sings in all things,
though men know him not, nor his Song:

They have given names to all things, without
sense, for a thing's true Name is its song,
Which he only knows who has heard the One Song
in the silent depth of his soul.
The man who has heard the One Song is changed
and his world is another world,
For he knows his own song as a note in the Song,
that fills the Universe.
The Singer God. Creation the Song:
God's true Name which none may pronounce.
Rotterdam.

J. J. VON DER LEEUW,

INDIA AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

BY FREDERICK GRUBB,

SECRETARY OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.

IT is not for me, as a Temperance reformer, to decide whether, on general grounds, what is known as non-co-operation is right or wrong, practicable or impracticable. Neither is there any need for me on this occasion to discuss the merits or demerits of the Government of India Act from a practical standpoint. The main object of this article is to show that under any reasonable system of Self-Government India will deal with the liquor traffic in a drastic fashion and that even with the limitations at present imposed upon her natural development she may be expected to make steady progress towards the goal of National Prohibition.

Notwithstanding its shortcomings, the Government of India Act must materially affect the future of the Indian Temperance movement. Henceforward the control of Excise policy and administration, involving every aspect of Temperance reform, will be vested in the elected representatives of the people and ministers responsible to them in the Legislative Councils. Very much less than this would have been conceded if the Government of India had carried their recommendations. It was the Joint Select Committee of Parliament which affirmed the principle that resolutions passed by the Councils should be binding upon the provincial administrations in regard to all transferred subjects, Excise being one of them. The conditions of transfer are not wholly satisfactory, but the remaining limitations on the powers of the Councils will be largely neutralized if members and ministers will take a bold and enlightened line on this matter.

THE DEMAND FOR PROHIBITION.

Recent declarations of representative bodies in India clearly indicate the growth of public opinion in favour of local option and ultimate Prohibition. Within the current year abundant proof of this has been forthcoming, not only in what are called Temperance circles, but also from political and other reform organizations. Thus the Indian

Industrial Conference, and Commercial Congress, under the presidency of Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, unanimously passed a resolution urging that :

"In view of the great benefits to trade and industry which have already been secured by the United States of America through their prohibition of liquor, and in view of the fact that the efficiency and welfare of Indian Labour have greatly suffered through the liquor traffic, the Government of India should set before themselves the early adoption of the policy of Total Prohibition of the manufacture, import, and sale of liquor in the country for intoxicating purposes."

As your readers are well-aware, the Indian National Congress has frequently expressed itself in favour of Temperance reform. One of its most distinguished Presidents, the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, occupied the chair at the last All-India Temperance Conference. Whatever their differences on other subjects, Nationalist leaders have invariably been ardent supporters of this movement. It is the same with the Moderate Party. At their last Convention a resolution was passed urging the provincial organizations to consider, *inter alia* "reform of excise administration with a view to minimise gradually the consumption of liquor and with a view to the ultimate introduction of total Prohibition." There is, in fact, no difference of opinion amongst patriotic Indians with reference to this matter. It will not be out of place to remind your readers of the pronouncements made on behalf of the various political parties when the Council elections were still impending (before the non-co-operation issue had become acute).

Here is what the Madras Provincial Congress Committee said in their manifesto :

"The Congress Party stands pledged to a most active and advanced policy of temperance reform. Total Prohibition will be its aim, and it will seek to achieve it by means of permissive legislation vesting in the inhabitants of local areas the option to demand Prohibition. The party will seek to introduce this policy at an early date in selected areas and rapidly extend it throughout the province.

"The Congress Party is convinced that the raising of the very large part of the revenue of the province from the drunkenness of the people is neither moral

nor necessary in the long run and they believe that the loss of revenue from this source which may accrue as a consequence of the above policy is bound eventually to be made up by the fact that the people, when they are free from drunkenness, will be economically more prosperous, and therefore better able to bear taxation in other forms. Alternative proposals for replacing this revenue are available and after full investigation will be put forward."

The Madras Liberal League was not quite so emphatic, but the position taken up was substantially the same:

"The Madras Liberal League:

"Land Revenue and Excise.—Land Revenue and Excise, which are the staple items of revenue of this presidency, will claim the careful attention of the party.

"While keeping in view the ultimate goal of abolition, the promotion of temperance should continue to be the immediate object, and the party will be in favor of the introduction towards that end of the Principle of local option wherever it can be safely introduced without undue hardship or the danger of encouraging illicit practices.

The National Home Rule League had the following paragraph in their program:

"Social Reform.—A bill for the Promotion of Temperance, whether by local option or other restrictions with a view ultimately of total Prohibition."

The Congress Democratic Party of Bombay and the Deccan (with which the late Mr. Tilak was prominently associated) proclaimed in brief but definite accents that their policy was 'the abolition of Drink.'

Those who have been chiefly engaged in the sphere of social service, are no less convinced of the vital importance of this subject. At the last annual session of the National Social Conference a resolution was passed calling for a vigorous attack on the increasing drink evil and urging that the Government and private bodies ought "to strive for securing its abolition by legislative and other measures at an early date."

RELIGIOUS SUPPORT.

There is no need to refer to the attitude of Hindus, Mohammedans and Sikhs, as such. All the religions of India condemn the use of intoxicating liquors. It may not be so well known that Christian sentiment is also strongly opposed to intemperance—a fact which ought to have some weight with the European population when the facilities for obtaining imported spirits are (as we hope) restricted. The last All-India Christian Conference demanded "the prohibition of the import, manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors and drugs for other than medical

purposes." The South Indian Missionary Conference, in supporting the same view, did so expressly on the ground of its "sympathy with the desire of Hindu and Mahommedan reformers to make all India dry;" and the Representative Council of Missions in Bengal and Assam further recorded the fact that an overwhelming majority of Hindus, Mohammedans and Indian Christians condemn the use of alcohol as a beverage on religious, moral and economic grounds.

THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTY.

Temporary obstacles to the immediate realisation of Prohibition may arise from the fact that the excise revenue (which has now reached £13,000,000 per annum for the whole of India) is the only substantial source of income transferred under the Act to the control of Indian Ministers, which means that education, sanitation, and other public services will be dependent in large measure upon its maintenance. But I have been assured by representative Indian leaders that other sources of revenue can and will be found. After all, the suppression or restriction of the drink traffic will not diminish the taxable capacity of the people of India or take any money out of the country. On the contrary, such reforms as are advocated by the Temperance Party will help considerably in preventing waste and in increasing the material prosperity of India's three hundred millions.

It is not for me to suggest alternatives to the drink revenue. That will be the duty of the Finance Ministers of the various Provinces. I will only say that in conversation with the Deputy Commissioner of Excise of one of the Major Provinces (an Indian), he expressed to me the opinion that there were various untapped reservoirs from which ample substitutes might be obtained, and he specifically mentioned a tax on motor cars, an entertainments tax (cinemas, etc.), and a tax on tobacco. I have no doubt that other channels of revenue will be speedily discovered when the need arises. Of one thing I am certain—the Indian people will never tolerate the permanent endowment of essential public services from the proceeds of a destructive and degrading traffic.

LOCAL OPTION IN CEYLON.

As was recently stated by a prominent politician in Madras, the soil of India is well

suited to total prohibition, and the bulk of the people would co-operate heartily in any measures that might tend towards that ideal. That a system of direct local option can be successfully worked in the midst of conditions similar to those prevailing in India has been clearly demonstrated in the neighbouring island of Ceylon. In that country it requires 75 per cent, of the voters on the register to vote "no license" before the taverns in any district can be closed, and various other hindrances have been set up by an unwilling bureaucracy; but in spite of these difficulties the necessary conditions have been fulfilled in many areas, numerous shops have been closed, and three important districts are now entirely dry. In several instances the percentage in favour of closure exceeded 80 per cent, of the voters on the list, approaching almost to unanimity amongst those actually voting.

I have given reasons for believing that Indian opinion would be equally decisive if similar opportunities were afforded for its expression. In spite of the growth of the drink habit amongst the masses in recent years, India continues to be for the most part a country of abstainers—a result which is due in no small degree to the sustained work of the Temperance societies. They are not satisfied with the limited reduction of drinking facilities brought about by the officially controlled Excise Advisory Committees, for there is no doubt (as I have said) that under any reasonable scheme of local option there would be a substantial diminution of the existing temptations to drink, culminating in total abolition.

INDIVIDUAL EFFORT AND SELF HELP.

The Temperance reformers of India have not restricted themselves to political activities. They have always recognised that the way must be prepared for effective legislation, and that the basis of national action must be found in the promotion of individual abstinence. Hence they have consistently sought the co-operation of all leaders of public opinion, caste panchayets, social service clubs, religious and social workers, humanitarians, educationists and, above all, of parents, in the task of impressing by personal example and precept the advantages of a life of total abstinence on the community at large and the rising generation in particular.

A MEDICAL PRONOUNCEMENT.

It may not be out of place in this connection to reproduce the important medical manifesto which was specially prepared a short time ago for circulation in India and which had attached to it the signatures of 81 leading physicians, surgeons, and scientists, including those of 37 well-known Indians. This was their declaration:—

1. Alcohol, cocaine, opium, and intoxicating drugs (such as bhang, ganja, and charas) are poisons.
2. Even a moderate use of these is harmful, especially in tropical countries like India. They are of no avail permanently to relieve physical and mental strain.
3. Those who confine themselves to non-alcoholic drinks and who avoid the use of intoxicating drugs are capable of more endurance, and are better able to resist infection and disease.
4. Alcohol is in many cases injurious to the next generation, especially through its favouring influence upon venereal disease.
5. Alcohol aggravates the evils of famine.
6. Alcohol is useless as a preventive of plague.
7. Alcohol lowers the resisting power of the body against the parasites of malaria and the microbes of tuberculosis.
8. All that has been said applies with equal force to opium and intoxicating drugs.
9. We therefore appeal to the people of India to maintain and extend the practice of total abstinence as enjoined upon them by their religious and social obligations.

TEMPERANCE TEACHING IN SCHOOLS.

The teaching of Temperance in Indian schools has not been made so complete and systematic as is desirable. Limited references to the subject have been introduced in some of the vernacular readers, but these fall short of the standard suggested in the syllabus of Temperance Teaching issued by the Board of Education in England. Further action in this matter must be taken in India, and the necessary lessons should be prepared by Indians, who have the best knowledge of the conditions in their own country. The experience of the United States of America has shown that the inclusion of Temperance facts in the regular text books on physiology and hygiene is to be preferred to the separate preparation of text books on Temperance alone; but what has to be insisted upon is that the teaching of this subject should become a recognised part of the regular instruction on public health. The Medical pronouncement quoted above ought to be of some service in the accomplishment of this purpose.

AN EMANCIPATED INDIA.

Summing up the position generally, Temperance reformers have good cause to be thankful for the progress achieved and to go forward in the confident assurance that the people of India are about to enter upon a new and greater chapter in their remarkable history. Those who have adopted "Non-co-operation" with the Government as their war-cry will no doubt take care to make a rigorous application of their policy to the whole business of the Excise Department. The universal boycott of the liquor shops would bring immediate and unmistakable benefit to India. The Excise revenue has been brought to its present high dangerous level

by a "co-operation" which might have been withheld to the advantage of all concerned. Happily, a new day is breaking, when Indians have resolved to be masters in their own house. After nearly thirty years' study of Indian problems, and especially of the liquor question, I have come to the conclusion that an emancipated India may be relied upon to make full use of her powers in this respect, and I am convinced that in the exercise of self-government she will speedily deliver herself from a traffic which is alien to her genius and ideals, and the continuance of which is a standing menace to her moral and material well-being.

PROF. SEELEY ON INDIAN CIVILISATION AND NATIONALITY

[It will be clear to the reader from one of the passages quoted below that more than three decades ago Prof. Seeley had an idea of the potentiality of "non-co-operation." Editor, M.R.]

HINDUISM AS AN ELEMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

BRAHMANISM remains the creed of the enormous majority [of Indians], and it has so much real vitality that it has more than once resisted formidable attacks.....Now religion seems to me to be the strongest and most important of all the Elements which go to constitute nationality; and this Element exists in India. When it is said that India is to be compared rather to Europe than to France or England, we may remember that Europe, considered as Christendom, has had and still has a certain unity, which would show itself plainly and quickly enough if Europe were threatened, as more than once it was threatened in the middle ages, by a barbarian and heathen enemy. It may seem then that in Brahmanism India has a germ, out of which sooner or later an Indian nationality might spring. And perhaps it is so; but yet we are to observe that in that case the nationality ought to have developed itself long since. For the Mussalman invasions, which have succeeded each other through so many centuries, have supplied precisely the pressure which was most likely to favour the development of the germ. Why did Brahmanism content itself with holding its own against Islam and not rouse and unite India against the invader? It never did so. Brahmanical Powers have risen in India.

A chieftain named Sivaji arose in the middle of the seventeenth century and possessing himself of one or two hill-forts in the highlands behind Bombay, founded the Mahratta power. This was a truly Hindu organisation, and as its power increased, it fell more and more under the control of the Brahmin caste. The decline of the Mogul Empire favoured its advance so that in the middle of the eighteenth century the ramifications of the Marhatta confederacy covered almost the whole of India. It might appear that in this confederacy there lay the nucleus of an Indian nationality, that Brahmanism was now about to do for the Hindus what has been done for so many other races by their religion. But nothing of the kind happened. Brahmanism did not pass into patriotism. Perhaps its facile comprehensiveness, making it in reality not religion but a loose compromise between several religions, has enfeebled it as a uniting principle. At any rate it appears that in the Mahratta movement there never was anything elevated or patriotic, but that it continued from first to last to be an organisation of plunder."—The expansion of England by Professor J. R. Seely. London, Macmillan and Co., 1885. Course II, Lecture iv.

THE RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS OF INDIA.

".....What is said of the passive habits of the native population applies only to the Hindus. The Mussalmans have in great part different habits and different traditions. They do not look back upon centuries of subjection, but upon a period not so long past when they were a ruling race. Secondly we are to remem-

ber that, much as unity may be wanting, one kind of unity, that of religion, is not wanting. There is the powerful and active unity of Islam; there is the less active but still real unity of Brahmanism.....Great religious movements then seem less improbable than a nationality-movement. On the other hand the religious forces, if they are livelier, neutralise each other more directly. Islam and Hinduism confront each other, the one stronger in faith, the other in numbers and create a sort of equilibrium...we are to remember that, as Islam is the crudest expression of semitic religion, Brahmanism on the other hand is an expression of Aryan thought. Now among the religions of the world Christianity stands out as the product of the fusion of semitic with Aryan ideas. It may be said that India and Europe in respect of religion have both the same elements, but in India the elements have not blended, while in Europe, they have united in Christianity. Judaism and classical Paganism were in Europe at the beginning of our era what Mohammedanism and Brahmanism are now in India; but in India the elements have remained separate, and have only made occasional efforts to unite, as in the Sikh religion and the religion of Akbar. In Europe a great fusion took place by means of the Christian church, which fusion has throughout modern history been growing more and more complete."—Ibid, Course II, lecture vii.

THE ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA.

".....We find in India three stages of civilisation, first that of the hill-tribes, which is barbarism, then that which is perhaps sufficiently described as the Mussalman stage, and thirdly the arrested and half-crushed civilisation of a gifted race, but a race which has from the beginning been in a remarkable manner isolated from the ruling and progressive civilisation of the world. Whatever this race achieved it achieved a long time ago. Its great epic poems, which some would compare to the greatest poems of the West, are ancient, though perhaps much less ancient than has been thought, so too its systems of philosophy, its scientific grammar. The country has achieved nothing in modern times. It may be compared to Europe, as Europe would have been if after the eruption of barbarians and the fall of ancient civilisation it had witnessed no revival, and had not been able to protect itself against the Tartar invasions of the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Let us suppose Europe to have vegetated up to the present time in the condition in which the tenth century saw it, exposed to periodical invasions from Asia, wanting in strongly marked nations and vigorous states, its languages mere vernaculars not used for the purposes of literature, all its wisdom enshrined in a dead language and doled out to the people by an imperious priesthood, all its wisdom too many

centuries old, sacred texts of Aristotle, the Vulgate, and the Fathers, to which nothing could be added but in the way of commentary. Such seems to be the condition of the Aryans of India, a condition which has no resemblance whatever to barbarism, but resembles strikingly the medieval phase of the civilisation of the West."—Ibid, course II, lecture V.

MODERN VS. MEDIEVAL CIVILISATION.

"The dominion of Rome over the Western races was the empire of civilisation over barbarism. Among Gauls and Iberians Rome stood as a beacon-light; they acknowledged its brightness, and felt grateful for the illumination they received from it. The dominion of England in India is rather the empire of the modern world over the medieval. The light we bring is not the less real, but it is probably less attractive and received with less gratitude. It is not a glorious light shining in darkness, but a somewhat cold day-light introduced into the midst of a warm gorgeous twilight. Many travellers have said that the learned Hindu, even when he acknowledges our power and makes use of our railways, is so far from regarding us with reverence that he very sincerely despises us. This is only natural. We are not cleverer than the Hindu; our minds are not richer or larger than his. We cannot astonish him, as we astonish the barbarian, by putting before him ideas that he never dreamed of. He can match from his poetry our sublimest thoughts; even our science perhaps has few conceptions that are altogether novel to him. Our boast is not that we have more ideas or more brilliant ideas, but that our ideas are better tested and sounder. The greatness of modern, as compared with medieval or ancient, civilisation is that it possesses a larger stock of demonstrated truth, and therefore infinitely more of practical power. But the poetic or mystic philosopher is by no means disposed to regard demonstrated truth with reverence, he is rather apt to call it shallow, and to sneer at its practical triumph, while he revels for his part in reverie and the luxury of unbounded speculation."—Ibid, Course II, lecture V.

ENGLISH PUBLIC OPINION AND INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

".....public opinion does not know what to make of it, but looks with flank indignation and despair upon a Government which seems utterly un-English, which is bureaucratic and in the hands of a ruling race, which rests mainly on military force, which raises its revenue, not in the European fashion, but by monopolies of salt and opium and by taking the place of a universal land-lord, and in a hundred other ways departs from the traditions of England." The Expansion of England: by J. R. Seeley, professor of history in the University of Cambridge, London, Macmillan and Co. 1885. pages 190-1.

THE INDIAN'S CAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

"India then is of all countries that which is least capable of evolving out of itself a stable Government. And it is to be feared that our rule may have diminished what little power of this sort it may have originally possessed. For our supremacy has necessarily depressed those classes which had anything of the talent or habit of self-government." Ibid, p. 196.

THE CONQUEST OF INDIA.

"Our European wars involved us in a debt that we have never been able to pay. But our Indian wars have not swelled the National debtif once it is admitted that the sepoys always outnumbered the English, and that they kept pace with the English in efficiency as soldiers, the whole theory that attributes our successes to an immeasurable natural superiority in valour falls to the ground...It follows that, though no doubt there was a difference, it was not so much a difference of race as a difference of discipline, of military science, and also no doubt in many cases a difference in leadership.....India can hardly be said to have been conquered at all by foreigners; she has rather conquered herself..... As to the finances of all these wars, it falls under the general principle which applies to all wars of conquest. Conquest pays its own expenses..... the conquest of India was made, as a matter of course, at the expense of India.....the expression 'conquest', as applied to the acquisition of sovereignty by the East India Company in India is not merely loose but thoroughly misleading... This then was the talisman which the Company possessed, and which enabled it not merely to hold its own among the powers of India but to surpass them,—not some incommunicable physical or moral superiority, as we love to imagine—but a superior discipline and military system, which *could* be communicated to the natives of India." Ibid, Course II, Lecture III.

HAS INDIA GAINED?

"We are not disposed to be proud of the succession of the Great Mogul. We doubt whether with all the merits of our administration the subjects of it are happy. We may even doubt whether our rule is preparing them for a happier condition, whether it may not be sinking them lower in misery, and we have our misgivings that perhaps a genuine Asiatic government, and still more a national government springing up out of the Hindoo population itself, might in the long run be more beneficial because more congenial, though perhaps less civilised, than such a foreign unsympathetic government as our own." Ibid, p. 237.

Our western civilization is perhaps not absolutely the glorious thing we like to imagine it. Those who watch India most impartially see that a vast transformation goes on there, but sometimes it produces a painful impression on them; they see much destroyed, bad things and

good things together; sometimes they doubt whether they see many good things called into existences." Ibid, p. 305.

"Have we really so much power over the march of events as we suppose?.....The lapse of time and the force of life, 'which working strongly binds', limit our freedom more than we know, and even when we are not conscious of it at all." Ibid, p. 306.

NATIONALITY AND REPRESSION.

"Who does not know the extreme difficulty of repressing the disaffection of a conquered population.' Over and over again it has been found impossible, even where the superiority both in the number and efficiency of troops has been decidedly on the side of the conquerors.....For the instinct of nationality or of separate religion more than supplies the place of valour or of discipline, being diffused through the whole population and not confined to the fighting part of it.....There is then no Indian nationality, though there are some germs out of which we can conceive an Indian nationality developing itself. It is this fact, and not some enormous superiority on the part of the English race, that makes our Empire in India possible. If there could arise in India a nationality-movement similar to that which we witnessed in Italy, the English Power could not even make the resistance that was made in Italy by Austria, but must succumb at once. For what means can England have, which is not even a military state, of resisting the rebellion of two hundred and fifty millions of subjects? Do you say as we conquered them before, we could conquer them again? But I explained that we did not conquer them. I showed you that of the army which won our victories fourfifths consisted of native troops. That we were able to hire these native troops for service in India, was due to the fact that the feeling of nationality had no existence there. Now if the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there only feebly, if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion, from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist. For of the army by which it is garrisoned two-thirds consist of native soldiers. Imagine what an easy task the Italian patriots would have had before them, if the Austrian Government which they desired to expel had depended not upon Austrian but upon Italian soldiers! Let us suppose—not even that the native army mutinied—but simply that a native army could not any longer be levied. In a moment the impossibility of holding India would become manifest to us. For it is a condition of our Indian Empire that it should be held without any great effort. As it was acquired without much effort on the part of the English state, it must be retained in the same way. We are not pre-

pared to bury millions upon millions or army upon army in defending our acquisition. The moment India began really to show herself what we so idly imagine her to be a conquered nation, that moment we should recognise perforce the impossibility of retaining her.

".....it is a mere European prejudice to assume that since we do not rule by the will of the people of India, we must needs rule *against* their will. The love of independence presupposes political consciousness. Where this is wanting, a foreign Government will be regarded passively, and such a Government may continue for a long time and prosper, without exerting any extraordinary skill. Such a passive feeling towards Government becomes inveterate in a country that has been frequently conquered. Governments most oppressive have often continued for centuries, and that though they had no means of resisting rebellion if it should arise, simply because it did not enter into the habits of the people to rebel, because they were accustomed to obedience. Read the history of the Russian Czars in the sixteenth century. Why did a great population submit to the furious caprices of Ivan the Terrible? The answer is plain. They had been trampled under foot for two centuries by the Tartars, and during that period they had acquired the habit of passive submission.

"Now ought we to expect the population of India to be in a similar condition of feeling? Of liberty, popular institutions, there exists scarcely a trace in the whole extent of Indian history or tradition. The Italians had the Roman Republic behind them, and it was by reading Livy to the people that Rienzi roused them to rebellion. No Indian demagogue could find any thing similar and read to the people. And for seven hundred years when the English arrived, they had been governed not only by despots but by foreign despots. It would be marvellous indeed if in such a country the feeling could have sprung up that Government exists for and depends on the people, if a habit of criticising Government, of meditating its overthrow, or of organising opposition against it, could have sprung up.—Nations have, as it were, very stiff joints. They do not easily learn a new kind of movement, they do what their fathers did, even when they fancy themselves most original.

....Now by this rule we should expect to find the Indian population silently submitting to whatever Government had the possession of power, even though it were foreign, as our Government is, and even though it were savagely oppressive which we think our government is not.

"Our Government of India would be a miracle on two conditions. First, if the Hindus had been accustomed to be ruled only by their own countrymen, and were familiar with the idea of resisting authority. This is not the case of the Hindus, and accordingly they submit, as throughout history vast populations have been

in the habit of submitting to governments which they could easily overthrow, as the Chinese at the present day submit to a Tartar domination, as the Hindus themselves submitted to a Mogul domination before the English came. Indeed this example of the Moguls is well adapted to show that our ascendancy over the Hindus is no proof of any supernatural statesmanship in us. For one cannot read the Mogul history without being struck with the very same fact which surprises us in the history of the English rule, viz., that the Moguls too conquered almost without apparent means. Babar, the founder of the empire, did not come with a mighty nation at his back, or leaning on the organisation of some powerful state....

"Secondly our rule would be wonderful if the two hundred million Hindus hate the habit of thinking all together, like a single nation. If not, there is nothing wonderful in it. A mere mass of individuals, unconnected with each other by any common feelings or interests, is easily subjected, because they may be induced to act against each other. Now I have pointed out how weak are the bonds which unite the Hindus. If you wish to see how this want of internal union has operated in favour of our rule, you have only to read the history of the great Mutiny. It may have occurred to you when I said that a mutiny or even less than a mutiny on the part of our native troops would be instantly fatal to our Empire, that just such a mutiny actually happened in 1857, and yet that our Empire still flourishes. But you are to observe that I spoke of a mutiny caused by a nationality-movement spreading among the people and at last gaining the army. The mutiny of 1857 was not of this kind. It began in the army and was regarded passively by the people; it was provoked by definite military grievances, and not by any disaffection caused by the feeling of nationality against our Government as foreign. But now let us ask: in what way was this Mutiny, when once it had broken out, put down?.....

"You see, the Mutiny was in a great measure put down by turning the races of India against each other. So long as this can be done, and so long as the population have not formed the habit of criticising their Government, whatever it be, or of rebelling against it, the Government of India from England is possible, and there is nothing miraculous about it. But, as I said, if this state of things should alter, if by any process the population should be welded into a single nationality, if our relation to it should come to resemble even distantly the relation of Austria to Italy, then I do not say we ought to begin to fear for our dominion, I say we ought to cease at once to hope for it. I do not imagine that the danger we have to apprehend is that of a popular insurrection.....I do not find in history that revolutions are caused in this way. I find great populations

cowering in abject misery for centuries together, but they do not rise in rebellion, no; if they cannot live they die, and if they can only just live, their sensibilities dulled and their very wishes crushed out by want. A population that rebels is a population that is looking up, that has begun to hope and to feel its strength. But if such a rising took place, it would be put down by the native soldiery, so long as they have not learnt to feel themselves brothers to the Hindu and foreigners to the Englishman that commands them. But on the other hand if this feeling ever does spring up, if India does begin to breathe as a single national whole—and our rule is perhaps doing more than ever was done by former Governments to make this possible—then no such explosion of despair, even if there were cause for it, would be needed. For in that case the feeling would soon gain the native army, and on the native army ultimately we depend. We could subdue the Mutiny of 1857, formidable as it was, because it spread through only

a part of the army, because the people did not actively sympathise with it, and because it was possible to find native Indian races who would fight on our side. But the moment a mutiny is but threatened, which shall be no mere mutiny, but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end, as all desire ought to be at an end, of preserving our Empire. For we are not really conquerors of India, and we cannot rule her as conquerors; if we undertook to do so, it is not necessary to enquire whether we could succeed, for we should assuredly be revived financially by the mere attempt."—Lecture IV, course II, Seeley's *Expansion of England*, Macmillan & Co., London 1885.

[Prof. Seeley, or rather Sir J. R. Seeley, was the author of two well known books, one on *Natural Religion* and the other named *Ecce Homo*. He was professor of history at Cambridge, and delivered this series of Lectures to his students.]

THE ESHER REPORT

BY SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI, FORMERLY EDITOR OF THE *Punjabee*.

THE principal recommendations of the Esher Committee involve questions of a far-reaching nature. Among these questions there are several which are of a fundamental character and, therefore, demand greater attention than the others.

The Report of the Esher Committee is based on the assumption that it is the duty of India to equip and maintain at her own cost an army adequate enough to serve the needs of the Empire. The standard of equipment required, however, is to be laid down by the Imperial General Staff in England, the people of India having absolutely no voice in the determination either of this standard or of the military policy of the Government of India. "We cannot," the Esher Committee state, "consider the administration of the army in India otherwise than as a part of the total armed forces of the Empire". "India," the Committee add, "has now been admitted into partnership with the Empire, and the Indian Army has fought, alongside troops from other parts of the Empire, in every theatre of war. Its responsibilities have thus been greatly widened, and it can no longer be regarded as a local force, whose sphere of activity is

limited to India and the surrounding frontier territories. It must rather be treated as a part of an Imperial army, ready to serve in any part of the world." Again: "Just as the security of India demands the presence of British troops, the fresh military obligations devolving on the Empire as a result of the war necessitate the employment overseas of considerable numbers of Indian troops."

The Esher Committee have thus made proposals with a view to laying the foundations of what they describe as "a sound Imperial military system." The policy underlying these proposals is in complete contravention of the spirit of Section 22 of the Government of India Act, 1915. Section 22 distinctly lays down that except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of His Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defraying the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of those possessions by His Majesty's forces charged upon those revenues.

The main purpose of the Indian army

has so far been to prevent or repel actual invasion and to maintain internal peace. But henceforth it is proposed to be used for carrying out a policy for which India is not responsible and which either has been or is likely to be adopted in the furtherance of interests in which India has no concern. "We feel bound to assume," the Committee say, "that Western Europe will no longer be an armed camp containing national armies in a high state of preparation for war, and we note that conflicts fraught with the gravest consequences to the belligerent nations cannot in future take place within a few days or weeks of an order to mobilize. We realise, and the evidence of Lord Allenby confirms our belief, that the war has left Eastern Europe, and what is commonly known as the Near and Middle East, in a condition of grave unrest, with consequences to India, especially as regards her military and financial resources, that we are unable to ignore." The Committee recommend that the Royal Indian Marine should be expanded so as to enable it to undertake certain fresh responsibilities, the most important of which is the policing of the Persian Gulf, a proposal with which, we are told, the Government of India are in agreement. It is preposterous to suggest that India should be called upon to bear burdens arising out of Imperial military policy and the complications of European diplomacy.

So long as India is not placed on a footing of perfect equality with the Dominions and is not able to control her military policy, she is not bound to contribute to the maintenance of any part of the forces required for Imperial purposes. In the Dominions though the control of all the expeditionary forces of the Empire, naval and military, passes, on the outbreak of war, automatically to the Imperial War Office and Admiralty, yet in time of peace, the raising, equipping and control of the Dominion forces remain in the hands of their respective Governments, and even in war, no compulsory levy of forces, or contribution to the cost of war, is imposed on the self-governing dominions by the Imperial Government. The military forces of the Dominions are in every case raised and provided for by the local Acts passed in virtue of the general legislative powers of the Parliament in question. A similar policy should be followed in respect of India if the responsible government that is proposed to be given to

her is to be a reality, for it follows from the grant of responsible government that the Imperial Government ceases to be responsible for the military defence against internal disturbances. India cannot besides be held responsible for an external policy which is not initiated by her and over which she has no control.

A very important question arises out of aforesaid considerations. This question is, how should the control of the army be shared between the Government of India as it is constituted at present and the British Government, so long as India does not get full responsible government? The Esher Committee recognise that the Reforms have in view the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State over the Army in India. They, however, pretend to believe that this condition will be fulfilled by transferring the control of the Indian army from the Secretary of State to the Imperial General Staff. "The relations between the India Office and the Government of India," the Committee state, "are presumably based upon the importance of keeping the control of Parliament as far as possible intact over Indian expenditure. The theory, sound in itself in view of the bureaucratic form of Government in India, has proved to be illusory in practice. The business of Parliament is too great and too complex to enable any effective control to be exercised by the House of Commons over Indian expenditure. In practice, therefore, the control of the India Office has been merely the control of one bureaucracy over another."

What the Esher Committee, in fact, propose is that while the Secretary of State should, on the one hand be divested of all real authority in military matters, the people of India, on the other hand, should not have any effective voice either in the administration of the Indian Army or in questions of military policy. "We are unable," the Committee state, "to admit any close resemblance between the principles which are applied to army administration in this country (the United Kingdom), governed as it is under democratic Parliamentary institutions and the conditions that obtain in India, where the government remains of a bureaucratic character with such Parliamentary checks as are found to be possible. No analogy exists between the Government of India and that of any European country." The

Esher Committee recommend not only that the Imperial General Staff in England through its Chief should be allowed to exercise a considerable influence on the military policy of the Government of India but that the military policy of India should virtually be controlled by the Imperial General Staff.

The Esher Committee propose that greater latitude should be allowed to the Governor-General in Council. But they at the same time suggest that the Commander-in-Chief in India should have freedom of communication with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff in London and its Officers, and that the Commander-in-Chief shall be the sole military adviser of the Government of India. The Committee lay particular stress upon the importance of maintaining constant and intimate touch between the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Imperial General Staff in London. The nature of the control with which the Government of India are proposed to be invested is explained in the following excerpt from the Esher Report: "On the one hand, the Commander-in-Chief will look to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff for supreme direction in all questions of Imperial military policy in which India is concerned; and, on the other hand, the Governor-General will look to the Commander-in-Chief for military advice upon questions in which India only is concerned, and also upon questions of a wider military character with confidence that the Commander-in-Chief will be in a position to express upon the latter the considered views of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. The Commander-in-Chief in India would accordingly be able to communicate with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff in London about the military policy to be adopted by India. He would be able to do so without regard either to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, or the Government of India, what to say of the reformed legislatures to be brought into existence for the progressive realisation of responsible government in India.

Amongst the critics of the Esher Committee's Report in England the most influential is the "Times." One of the cardinal defects of the Committee's Report, it says, is that it seems to aim at destroying responsibility at every stage. "What are we to think of a system," the journal asks, "under which a General Staff, Imperial or Indian, can force into operation an immense new scheme

without public discussion, without counting the cost, without any reference to Parliament, and even without publication of the views of the Government of India?" Professor Keith has also raised his voice against the recommendations of the Committee. It is no wonder that Sir K. G. Gupta, who was a member of the Committee, in his Minute appended to the Report, remarks that the great importance of the momentous declaration of the policy made in the announcement of August 1917 has not been sufficiently realised. In the covering letter to the Secretary of State for India, dated the 3rd November, 1919, submitting Part I of the Report, the Committee observed: "We desire also to mention that we have been requested in considering our recommendations to avoid, if possible, framing them in such a manner as may hereafter prove inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards a Dominion status!" Sir K. G. Gupta was not a member of the Committee when that letter was written. If he had been, he says, he should have urged that their recommendations should not only be not inconsistent with Indian autonomy, but that they should be so framed as to help India to attain the goal which had been set down for her.

"I should be failing in my duty to the British Government, and unfaithful to my country, if I did not take this opportunity to express my conviction that we can peacefully attain national unity and full responsible government only through the sympathetic help and guidance of Great Britain, and that it is, therefore, to our advantage to remain so long as we can do so with due self-respect, a component part of the great British Empire. But if we are to achieve this goal of national unity and full responsible government it is necessary that the British Government should completely change their angle of vision in regard to military administration in India, and that they should be prepared to share the control of the army with the people of the country."

No less important than the questions referred to above is the problem of cost. "In submitting our recommendations," the Esher Committee state, "we have borne in mind that many of them will entail increased expenditure. We are aware that the present cost of the army in India (1920-21) is already double the pre-war cost." Though the Committee admit that their proposals will further increase the annual cost of the army in India and involve heavy initial expenditure, they have not been able to form even an approximate estimate of their cost. Moreover, they

in his despair, takes to class conflict as the only remedy for his ills. He finds in the strike a very potent weapon, and uses it mercilessly and without any regard for the interests of society. He forgets that a strike is a destructive contest, in which the employee stands, in the long run, to lose as much as the employer. Smarting under a sense of injustice and humiliation, the labourer fails to realise that in so far as a strike tends to destroy capital or prevent it from coming into existence, the blow is aimed not merely at the head of the capitalist but at his own. Another danger also goes unnoticed, namely, that in some of its phases, a strike represents active, and not merely passive resistance. Not unoften, class conflicts result not only in the loss of productive power but also in the destruction of natural resources.

It is true that there is a tendency on the part of labour to exaggerate its own importance. The claim that the marvellous achievements of modern industry are wholly due to labour cannot be substantiated. The secret of this wonderful progress is really to be found in the application of science to industry. Labour, no doubt, has contributed to this progress, but it must be remembered that the effectiveness of labour has been enormously enhanced by invention and organisation. Large-scale production, the introduction of improved processes, the utilisation of steam and electricity, and the wonderful facilitation of exchanges, have been made possible by the concentration of capital and the devotion of the entrepreneur. While, therefore, the community should be willing to accord to labour its proper place in industry, labour on its part should not fail to recognise the great services rendered to industry by the capitalist and, in a larger measure, by the organiser.

The harmonious co-operation of the various factors of production is now urgently needed. It is satisfactory that ideas as to the relative values of labour and capital are being gradually modified, and the importance of the human factor in industry is being recognised. Such hypotheses of orthodox political economy as "industry is limited by capital," and

"wages are determined by the ratio between the amount of capital and number of labourers," are being discarded. The belief that higher wages tend to greater efficiency is gaining ground. A rapprochement between labour and capital will vastly increase the productive power of the community. But so long as man continues to be divided against himself, he cannot hope to make the fullest use of the resources which the bounty of Nature has placed at his disposal.

The present industrial system is often described as the dictatorship of the capitalist. How far this description is correct, we will not discuss at present. But it cannot be denied that there prevails a sort of semi-military organisation in the existing economic order. The drawbacks of this system have led men to conceive of some other systems in which those, who as producers spend the greater part of their time and strength in an industry, should have the right and the responsibility of participating in its management. The older economists did not foresee this development. Walker wrote not very long ago,

"Mastership is essential to a large and varied production. The industrial enterprises of the civilised States could not have been brought to their present height without mastership, and could not be maintained at that height one year without it. Whatever may be true of Politics, the industry of the world is not tending towards democracy, but in the opposite direction."

So far as his analysis of the past was concerned, Walker was perhaps right, but that his view of the future was extremely limited and narrow, has been proved by the course of modern events. The one outstanding fact in the modern industrial world is that almost all the countries of Europe and America are now on the road to industrial self-government. As has been observed by an eminent economist, the labouring classes are, in one way or another,

"reaching out for the means of adjustment of economic institution to political ideals. They are seeking to gain this end both by a large degree of control in the direct management of industry from within and by the coercion and direction of industry through political action. The effect of either method is towards industrial democracy."

Indeed, 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' is the ideal in industry, as well as in politics, and self-determination is the cry of the hour.

This tendency towards the democratisation of industry has manifested itself in the various forms of co-operative association which have come into existence and have achieved varying measures of success. The Trade Unions in England and most of the other countries of the west have acquired immense strength by the perfectness of their organisation. They have helped largely to promote the personal freedom of the wage-earning populations and to raise their standards of comfort. They have not, however, been to any great extent successful in promoting the economic efficiency of labour, and their methods have been, in many instances, destructive rather than constructive. The Professional Associations of Brain-workers have, on the other hand, devoted themselves in a larger degree to constructive effort. But while they have helped to improve the technique of the arts with which they are concerned and to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, they have not acquired that unity of aim and strength of purpose which have characterised Trade Unions. Artels and Self-governing Workshops are examples of attempts to eliminate the autocratic and oligarchic elements from industry. But these Producers' Associations have so far achieved only a limited measure of success. The principle of co-operation has been more triumphant in the domains of exchange and credit. Consumers' Associations and Co-operative Credit Societies are today among the most healthy features of the industrial and social organisations of every civilised country, and their importance is bound to grow with the lapse of time. Co-partnership and Profit-sharing have for their object the minimisation of the causes which produce friction between capital and labour and their efforts to bring about some sort of harmony between the two factors of production are highly commendable. Wages Boards with equal representation of the employers and the employed are also a device to secure the same end. Industrial Councils, District Councils and

Works Committees recommended by the Whitley Commission are an improvement on the Wages Board system. A similar system is now being given a trial in Italy and the experiment will be watched with interest by all economists. The principle upon which this new arrangement works is the formation of a joint Committee of control representing employers and employees in each factory, and the Committee carries out the technical and financial management of the factory as well as the complete organisation. The workmen control the wages as well as the cost of raw material and the selling price of the manufactured article. This is a cooperative movement on a far larger scale than has hitherto been witnessed.

These organisations, which are limited in scope, and more or less private in character, have in the past attempted to mitigate the evils of the present industrial system. The State has also in almost every western country taken various measures in the interests of its labouring population. The results of these measures, if not commensurate with the magnitude of the problem, cannot be regarded as negligible. Child and female labour have been subjected to regulation; the workers have been protected against accidents and insured against unemployment; the hours of work have been restricted; all hindrances to free combination or associations have been removed; and the principle of a "fair wage" has been accepted and sought to be put into practice. Furthermore, in order to reduce the inequalities of wealth, the most advanced States have adopted systems of taxation which seek to lighten the burden falling on the poorer classes of the people.

These are no small gains. But there are some who do not believe in palliatives, compromises, and half measures. Mitigation is, in their view, likely to prevent the adoption of a cure, and nothing short of a radical reconstruction of the entire economic structure of society will satisfy these enthusiasts. Such desires are not confined to any particular nation, but are observable in all the countries of the west. In England, France and the United States,

the movement is towards a gradual and more or less peaceful evolution of the new order. But the political revolutions of the past few years has made the adoption of evolutionary methods impossible in Germany, Hungary and some of newly created nationalities of Europe. And the revolutionary character of the movement has been most marked in Russia where no effort has been spared to throw away all vestiges of the old economic order.

These events have been generally influenced by the doctrines which have been preached by economic and political theorists in the past. These theorists are usually known as Communists, Collectivists or Socialists. But their theories appear in various shapes. Socialism and Anarchist Communism are the most important of the older doctrines. Syndicalism is also a fairly familiar ideal, while Guild Socialism and Bolshevism are more recent theories. There are many ideas to be found common to all these doctrines, but there are also some points of difference both as regards principles and methods. Communistic ideas are as old as Plato, if not older still, but it was not until the nineteenth century that any definite attempt was made to put them into practice. Socialism has many forms. Robert Owen in England and Saint-Simon and Fourier in France were the pioneers of idealistic socialism. They believed in theories of social reconstruction which were more or less Utopian in character. But the note which they first sounded was taken up by others with a more practical turn of mind. The father of the modern socialistic movement was Karl Marx. It was he who not only presented the Socialist doctrine in a form acceptable to large masses of men but gave a practical shape to the idea which has now become almost an irresistible force in the world. Marxism and Socialism have thus become convertible terms. Socialism, in the wider sense, is a tendency, but Marxism is not very far removed from a revealed dogma. Marxism is both an economic and a political movement. In the opinion of Marx, most of the phenomena of human society have their origin in material conditions and these he takes to be embodied in the eco-

nomie systems. Political constitutions, laws, religions, philosophies—all these he regards as in their broad outlines as expressions of the economic regime in the society that gives rise to them. Marx and his colleague Engels regard the modern State as "the means of the exploitation of wage labour by capital" and their aim is to wrest all capital from the Bourgeoisie and to centralise the instruments of production in the hands of "the State, that is, the proletariat organised as the ruling class." The main doctrines of Marxism are thus class war, the abolition of private property, and the dictatorship of the proletariat; and its method is violent revolution.

Anarchist Communism is more political than economic in its aims and methods. So far as the economic structure of society is concerned, there is not much difference between Socialism and Anarchism. But while the Socialist proposes to give immense power to the State, the Anarchist insists on the abolition of the State altogether. Also, while the Socialist advocates government by majority, the Anarchist holds that the common affairs of society should be decided by the opinion of all the members composing it.

Syndicalism is at one with Socialism in its aim to do away with the existing economic order. But while the Socialist advocates State ownership and control of property and industry, the Syndicalist like the Anarchist, regards the State as the great enemy of the people. Believing that the lot of the labourers would be much worse under State control than under private employers, the Syndicalist desires to vest the control of industry in the labourers themselves working through their Unions. The two systems also differ in their methods. While the Socialist hopes to transform society by political action, the Syndicalist believes in industrial action, a general strike being the principal part of his programme.

Guild-Socialism is in reality a development of the Syndicalist idea. The advocate of the National Guilds agrees partly with the State Socialist, that is, in his b

lief in conserving the State organisation and reserving to it certain functions. But he is in substantial agreement with the Syndicalist who wants that the labourers should be their own masters. Mr. S. G. Hobson says,

"The active principle of the Guild is industrial democracy. Herein it differs from State Socialism or Collectivism. In the one case, control comes from without and is essentially bureaucratic, in the other the Guild manages its own affairs, appoints its own officers, from the General Manager to the office-boy, and deals with other Guilds and with the State as a self-contained unit. It rejects State Bureaucracy; but on the other hand, it rejects Syndicalism, because it accepts co-management with the State always, however, subject to the principle of industrial democracy."

The Guild Socialist denies to the State any final sovereignty, but it considers it simply as a 'primus inter pares' among other associations. In the opinion of Mr. G. D. H. Cole, the State is to be not merely a repository of purely political functions, but also the representative of the consumer. The Guild Congress is to be the final authority in all economic matters and "co-sovereign" with the political parliament, and the two bodies are to meet occasionally in joint Congresses to consider questions which are partly political and partly economic in character. The system of national Guilds is, indeed, an endeavour to effect a compromise between Socialism and Syndicalism. So far as they seek to abolish the wage system, their object is a commendable one, but as for their institution, there can be, to use the words of a well-known economist, "no limited partnership between the whole and the part."

A more modest form of the Guild idea is to be found in the scheme of a devolution of industrial matters to vocational or functional bodies connected with each industry or trade, while retaining the ultimate sovereignty of the national parliament. Regionalism is another alternative. It is a form of devolution to local bodies, either existing or ad hoc, for matters concerning the economy of a people of particular local areas. The smaller area of the "region" is, in many

cases, better suited for purposes of economic organisation than the larger area of the State. Municipalisation has also been advocated as a suitable method. The Municipalities in every civilised country have assumed their position as units of economic life and have undertaken many duties of an economic character; and any reasonable extension of their activities is likely to prove beneficial.

One of the most interesting schemes which has recently been put forward is the plan of Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb for a Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain. Mr. and Mrs. Webb want to delimit the spheres of governmental activity by separating the political functions of the State from the function of house-keeping. In their opinion, public business consists of two complexes, "each of them forming a coherent and inter-dependent whole on which the community may, by appropriate channels of expression, be enabled to formulate a Common Will." The first or political complex comprises the relations of the community as a whole with other communities and the maintenance of order and individual freedom within the community. The other complex is that of the business which is essentially economic in character and comprises within it everything connected with the conservation of the resources of the community, the administration of its industries and services, the maintenance in health of its population, its education, the development of literature, science and art, and generally the determination for the present generation and for the future, of the kind of civilisation that the community desires to maintain. The respective businesses of these two complexes are to be under the control of two coequal and independent parliaments—a Political and a Social Parliament—each with its own separate Executive for administering the departments proper to its own sphere. The Social Parliament is to devise an industrial organisation consisting of three principal forms, comprising in the first the great industries and services, in the second those enterprises which may most advantageously be conducted by munici-

have not indicated the source from which the money required for carrying out their recommendations will come. The prospects of industrial and agricultural development and of the revival of trade, however, gives them hope and they are confident that the revenues of India will expand sufficiently to enable their projects being carried out. The "Times" takes a strong stand against the new proposals on the ground that they imply the creation of "an inordinate number of high posts." Instead of two "Armies" there are to be four "Army Commands," each under a Commander-in-chief in India. Then there are to be no fewer than fourteen "districts," each presumably under an officer of high rank; and each district is to contain a certain number of brigade commands. "It must be obvious," says the "Times" "that under the new scheme there will be far too many highly paid posts. If this is 'reform,' India may well pray to be left alone."

Indeed, the proposals of the Esher Committee serve as a powerful argument in favour of reducing the defence forces of India. "It is a dangerous mistake," the late Lord Ripon pointed out to the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1897, "to suppose that you can regard the army in India as an army on which you can indent for general imperial purposes." His Lordship warned England against the habit of relying upon India as a country from which she could draw troops when she pleased. If the Indian army was a larger force than India required for defending herself, then it ought, his Lordship said, to be reduced.

The International Financial Conference that met a short while ago at Brussels made certain observations which will be read with interest and profit in this connection. In its official report the Conference said that the statements presented to it showed that on an average some 20 per cent of the national expenditure was still being devoted to the maintenance of armaments and to preparations for war. The Conference affirmed with the utmost emphasis that the world could not afford this expenditure. The Conference stated :

"Only by a frank policy of mutual co-operation can the nations hope to regain their old prosperity, and to secure that result the whole resources of each country must be devoted to strictly productive purposes. The Conference accordingly recommends most earnestly to the Council of the League of Nations the desirability of conferring at once with

the several Governments concerned, with a view to securing a general and agreed reduction of the crushing burden which, on their existing scale, armaments still imposed on the impoverished people of the world,... sapping their resources and imperilling their recovery from the ravages of war. The Conference hopes that the Assembly of the League which is about to meet will take energetic action to this end."

It should be remembered that India's military expenditure is considerably above 30 per cent of her total expenditure. No country stands so much in need of funds for carrying out urgent projects of internal reform as India and every rupee that can be secured needs to be utilised for this purpose. This should be done not by imposing additional taxes in order that a foreign bureaucracy which is already very highly paid may be able to enjoy a more substantial income and that a larger number of such appointments may be thrown open for the benefit of people who do not belong to this country, but by applying the pruning knife to the present overgrown expenditure, civil and military.

One of the ways in which the military expenditure in India may be effectively reduced is by substituting, as far as possible, Indian soldiers and officers for British soldiers and officers. As Sir K. G. Gupta says in his Minute :

"The imported article, whether personnel or material, must necessarily be more costly than that which can be obtained at home. The British soldier roughly costs three times as much as the sepoy. The proportion is not so high in the case of the officer, but the fact that the British officer has to be remunerated adequately tends to raise the scale of pay of the Indian officers and thus adds largely to the army expenditure, which is already high, and the only way of introducing economy without impairing efficiency is gradually to increase the Indian element in the ranks as well as in superior positions."

Another matter which demands public attention relates to the status and emoluments of Indians in the army. In this important matter the Esher Committee's recommendations are most unsatisfactory. It is necessary not only that all invidious distinctions based on racial consideration should be abolished in the Army but that Indians should be placed on a footing of perfect equality with Britishers. His Majesty's Government are definitely pledged to a twofold policy, namely that of the increasing association of Indians, in every branch of the administration and of the removal of all distinctions based on race. The Esher Committee disregard the policy of equa-

lity of treatment laid down by His Majesty's Government by creating new disabilities and by setting up distinctions where such do not exist. Sir K. G. Gupta has entered an emphatic protest against the methods that find favour with Committee. He says :

"On the military side the tendency has been to make the grip closer and tighter, so as not only to keep the Indians out of all superior positions, but also practically to exclude them from the artillery and various other services, which form essential branches of the army organisation. But now that a solemn declaration of policy has been made, such a distinction must no longer be observed if that declaration is not to remain a dead letter or a mere pious wish. Distrust must now give place to confidence. It is not enough that the civil administration should be democratised and placed on a representative basis, but Indians should also be eligible for positions of trust and responsibility in the army. The adoption of measures which shall make the Civil Government responsible to the people does not, in itself, make a country autonomous and self-governing, nor can it ever become so, as long as the administration of the army remains in other hands."

The mentality of the members of the Esher Committee, with, of course, one exception, is exemplified by the attitude of discrimination that they adopt in regard to the question of increased emoluments in the case of Europeans and Indians serving in the army. The most extravagant terms are recommended for the European soldier and officer in order that they may be able to live in ease, comfort and contentment. But when the case of the Indian soldier comes under the consideration of the Committee they are overwhelmed by the thought that an increase in the pay of Indian soldiers might impose a burden on Indian revenues. They are not even ashamed to suggest that "an increase to the pay of the sepoy would inevitably result in an increase to the pay of other employees of Government, such as police and forest subordinates and the like, thus imposing a further heavy burden on Indian revenues." The Committee are also anxious to secure "that Indian

officers with King's commission should receive rather less emoluments in India than the British officer." It is in such ways that the Esher Committee propose to carry out the policy underlying the Reform Act.

The Esher Committee dispose of the arguments that have been put forward against the use of the Indian army for Imperial purposes by urging that a Dominion status implies responsibilities as well as privileges. India is asked to maintain a well-trained army capable of defending the Empire, and the privilege that the Committee are so anxious to confer on India appears to be the privilege of finding out the means necessary for the upkeep of this huge army. The only principle of the Reform Act to which the Committee find it possible to give their assent is one which has been assailed all over the country as being opposed to the real spirit of self-government, namely, that the British Government, and not the people of India, should be the sole judge of the time and measures of each advance towards full responsible government. It is thus that the Esher Committee have shown their recognition of the principle of self-government. The Committee appear to have a very novel idea of what responsible government consists in. India is not to be allowed to exercise even an iota of control in army matters. All that Indians are expected to do is to co-operate with those who are anxious to ruin her by saddling her with an expenditure that it is not possible for India to bear with the resources at her command, in order that British militarists may be able to pursue unchecked their schemes of military aggrandisement at India's cost and that British youths who find it difficult to secure suitable means of livelihood in their own country may be provided with easy avenues of employment at the expense of the poor Indian taxpayer. No effort should be spared to secure the rejection of these mischievous projects.

ERRATUM

The writer of the article, *Principles of Book-selection in a Library Institute*, appearing in our last (December, 1920) issue of this Review, is "Satis C. Guha, Member A. L. A. (Chicago), Librarian, Raj

Darbhanga," and not "Satis C. Guha, M.A. (Chicago), Librarian, Raj Darbhanga" as misprinted on page 609 of that issue.

Ed., M. R.

MODERN ECONOMIC THOUGHT

BY DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, D.SC., (LONDON);
MINTO PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

WITH the progress of mankind the bounds of human knowledge tend continually to expand, and the lapse of time makes a revision of the theories of every science necessary. This is specially true of the Social Sciences, for they deal with human affairs which are liable to perpetual change. Economics, like the other Social Sciences, is a growing science, and its principles require to be adjusted to the changing conditions. There is an intimate relation between economic facts and economic ideas, and the two react on each other. Economic phenomena are often influenced by economic ideas, and the economic doctrines, to be true, must be responsive to developments in the region of facts. All through the nineteenth century, there was a gradual process of economic evolution going on in the world, and in the last quarter of the century and the first decade of the twentieth century, the pace of this evolution was greatly accelerated. But the period of the late war and that of the recent peace have witnessed a wonderfully rapid march of events. The economic, as well as the political, world has travelled the track of centuries during these few years, and it would be surprising if the influence of these gigantic strides were not felt in the domain of economic thought. Indeed, many of the old ideas have gone into the melting pot, and doctrines which were once held as chimerical have been actually put into practice. An acquaintance, therefore, with the trend of modern economic thought is an indispensable necessity for every student of Economics and every man of the world. I do not propose today to make a historical review of economic thought. Nor will the time at my disposal allow of my making an

exhaustive exposition of its present position. But I will content myself with a few general remarks on some of the topics of urgent present-day interest.

Time was when a more or less narrow conception of Economics prevailed. Economists were supposed to encourage the selfish instinct in man, and "hard," "hard-hearted," and "dismal" were the terms applied to the science by eminent men of letters. It was also popularly believed that the only business of the economist was to spin his false and futile theories round an imaginary 'economic man' whose only interest in this world was the pursuit of wealth and who was not actuated by any other motive or passion. This distrust of economists was due largely to a misunderstanding. The 'economic man' was an abstraction made for the purpose of imparting logical clearness and scientific decision to the discussion of economic theory, and the misconception arose from the fact that the abstraction was taken for the reality. But the economists of the mid-Victorian era were also in part responsible for this prejudice against the science, in that they failed to make their meaning sufficiently clear. This state of things has now completely changed. The narrow conception of Economics has given place to a more healthy view and a broader outlook. The attitude of the people towards this science has also undergone a change, and it is now generally recognised that Economics is the science which, more than any other, can promote the real happiness of human beings. Wealth, not in its narrow sense of material goods, but in its true sense of welfare, is at the present day the subject-matter of the study of Economics.

Let us now turn to some of the characteristics of modern industry. All

writers on Economics agree in regarding competition as its chief characteristic. The present system is based upon the individualistic doctrine that each man is the best guardian of his own interests and that outside interference is more a hindrance than a help. The orthodox view is that if every man looked to his own advantage regardless of others, the total result for society at large would be a great gain. But this doctrine embodies only a half-truth. It is, no doubt, true that competition, in the sense of reasonable emulation in good work and efficiency, does increase the sum-total of advantage to the community. But experience has shown that competition, unlimited in scope and unrestricted by any sort of outside authority or influence, is not an unmixed good. Under such a system while the strong become stronger, the weak are crushed. It is often a struggle in which no mercy is shown to the helpless. Instead of producing harmony it produces discord. It sometimes means cut-throat conflict between individual and individual and between one nation and another.

Unrestrained individual effort in industry has, it may be admitted, resulted in a vast increase of productive power; but it has also given rise to many evils, which have been the fruitful source of discontent and strife. The closing years of the nineteenth century, therefore, witnessed a gradual reaction against the doctrine of competition, and the term itself acquired an ill repute. It was, perhaps, the intensity of popular feeling against the idea that led Professor Marshall to substitute for the term "competition" the term "economic freedom." But this latter term is hardly applicable to the present economic order of society, for the essence of economic freedom is full opportunity for all in the industrial sphere. Even the most ardent supporters of the present system will not deny that it gives to a comparatively small section of the community power to control the actions of the great majority of the citizens, and in such a condition of things it is only by a stretch of imagination that equality of opportunity may be said to

exist. The evils of the competitive system have been so serious that they have compelled the State in every civilised country to interfere in the interests of the weak and pass laws restricting the freedom of the strong. And not only have Governments found it necessary to intervene, but various voluntary organisations, such as Trusts and Cartels, Consumers' Co-operative Societies and Artels, Trades Unions and Associations of brain workers have been ushered into existence to limit competition in different spheres of economic activity and in different ways.

One of the greatest drawbacks of the modern system is to be found in the position occupied by labour in industry. Human skill has been superseded by mechanical devices. The workman of to-day, unlike his predecessor, the craftsman or artisan, is very far removed from the product of his labour. Individuality is lost in the complexity of mass-production, and the labourer feels no pride in his handiwork. Labour is always a toil and a burden, and is devoid of all interest for him. This circumstance tends to degrade the labourer both in his own eyes and in those of his masters. He loses his higher personality, and the capitalist regards his machine as of greater value than the man who works it. He is condemned to a lifelong wage-slavery from which escape is almost impossible. He is treated as an article of commerce, and his price is determined by a rigid application of the law of demand and supply. And the wages paid to him are too small to make a decent living possible. The distribution of the fruits of industry is made on so inequitable a basis that "the greatest want is found in the midst of the greatest abundance." In a country like England, for instance, according to a reliable estimate, "the manual wage-earners comprising two-thirds of the population obtain for their maintenance less than half the community's annual net product, while nine-tenths of the accumulated wealth belongs to one-tenth of the population."

Such an unnatural state of things cannot but lead to undesirable consequences. The labourer becomes discontented, and,

palities and other local bodies, and in the third such industries as coincide approximately with the sphere of Cooperative Movements.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb do not propose to go the whole hog with the other Socialists. They advocate not an abolition of private property but merely a socialisation of the instruments of production. Nor do they propose to transfer the administration of all branches the industry from private hands to those of the public all at once. They want to move along the lines of least resistance. This scheme is a form of Dyrarchy, and the usual objections to a dual system of government are applicable to it. Possibilities of friction between the two parliaments there will no doubt be, but given mutual good will and cooperation, the scheme does not appear to be a wholly impracticable one.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb's plan may very well be described as, in essence, a moderate scheme. At the other end of the scale stands the great experiment now being tried by the Soviet Republic of Russia. Our knowledge of the events of Russia is too meagre at the present moment to enable us to make any definite statement as to the character and methods of the Bolshevik Government. But there are certain facts which appear to be beyond dispute. In the economic sphere, at least one good thing must be placed to the credit of the Bolsheviks. They have given back to the people the rights to the land which they had enjoyed for centuries under the old system of Village Communities but of which they were deprived during the Tsarist regime. A well-known writer has described Bolshevism as "Socialism now." But it is something more; it is Marxism in its most extreme form. The Bolsheviks have followed Marx in their methods with the utmost zeal and the most ruthless fanaticism. The pressure of circumstances has, however, compelled them to make compromises with the theory of Marx. As has been pointed out by a well-known Socialist, instead of the relative equality of income and circumstances which should prevail according to their theory, there is the greatest divergence of income, and land

nationalisation is in practice peasant proprietorship. "The dictatorship of the proletariat," says Dr. Hayden Guest, Joint Secretary of the British Labour Delegation to Russia, "is an iron dictatorship, but it is not exercised by the proletariat."

The organisation of Councils of Workmen, Soldiers and Peasants—the Soviet system which Trotsky has described as the present day of democracy has already degenerated into rule by unrepresentative Executive Committees, which are subordinate to the orders of the Communist Party, and in their composition and their work they follow the decisions of this party."

Another British Socialist, Mr. S. G. Hobson, also pronounces the Soviet system a failure, and his view is that "Bolshevism has failed because it has attempted to combine the political with the economic functions." While the Fabian Society and the British Labour Party represent the evolutionary aspect of Socialism and Bolshevism its extreme revolutionary aspect, the Social Democratic Parties of the continent may be said to stand midway between the two.

The avowed object of the various schemes which have been put forward or practised is the destruction of the present industrial organisation. But Capitalism has not been without its advocates. To Mr. Hartley Withers belongs the credit of presenting the Capitalist's case with great ability and force. This indefatigable writer, in his latest book, advances arguments to prove that Capitalism is based not on injustice but on reason. He then proceeds to point out that this system has bred millions of active, busy, men and women; spread them over the world; reclaimed its waste places; increased its output so fast that the increased population has increased its command of goods even more rapidly than its numbers; industrial and scientific progress, in the control of the forces of nature, has proceeded with astonishing rapidity, and such progress has been accompanied by an extremely ingenious financial machinery and a great growth in banking; all classes have shared in the benefits produced by such expansion; wages have substantially increased, and the conditions of the labouring populations have considerably improved; the world has been

covered with a net-work of railways, and the shores of its various continents have been linked together by steamships of enormous power. While the material achievements of capitalism have been enormous in the past, they promise, in Mr. Withers's opinion, still greater miracles in the future if the same line is followed.

There is a great deal to be said in favour of the standpoint which Mr. Withers urges. But it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the evils of the present system. The problems with which society is faced are becoming more and more difficult of solution. The most important of these problems is what was stated many years ago by Henry George in these forceful words: "The association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social and political difficulties that perplex the world and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilisation and which not to answer is to be destroyed." This state of things cannot continue much longer, and the evils of the system on the distributive side at least, must be remedied without delay. So long as human nature remains what it is, absolute equality in the economic sphere is not likely to be attained; but that is no reason why an attempt should not be made to secure approximate equality. The commodity valuation of labour—which is repugnant to human nature—will have to be abandoned not merely in theory but in practice. Also, the system in which the great masses of the people are excluded from any effective share in the control of their own lives must give place to a more just and rational organisation.

It is undeniable that there are many things in the present system which require amendment. A re-orientation of the economic life of the community is an urgent necessity. But the question is: Should we try to improve the present structure, or pull it down and build anew? This question leads to the further questions: Which of the two methods would be more conducive to the interests of society as a

whole? And, in our attempt to rebuild, is it not likely that some of the good may be destroyed along with the bad? The central idea of Socialism is good; but society is an organism, and the new order cannot be manufactured: it must grow. Before society takes a leap in the dark, it must satisfy itself that the new order will be better than the present. The advocates of the various Socialistic schemes have yet to convince the thinking public that Socialism will succeed in maintaining and extending the quantity and quality of production, in securing individual freedom, in developing initiative in thought as well as action, in preventing class conflicts, in safeguarding the interests of minorities, and in promoting civilisation. State Socialism is open to the further objection that it will "bring with it the very great danger of the growth of officialism, bureaucracy, and red-tape, than which, if allowed free sway, few things can be more fatal to the real life of a nation." Nationalisation, it is feared, would merely substitute King Stork for King Log. A system of Anarchist Communism would prove beneficial only when human nature has been fundamentally changed. The Syndicalist who imagines a general strike as the gateway to a new heaven and a new earth is surely labouring under a delusion. The Guild System would most probably enthrone "collective mediocrity" in each industry and retard economic progress.

Another great weakness of many of the forms of Socialism is their tendency to identify the economic structure of society with society itself. But man does not live on bread alone. Mr. G. D. H. Cole says:

"Although society does in one sense walk upon its belly, it does not by any means follow that the belly must always be society's main concern, or that will always continue to dominate or determine the other forms of social action."

In the words of Bertrand Russell:

"The chief test of an economic system is not, whether it makes men prosperous, or whether it secures distributive justice, but whether it leaves men's instinctive growth unimpeded."

And as the eminent philosopher says,

"Socialism as a panacea seems to be mistaken

in this way, since it is too ready to suppose that better economic conditions will of themselves make men happy. It is not only more material goods that men need, but more freedom, more self-direction, more outlet for creativeness, more opportunity for the joy of life, more voluntary co-operation, and less voluntary subservience to purposes not their own."

It is essential to keep the ultimate goal steadily in view lest man, in his effort to find material goods, should lose his soul.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Psychical Phenomena and the "Exact" Sciences.

As India has fallen behind the West in the study and cultivation of the "exact" sciences, we should certainly devote great attention to science. But we should not neglect the study of psychical phenomena, in which Indians had once made great progress. The *Young Men of India* observes:—

At the present time in India the study of psychical phenomena has been neglected in favour of what are termed the "exact" sciences. We would have expected that our interests would have been exactly opposite—indeed, in Europe and America it is precisely the Indian who is respected for special gifts of psychical capacity. The reason is not far to seek. We are suffering from a reaction due to the charlatanism of so many of our practitioners. The *Faqir* and *Sanyasi* are discredited, and "science" with a capital S has imposed on so many of us her rigid sway. On the other side of the world, patient investigators in the meantime are slowly unravelling the problem of the "unconscious" and "subliminal." Their results have justified the use of special processes as therapeutic agencies. Hypnosis and psycho-analysis are fast obtaining recognition as powerful instruments in the cure of neurotic conditions. The war itself has still further accelerated the process, and satisfactory results have been obtained in cases of shell-shock treated by suggestion.

Joyous and Wholesome Industrial Life for India.

In the course of a series of articles entitled "Christ and Labour" which Mr. C. F. Andrews has been contributing to the *Young Men of India*, he writes:—

I believe it will be found that, just as the

history of the Christian Monasteries and Guilds is the most fruitful of all studies, in pointing to the true development of European industrial history in the coming age, so the history of the Buddhist monasteries and the Caste trade guilds of India will be found of supreme value to the Indian historian of progress, who sets out with a like object. What must be given up by all sane and sober thinkers, is the theory of the "clean slate" in industrial matters. We must never try to rub out the past. A tree, which has attained maturity, is unfit for transplantation. The history of India cannot possibly be swept away and the industrial experience of Europe substituted for it. Such an imitation of Europe, can only lead India in an utterly false direction. Our own industrial revolution in Europe took us by surprise and dislocated our social life. We were overwhelmed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and have not yet recovered. We have had to struggle out of the fearful *debacle* of the Factory System, and other abominations as best as we could. Indeed, even now, we are still striving to pick up some of the threads of our own past history and to weave them together. "Guild Socialism" is, perhaps, one of the methods which will best accomplish this end.

As regards India, he observes:—

In India, during the nineteenth century, there has come to pass a *debacle* scarcely less disastrous in industrial matters than that of Modern Europe. India's village industries have been destroyed, and the wealth of the country drained away to Europe, by economic exploitation. Just as in Europe our best thinkers are going back to the Monasteries and Guilds, in order to find the true strength and inspiration of the industrial life of "merrie England" (as Mediæval England is rightly named) so, I fully believe, there was once an industrial life in India, which was joyous and wholesome—a life in which agriculture and spinning and weaving went hand in hand together, and the whole country was self-supporting as it shared in a common prosperity.

He therefore concludes :—

It is surely to *this* life of India, which drew its inspiration from the joyous religious idealism and devotion of the past to which we must go back in this country for guidance to-day, rather than to that modern industrial life of Europe, which the Western sociologists themselves are seeking to surmount and supersede.

The Spirit of God and Buddhism.

In the *Young Men of India* Mr. K. J. Saunders asks, "Has Buddhism developed a true ideal of God and of man?" and says in reply :—

We are constrained to answer that in its long history of 2,500 years it has done for the East something of the same service which Christianity has done for the West; that it has, for example, developed in some phases a true and noble doctrine of God, and that it has, in the ideal of the Bodhisattva, embodied a true and worthy conception of man's nature as a servant of humanity, and of man's personality as consisting essentially in a capacity for fellowship and service.

I think a sympathetic study of the admirable figure of its founder will show that, as regards God, he was neither atheist nor agnostic; and that as regards man he certainly did not deny the soul, as is so often asserted. Knowing the Religious temper of his people, he laid the basis for a true theism by insisting that the universe is orderly, and in order to help man to conquer the demon of egoism, he attacked the old "ego" of animism, showing that the self is made up of a stream of emotions, thoughts, acts of the will, etc., and that it can only be purified if it is cleansed at once of superstitious religiosity, and of the cravings of evil desire. Japan as a whole would do well to go back and learn his great lessons, the unity of all human life and the power of love. Missionaries in Japan will certainly do well to make a thorough study of his life and teachings, from which mighty influences still flow.

Whatever may be the truth as to the original teachings of this great man, it is clear that his followers have made notable contributions to human history in education and art, in philosophy and morals, above all in saintly lives, the study of which will help the sympathetic investigator to the conclusion that here is a succession of great teachers and saints, not unworthy to be set side by side with the prophets of the Old Testament. These men beginning with gentle souls like Ananda and the great missionary Punna, and coming down, here in Japan, to the pietist Honen and the stern rugged prophet Nichiren, have they not been inspired by God?

It is clearly no longer possible for intelligent

minds to take the view of some of the early Jesuit missionaries that the devil had disguised himself in them as an angel of light!

Mr. Saunders holds that the Buddhists of Japan have a true idea of God.

How is such a statement to be tested? Clearly by the type of moral character which Buddhism has developed, by the philosophical consistency of its leading teachers, and by its power of adaptation in a changing world. These are the marks of the Living Spirit of God.

In studying moral results of Buddhism, let me remind you of the simple canon of interpretation—too often ignored—that we must compare the best with the best, and not with the worst. Doing so we shall find that Buddhism as a matter of history has developed a certain great type of character, in which compassion is eminent, and of which gratitude is the motive. How great, for example, a part have courtesy and kindness played in Japanese life; I personally have met nothing else, and I wish especially to pay my tribute to the generosity and friendliness of Buddhist priests and scholars.

He also says :—

The main ideas and titles applied here to Amida are found also in that most wonderful Buddhist book of the first century of our era, the *Hokkekyo*, or *Lotus Scripture*, which has done so much for Japan. Buddhism, in fact, came into the world setting forth as an ideal a compassion which is in itself divine :

"As, recking nought of self, a mother's love
Enfolds and cherishes her only son,
So through the world let thy compassion move.
And compass living creatures every one,
Soaring and sinking in unfettered liberty,
Free from ill-will, purged of all enmity!

—*Sutta Nipata*, a very early Pali work.

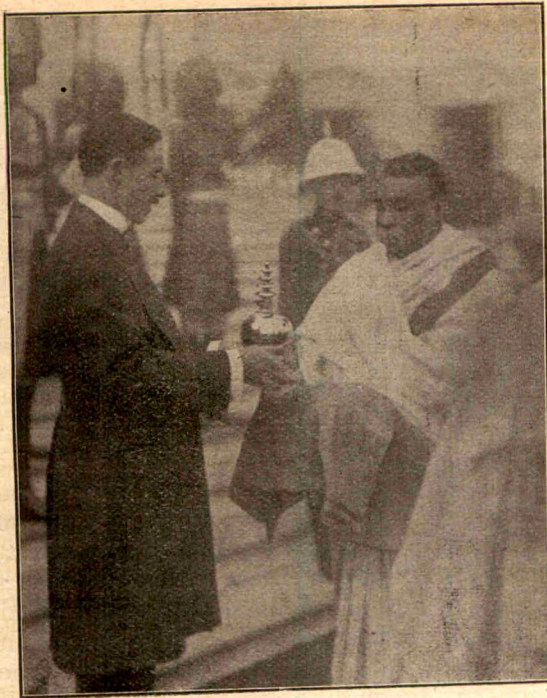
This ideal was very soon deified; had it not been incarnate in the life of Sakyamuni himself?

As regards the fact of sin Mr. Saunders observes :—

Buddhism honestly faces the fact of sin—and it is because of this that other critics call it pessimistic—but it also holds out the promise of escape from sin—Nirvana, or the Pure Land of Amida, in both of which sin as well as suffering are done away.

In the writer's opinion Buddhism has been in the past undoubtedly a mighty power in social as well as individual life—a fact to which Lord Ronaldshay bore testimony on the occasion of the opening of the Buddhist Vihara in Calcutta which enshrines a body relic of the Buddha. Mr. Saunders says :—

I need not remind you that Buddhism first



H. E. Lord Ronaldshay on behalf of the Government of India handing over the Casket containing the Buddhist Relic to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the President of the Mohabodhi Society, Calcutta.

united India, tamed the fierce peoples of the North-West Frontier and of Turkestan, made China great, and in the person of Shotoku Taishi brought Japan out of barbarism into brilliant civilization. Its teaching of the unity of human life is one that is still sorely needed, and we Christians need to confess with shame how little hold our religion has as yet upon national and international life. Why should we not welcome Buddhists as partners in the great task which faces the church? It is only so that the spirit of God can pass freely between us; or, to be less mystical and put it in the proverb, "What the dickens is the use of salt if it remains in the salt cellar?"

C. Vijiaraghava Chariar.

Prof. P. Seshadri contributes to *Everyman's Review* his personal reminiscences of Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, the president-elect of the Indian National Congress. Says he :—

Very few men of distinction are also endowed with such a fine build of the body; the proportions of his height and size are an admirable expression of his greatness. To see him is to exclaim with the poet that he is like



The Casket containing the Buddhist Relic found at Bhattuprolu Stupa.

Some tall cliff that lifts its awful form
Swell from the vale, and midway leaves
the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds
are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

In a large crowd of men it should be a very light task to single him out as a person of eminence.

Mr. Seshadri gives prominence to two features of his hero.

He is, of course, well-known for the courage and spirit of his politics, but what struck me most was the great intellectual power behind him. Whatever subject he studied, he studied with a breadth and thoroughness which might well be the envy of younger people. Many of his visits to me were also in connection with my own private library and when he took some books relating to any matter, I was amazed with the manner in which he had mastered them from cover to cover. When he entered into a discussion of their details which he invariably did on the occasion of returning them, it was even difficult to keep pace with him. I have a very vivid recollection of a set of books he borrowed from me on Universities and higher education, when the Hindu University Bill was on the anvil of the Imperial Legislative Council, and he was a member, and was looking forward keenly to the discussion on the subject. It was with a big bundle of books in his mighty grasp, including such diverse volumes as New-

man's *Rise and Progress of Universities* and Principal James' *Education and Statesmanship in India*, held across his capacious chest that he departed late in the morning, after a talk of some hours, and returned a week later, to enter into a minute discussion of the contents of the volumes. Many of them had only a very indirect bearing on the question of the Hindu University Bill, but that was his comprehensive way of studying a subject. It was a similar impression left upon me when we happened to talk on more than one occasion, on the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's Post-Puberty Marriage Bill at the time it was introduced into the Council and it was the topic of general discussion everywhere. His information on the subject was encyclopaedic, and he suggested in the course of the discussion, aspects of the question which could not ordinarily strike its critics, whether they were favourable or adverse to the measure. There was matter enough for a whole treatise in what he said on all the occasions.

Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar has singularly wide and profound knowledge of English History and politics and he talks of them with the familiarity of one who has actually taken part in the events. Serious history, biography and memoir, documentary evidence and controversy, there is not one aspect of the political life of Britain with which he is not saturated, and one may suppose it to be responsible in no small measure, for the strength and robustness of his political creed, as well as for the ability of his debates in Council.

The continued seriousness of Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's conversation is itself a strong indication of his intellectual tastes. You go to visit him an evening and expect relaxation in conversation: but he can never be frivolous and topics like the weather and the season are tabooed from his conversation! One serious subject after another is started for discussion with perennial freshness and energy and if you are not game enough for it, you are bound to feel thoroughly disappointed and uncomfortable. I recall an interesting incident characteristic of his keen intellectual tastes; there was an abrupt visit from him one morning and I was wondering what had happened when it turned out that he only wanted from me a particular passage from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*!

The innate modesty and sensitiveness of the hero of Salem come out in the following paragraph:—

Mr. Vijiaraghavacharya's name is indissolubly connected with some of the stirring episodes of Salem history in the earlier decades, but apparently, they have also painful reminiscences for him and he has always avoided discussing or even mentioning them. I have heard from one of his most intimate friends, now gathered to the dead, that he always liked reference to be observed about the matter. A

study of all the old papers concerned, has however made me realise the greatness of his personality in a very vivid measure. The actual facts redound to his glory, in ever greater measure, than is popularly known, and it is proof of his emotional tenderness of nature, not usually suspected that he should be unwilling to talk of them. Any other person would probably have paraded in season and out of season, the sacrifice and heroism called out by the incidents and acknowledged even by his enemies, and persecutors of the world of the official bureaucracy of the time.

The Wadias as Shipbuilders.

"Early Ships and Shipping in Indian Seas," the heading of the leader in the December number of the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*, led us to think of Indian shipping in the Hindu, Buddhist, Musalman and Maratha periods of Indian history, treated of in Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee's book on the subject and in the late Mr. G. V. Joshi's articles in the *Modern Review* for February, 1908. But the article relates to "the growth of European shipping in the development of trade and Empire with India." Incidentally it tells of the work done by the Wadias of Bombay.

Before dealing with the advent of steam navigation in the East, reference should be made to the extensive shipbuilding industry, which in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries flourished both in Calcutta and Bombay, and the teak-built ships from India had a fine reputation in the British Navy. In Bombay, the industry was entirely in native hands and the well known Parsee family—the Wadias—own the foundations of their fortune to shipbuilding. Seth Lowjee Nusserwanjee Wadia was the first to demonstrate that work on European lines could be efficiently carried out by Asiatics and it is probable that these Parsi-built ships are what the Frenchman Solvyns referred to in his work, *Les Hindous*, quoted on page 114 of the April issue of the *INDIAN AND EASTERN ENGINEER*. During the years they practised the shipwright's art, the Wadias produced some 350 men-of-war, large and small, and other vessels. The men-of-war were constructed to the orders of the East India Company and give complete satisfaction for their stout and seaworthy qualities. The firm was awarded a gold medal by the Company and a grant of an extensive estate at Salsette, near Bombay, which remains in the possession of the family to this day. With true Parsee foresightedness Seth Nusserwanjee had apparently "two strings to his bow," and it is

on record that Napoleon the Great, decorated him with the Legion-of-Honour in return for services rendered to the French Government; whether these took the form of much needed aid to the battle-worn ships of Suffren history is silent.

How to Meet High Prices.

In the opinion of Prof. B. K. Bhattacharya as expressed in the *Indian Review*,

There is no reason whatever to take alarm at the rise of prices as such, provided every other factor of life has adjusted itself to the new scale of the cost of living. The point which should engage the attention of every public man is whether wages have kept pace with the rise in the cost of living. Public men in India have adopted the wrong method of tackling the problem—a "begging campaign" for legislation of all sorts, legislation to stop profiteering, legislation to stop currency inflation, legislation to stop exports, etc. While no one denies the efficacy of legislation to bring about a temporary alleviation of the sufferings of the hard pressed, there is a pressing necessity of widening the mental horizon to look a good many years ahead. What can legislation in India do to stem the tide of increasing prices which is sweeping over the whole of the world? India is fortunate in that the rise has been greater in foreign countries, but barring this difference in degree which may be made up any day, the rise in prices is due to a group of world-wide factors which cannot be controlled by individual national endeavours.

He suggests many ways of tackling the problem of high prices. "Have legislation by all means," says he, "but legislation should be made not the only means to the end but one of many."

We have to attack the problem at its very root. If the profiteer is responsible for our misery we should learn to do without him. The simple thing for consumers to do is to come together and eliminate the officious middleman. The principle of co-operation has been extensively applied in the West to remedy this evil and traders feel the pinch of competition so much that they speak disparagingly of the 'price-cutting' 'unfair' co-operative societies in almost every number of a trader's journal. The world-wide rise in the cost of living signifies that the demand has increased in relation to supply. This may be explained by diminished productivity or a diversion of the supply to foreign lands. Here again the co-operative movement can provide a most effective weapon. Let the producers—the small farmers of India—combine. Co-operation has shown what an amount of success attends the endeavours of agriculturists when they

organise themselves into a society working for the common good. What is impossible for the small peasant is possible for a combination of peasants. The Co-operative Producers' Society can improve production, can sell the products of the members to the best advantage, and linked with the Consumers' Society, it will go a great way in relieving distress.

Another remedy which the writer suggests is the multiplication of industries.

A good deal of the prevailing distress is due to the fact that wages have not kept pace with prices. It is often forgotten by many that wages are merely a certain set of prices, the prices of so much labour. If the price of labour does not increase with the price of other commodities, the purchasing power of the labourers will diminish. Why is it then that labourers are in the unenviable position of being the owners of a commodity selling cheap while the owners of other commodities are getting fat prices for their wares? The fact is that the demand for labour has not increased compared to the supply of other commodities, or the supply of labour has not diminished as compared to the supply of other commodities. The remedy lies in more industries. The old story of shy capitalists will no longer bear repetition in these days of rapid company promoting. What is wanted at the present day is more hirers of labour.

One more remedy is suggested by the writer which in his opinion requires immediate and universal adoption. It is to educate the labourers, so that they may be able to bargain for better wages, to organise themselves, to have strike funds, and generally to stand fast to their rights.

The members of the last Industrial Commissions complained of a general scarcity of labour in India. This may be said more truly of skilled labour than of ordinary unskilled labour. There is nevertheless some scarcity of labour in the tea gardens and the collieries. The risk and irksomeness of the work which has to be done in these places is a factor which scares labour away from them; not that the labourers are unwilling to work in a tea garden or a mine but because the wages paid to them are not enough to compensate them for the inconvenience and trouble which the tea garden coolie or the coal mine employee suffers from. The proper way of putting the problem is to say that the wages paid in a tea garden or a coal mine is not enough to attract labour. The fact, however, that the labourers are available in spite of this drawback speaks for the shortsightedness of labour. The want of bargaining capacity and a reserve which they can fall back upon is the only explanation of fact that the Indian labourers are satisfied with the small

remuneration they receive. Unless education permeates the wide ranks of labour in India, the labourers will not realise the miserable straits to which they have been reduced. The most important factor which insures a successful strike is the existence of a fund with which to relieve the indigent strikers. This fund can be built up slowly by concerted action and out of small individual savings clubbed together. Education teaches the labourer to make provision for the future. The strikes of the present day are significant of an awakening which has come very late but not too late in the day. Will not the leaders of Indian politics turn their attention to the educating of the large number of Indian labourers that they may stand fast to their rights?

Loss of Mental Harmony and Physical Degeneration.

In the *Hindustan Review* Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose rightly remarks that "a sound, well balanced, peaceful state of mind is as essential for health as wholesome food in sufficient quantity, fresh air, and free drainage." In support of his opinion he quotes the *Yoga-Vasishtha* :

"When the ordinarily calm mind is agitated, proper perception fails and the *prana* (vital current) flies from its even path and takes a wrong course.....The food which settles itself down in the stomach amidst such commotion is transformed into diseases.....If this primary cause is arrested at its root (the mind), all diseases will be cured.....If the mind becomes purified with true *Sattva* (harmony), the *prana* will begin to circulate freely throughout the body, the food will be properly digested, and then no diseases will arise."

This statement of Vasishtha's, says he, is confirmed by the researches of modern science. He quotes the following, but strangely enough does not mention the name of the authority :

"Suppose half a dozen men in a room. One feels depressed, another remorseful, and another ill-tempered and jealous, another cheerful, another benevolent. It is a warm day, and they perspire. Samples of their perspiration are placed in the hands of the psycho-physicist. Under examination they reveal all those emotional conditions distinctly and unmistakably. Each unpleasant or bad emotion produces its own peculiar poison, which has an ill effect upon the individual physically. But ideas and memories kill energy. Of all the chemical products of emotions that of guilt is the worst. If a small quantity of the perspiration of a person suffering from feelings of that kind be placed in a

glass tube, and exposed to contact with selenic acid, it will turn pink. For each bad emotion there is a corresponding chemical change in the tissues of the body, which is life-depressing and poisonous, while every good emotion makes a life-promoting change."

He lays stress on the immense hygienic value of the development of good emotions, especially of benevolence.

The insistence with which all Eastern, especially Indian sages, have inculcated them shows the depth of their wisdom and prescience. They did not rest content with the mere formulation of precepts and maxims, but ordered the daily life of the people so that they may be reduced to practice and ingrained in the normal Hindu constitution.

Through the influence of modern civilisation, on the one hand these practices are falling into desuetude and with them the frame of mind beneficial to health they promoted, and on the other hand, emotions and impulses such as selfishness, greed, jealousy and worry are gaining strength to an extent which is inimical to mental harmony and, therefore, to health. The propagation of the gladiatorial view of life, of the perverse creed of unlimited competition, the creed of "can I kill thee or canst thou kill me," of false notions of equality and of silly idea that the progress, the happiness, the salvation of man lies in multiplying his wants and desires, and the appliances to meet and satisfy them, is leading to the replacement of the religion of amity by that of enmity, and is destroying that harmonious, tranquil, contented and benevolent state of mind, which has been a marked characteristic of our people and which must have influenced their health favourably.

Mr. Bose proceeds to show how different classes of our society have suffered from modern "civilisation".

The upper classes have been the greatest sufferers from this cause. The prices of the indigenous necessities of animal existence have been doubled, trebled, or even quadrupled in some parts within the last five or six decades. But the means of the majority of the middle class has not increased in anything like the same proportion. To add to the tragedy of the situation, their "progress" after the Western fashion has created tastes and wants for the gratification of which more means is needed than was necessary when they were content with the indigenous way of living. Their struggle for existence has thus been intensified to such an extent as to make their life an endless round of trouble and anxiety. The canker-worm of care eats into their vitals, and they become mental and physical wrecks.

Even in the prosperous section of the Neo-Indian community, there are numbers who are

also strangers to peace and tranquillity of mind. The Hindu ideal of keeping down wants and of plain living being replaced by the Western ideal of multiplying wants and of luxurious living; the cult of the worship of Mammon is spreading fast. He is very hard to please and is never satisfied. He exacts numerous sacrifices from his votaries, health being one of them. They are in perpetual whirl. They can never have enough, have no time for anything except for money making, no time for meditation and introspection. All day long their mind is perturbed, and they have hurried toilet, hurried bath and hurried meals. No wonder so many of them become lifelong victims of dyspepsia, insomnia, diabetes, neurosis or rheumatism.

The strain on the mind begins early with school life. Formerly, the school hours (morning and afternoon) were suited to the climate. The students were under no necessity to bolt their meals and run to school; but could take them leisurely and had sufficient rest afterwards for proper digestion. They had but few text books and the range of their studies was very restricted.

Of all the emotions that disturb mental harmony and affect health most seriously probably the worst are anger and fear. To be healthy one's aim should be to be "Bita-raga-bhaya-krodha" devoid of attachment, fear and anger. Speaking generally, the average Neo-Indian has but a small share of the good temper and self-control of his ancestors. In matters pertaining to his health, fear also has got a greater hold on him. He is in mortal dread of chills and of the myriads of germs that people the air and the water. Caution within limits is commendable. But excessive caution degenerates into cowardice which is inimical to sound health. Its evil effects are well-illustrated by an Arab fable. Once upon a time, a traveller met the plague going to Cairo, and asked what was the object of his visit. "To kill three thousand people," rejoined the plague. After sometime the traveller happened to meet the plague on its return journey and complained thirty thousand had been killed. "I am not responsible for that," protested the plague, "I only killed three thousand. The other twenty-seven thousand died of fright at my arrival." Goethe says that "Napoleon visited those sick of the plague to show that the man who could vanquish fear could conquer the plague as well." "And he was right," adds the poet, "'tis incredible what force the will has in such cases; it penetrates the body and profits it in a state of activity which repels all hurtful influences, whilst fear invites them."

Asia and India in the West and in the East.

The following paragraphs are taken

from "The World of Culture" section of the *Collegian* :

FRENCH FRIENDS OF ASIA.

We are informed by Professor P. Masson-Oursel of the University of Paris that the intellectual leaders of France have set on foot a movement with the specific object of propagating Asian culture among the French people and French culture among the Oriental nations. The society, of which M. Senart is president, M. M. Sylvain Levi, P. Pelliot, and A. Tirman are vice-presidents and M. le Comte d' Aiguy is general secretary, is called *Association Francaise des Amis de l'Orient*. The office is located at Musee Guimet, Place d'Iena, Paris. Membership is of three grades with fees of 500, 25 and 5 francs per annum.

THE ALLEGED PESSIMISM OF THE HINDUS.

The mischief done by Max Muller to the world of culture is discussed by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in an article on "The Joy of Life in Hindu Social Philosophy" published in the *Asian Review* of Tokyo (July 1920). According to the writer Muller's *India—What Can it Teach Us?* is responsible for the main body of sins committed by scholars in their appraisal of Hindu attainments.

CONTEMPORARY INDIA IN NORWAY.

Norwegians are taking interest in the events of India. The *UKens Revy*, a weekly of Christianity, has published three papers by Sudhindra Bose. These were translated by Captain. Dr. Martin L. Raymond of Iowa State University.

The Universities of Europe and America.

The writer of the "World of Culture" section in the *Collegian* writes :—

It is high time for Young India to learn to discriminate between foreign universities. There are universities and universities in the Western world. It is well known that graduates of Indian universities are admitted to the post-graduate classes even of some of the highest universities in the United States. This implies that the ordinary colleges of India, at any rate in the liberal arts and sciences, are of the same academic rank as those of the American Universities. The fact acquire a special significance only if we adequately realize that the so-called universities of the United States, not excluding the highest ones, especially in the under-graduate department, are no higher than the high schools of France and Germany. In other words, none but a graduate of Indian or American universities could profitably be a member of the first year class, say, of the University of Paris. On the continent an undergraduate student really does what is generally described as post-graduate work in India and the United States,

India's Morals in International Trade.

According to the same writer,

The New York Times invites the attention of American exporters to the report of U. S. Consul E. V. Richardson (at Karachi) to the Department of Commerce, Washington D. C. "Indian merchants of standing," writes he in part, "are fully as reliable from a credit standpoint as British or Continental firms. Their financial resources are in many cases large and their regard for the ethics of commerce punctiliously faithful."

Wider Activities for College Students.

At present "debating unions, students' libraries and cricket and tennis clubs are generally the only outlets for the activities of college students outside their classrooms." In the pages of *Indian Education* Mr. K. S. Abhyankar suggests some additional outlets for the energies of students.

The organisation of co-operative stores is another form of activity valuable not only for its economic benefits but also for the training it gives in business method and in administrative ability. It also fosters a spirit of self-help and mutual service. In the last week of March 1919, there was held a students' co-operative conference in Calcutta, which was attended by principals, professors and students. This, we believe, was the first students' co-operative conference in this country and Bengal deserves to be congratulated. A strong central committee was formed at the time of the conference for the establishment of a college stores organisation. Sir P. C. Roy is the chairman of this committee, and according to the promoters of the scheme the movement will be made to touch all the colleges in Bengal. We in Bombay are still far behind in this respect.

A form of activity outside the college is the formation of social service leagues. Even to-day students occasionally undertake social service. They help in collecting famine relief funds, conduct night schools, establish poor boys' funds, etc., etc. What is required is better organisation and a consequent continuity of work. Proper guidance by the professors is also necessary.

The professors will have to exercise great tact in supervising and guiding all these activities. The students must look up to them as to a friend on whose judgment they rely. They should willingly come to them and seek guidance, and not feel reluctant to ask the advice of their professors.

Finally, as regards college magazines, I have never been able to understand why there should be so many pages for English articles and so few for vernacular ones. If students take to writing after they leave college, they will, in the

majority of cases, write in the vernaculars and should be trained to do so while at college.

Indian Political Capacity.

In the series of articles contributed to "*Arya*" by Sri Aurobindo Ghose in defence of Indian culture he has "spoken hitherto of the greatness of Indian civilisation in the things most important to human culture, those activities that raise man to his noblest potentialities as a mental, a spiritual, religious, intellectual, ethical, aesthetic being, and in all these matters the cavillings of the critics break down before the height and largeness and profundity revealed when we look at the whole and all its parts in the light of a true understanding of the spirit and intention and a close discerning regard on the actual achievement of the culture. There is revealed not only a great civilisation, but one of the half dozen greatest of which we have a still existing record."

But there are many who would admit the greatness of the achievement of India in the things of the mind and the spirit, but would still point out that she has failed in life, her culture has not resulted in a strong, successful or progressive organisation of life such as Europe shows to us, and that in the end at least the highest part of her mind turned away from life to asceticism and an inactive and world-shunning pursuit by the individual of his personal spiritual salvation. Or at most she has come only to a certain point and then there has been an arrest and decadence.

In order to give the reader an exact idea of the seriousness of this charge the writer observes:—

This charge weighs with an especial heaviness in the balance today because the modern man, even the modern cultured man, is or tends to be to a degree quite unprecedented *politicon zoon*, a political, economic and social being valuing above all things the efficiency of the outward existence and the things of mind and spirit mainly, when not exclusively, for their aid to humanity's vital and mechanical progress: he has not that regard of the ancients which looked up towards the highest heights and regarded an achievement in the things of the mind and the spirit with an unquestioning admiration or a deep veneration for its own sake as the greatest possible contribution to human culture and progress. And although this modern tendency is exaggerated and ugly and degrading in its exaggeration, inimical to humanity's

spiritual evolution, it has this much of truth behind it that while the first value of a culture is its power to raise and enlarge the internal man, the mind, the soul, the spirit, its soundness is not complete unless it has shaped also his external existence and made of it a rhythm of advance towards high and great ideals. This is the true sense of progress and there must be as part of it a sound political, economic and social life, a power and efficiency enabling a people to survive, to grow and to move securely towards a collective perfection, and a vital elasticity and responsiveness that will give room for a constant advance in the outward expression of the mind and the spirit. If a culture does not serve these ends, then there is evidently a defect somewhere either in its essential conceptions or its wholeness or in its application that will seriously detract from its claims to a complete and integral value.

He then asks: "To what then does the charge brought against Indian culture as an agent of the life power amount and what is its justification?" and replies:—

It amounts to this that India has always shown an incompetence for any free or sound political organisation and has been constantly a divided and for the most part of her long history a subject nation, that her economic system whatever its bygone merits, if it had any, remained an inelastic and static order that led in modern conditions to poverty and failure and her society and unprogressive hierarchy, caste-ridden, full of semi-barbaric abuses, only fit to be thrown on the scrap-heap among the broken rubbish of the past and replaced by the freedom, soundness and perfection or at least the progressive perfectibility of the European social order.

He holds that "it is necessary to re-establish the real facts and their meaning and afterwards it will be time to pass judgment on the political, the economic and the social aspects of Indian culture." In the article published in the October issue the writer deals with the political aspect of Indian culture.

The legend of Indian political incompetence has arisen from a false view of the historical development and an insufficient knowledge of the ancient past of the country. It has long been currently supposed that she passed at once from the freer type of the primitive Aryan or Vedic social and political organisation to a system socially marked by the despotism of the Brahmin theocracy and politically by an absolute monarchy of the oriental, by which is meant the Western Asiatic, type and has remained fixed in these two things for ever after. That summary reading of Indian history has been des-

troyed by a more careful and enlightened scholarship and the facts are of a quite different nature. It is true that India never evolved either the scrambling and burdensome industrialism or the parliamentary organisation of freedom and self-styled democracy characteristic of the bourgeois or Vaishya period of the cycle of European progress. But the time is passing when the uncritical praise of these things as the ideal state and the last word of social and political progress was fashionable, their defects are now visible and the greatness of an oriental civilisation need not be judged by the standard of these western developments. Indian scholars have attempted to read the modern ideas and types of democracy and even a parliamentary system into the past of India, but this seems to me an ill-judged endeavour. There was a strong democratic element, if we must use the western terms, in Indian polity and even institutions that present a certain analogy to the parliamentary form, but in reality these features were of India's own kind and not at all the same thing as modern parliamentarism or democracy. And so considered they are a much more remarkable evidence of the political capacity of the Indian people in their living adaptation to the ensemble of the social mind and body of the nation than when we judge them by the very different standard of western society and the peculiar needs of its cultural cycle.

The different stages of political evolution are then described in some detail. First existed or grew up the tribal system.

It was a clan or tribal system founded upon the equality of all the freemen of the clan or race. It was not at first firmly founded upon the territorial basis, the migratory tendency was still in evidence, and the land was known by the name of the people who occupied it, the Kuru country or simply the Kurus, the Malava country or the Malavas. After the fixed settlement within determined boundaries, the system of the clan or tribe continued, but found a basic unit or constituent atom in the settled village community. The meeting of the people, *vicah*, assembling for communal deliberation, for sacrifice, and worship or as the host for war, remained for a long time the power-sign of the mass body and the agent of the active common life with the king as the head and representative, but long depending; even after his position became hereditary on the assent of the people for his formal election or confirmation.

This was followed by the development of the hereditary principle.

The hereditary principle emerged at an early stage and increased constantly its power

and held on the society until it became everywhere the basis of the whole organisation of its activities. A hereditary kingship was established, a powerful princely and warrior class appeared, the rest of the people were marked off as the caste of traders, artisans and agriculturalists and a subject or menial caste was added, probably as the result of conquest, of servants and labourers. The predominance from early times of the religious and spiritual tendency in the mind of the Indian people brought about at the top of the social system the growth of the Brahmin order, priests, scholars, legists, repositories of the sacred lore of the Vedas, a development paralleled elsewhere but here given an unequalled permanence and definiteness and supreme importance. In other countries with a less complex mentality this predominance might have resulted in a theocracy: but the Brahmins in spite of their ever increasing and finally predominant authority did not and could not usurp in India the political power. As sacrosanct priests and legists and spiritual preceptors of the monarch and the people they exercised a very considerable influence, but the real or active political power remained with the king, the Kshatriya aristocracy and the commons.

The writer has thus described an unique feature of Indian Political and Social development.

A peculiar figure for some time was the Rishi, the man of a higher spiritual experience and knowledge, born in any of the classes, but exercising an authority by his spiritual personality over all, revered and consulted by the king of whom he was sometimes the religious preceptor and in the then fluid state of social evolution able alone to exercise an important role in evolving new basic ideas and effecting direct and immediate changes of the socio-religious ideas and customs of the people. It was a marked feature of the Indian mind that it sought to attach a spiritual meaning and a religious sanction to all, even to the most external social and political circumstances of its life, imposing on all classes and functions an ideal, not except incidentally of rights and powers, but of duties, a rule of their action and an ideal way and temperament, character, spirit in the action, a dharma with a spiritual significance. It was the work of the Rishi to put this stamp enduringly on the national mind, to prolong and perpetuate it, to discover and interpret the ideal law and its practical meaning, to cast the life of the people into the well-shaped ideals and significant forms of a civilisation founded on the spiritual and religious sense.

We are next told that

Among a certain number of the Indian peoples

the republican form finally asserted its hold and proved itself capable of a strong and settled organisation and a long duration lasting over many centuries. In some cases they were governed by a democratic assembly, in more by an oligarchical senate.

There is an interesting dictum of Buddha that so long as the republican institutions were maintained in their purity and vigour, a small state of this kind would remain invincible even by the arms of the powerful and ambitious Magadhan monarchy, and this opinion is amply confirmed by the political writers who consider the alliance of the republics the most solid and valuable political and military support a king could have and advise their reduction not so much by the force of arms, as that would have a very precarious chance of success, but by Machiavellian means,—similar to those actually employed in Greece by Philip of Macedon,—aimed at undermining their internal unity and the efficiency of their constitution.

These republican states were already long established and in vigorous functioning in the sixth century before Christ, contemporary therefore with the brilliant but ephemeral and troubled Greek city commonwealths, but this form of political liberty in India long outlasted the period of Greek republican freedom. The ancient Indian mind, not less fertile in political invention, must be considered superior to that of the mercurial and restless Mediterranean people in the capacity for a firm organisation and settled constitutional order. Some of these states appear to have enjoyed a longer and a more settled history of vigorous freedom than republican Rome, for they persisted even against the mighty empire of Chandragupta and Asoka and were still in existence in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Then came the time when "India after the invasion of Alexander felt the need of a movement of unification and the republics were factors of division: strong for themselves, they could do nothing for the organisation of the peninsula, too vast indeed for any system of confederation of small states to be possible."

In India as elsewhere it was the monarchical state that grew and finally held the field replacing all other forms of political organisation. The republican organisation disappeared from her history and is known to us only by the evidence of coins, scattered references and the testimony of Greek observers and of the contemporary political writers and theorists who supported and helped to confirm and develop the monarchical state throughout India.

This, however, does not mean that republicanism was followed by absolutism.

Indian monarchy previous to the Mahomedan invasion was not, in spite of a certain sanctity and great authority conceded to the regal position and the personality of the king as the representative of the divine Power and the guardian of the Dharma, in any way a personal despotism or an absolutist autocracy.

The Indian king exercised supreme administrative and judicial power, was in possession of all the military forces of the kingdom and with his Council alone responsible for peace and war and he had too a general supervision and control over the good order and welfare of the life of the community, but his power was not personal and it was besides hedged in by safeguards against abuse and encroachment and limited by the liberties and powers of other public authorities and interests who were, so to speak, lesser co-partners with him in the exercise of sovereignty and administrative legislation and control. He was in fact a limited or constitutional monarch, although the machinery by which the constitution was maintained and the limitation affected differed from the kind familiar in European history; and even the continuance of his rule was far more dependent than that of mediaeval European kings on the continued will and assent of the people.

A greater sovereign than the king was the Dharma, the religious, ethical, social, political juridic and customary law organically governing the life of the people.

This subjection of the sovereign power to the Dharma was not an ideal theory inoperative in practice; for the rule of the socio-religious law actively conditioned the whole life of the people and was therefore a living reality, and it had in the political field very large practical consequences. It meant first that the king had not the power of direct legislation and was limited to the issue of administrative decrees that had to be in consonance with the religious, social, political, economic constitution of the community.

The religious liberties of the commons were assured and could not normally be infringed by any secular authority.

The social life of the people was similarly free from autocratic interference. Instances of royal legislation in this province are rare and here too, when it occurred, there had to be a consultation of the will of those concerned, as in the re-arrangement or the reconstitution of the caste system by the Sena kings in Bengal after its disorganisation during a long period of Buddhist predominance.

In the sphere of administration the power of the king was similarly hedged in by the standing constitution of the Dharma. His right of taxation was limited in the most important sources of revenue to a fixed percentage as a

maximum and in other directions often by the right of the bodies representing the various elements of the community to a voice in the matter and always by the general rule that his right to govern was subject to the satisfaction and good will of the people.

All this leads to the following conclusion :—

There could be ordinarily little or no room in the ancient Indian system for autocratic freak or monarchical violence and oppression, much less for the savage cruelty and tyranny of so common an occurrence in the history of some other countries. Nevertheless it was possible by the sovereign's disregard of the Dharma or by a misuse of his power of administrative decree, and instances occurred of the kind, though the worst recorded is that of a tyrant belonging to a foreign dynasty and in other cases any prolonged outbreak of autocratic caprice, violence or injustice seems to have led before long to an effective protest or revolt on the part of the people. The legists provided for the possibility of oppression. In spite of the sanctity and prestige attaching to the sovereign it was laid down that obedience ceased to be binding if the king ceased to be a faithful executor of the Dharma. Incompetence and violation of the obligation to rule to the satisfaction of the people were in theory and effect sufficient causes for his removal. Manu even lays it down that an unjust and oppressive king should be killed by his own subjects like a mad dog, and this justification by the highest authority of the right or even the duty of insurrection and regicide in extreme cases is sufficient to show that absolutism or the unconditional divine right of kings was no part of the intention of the Indian political system. As a matter of fact the right was actually exercised as we find both from history and literature. Another more peaceful and more commonly exercised remedy was a threat of secession, exodus which in most cases was sufficient to bring the delinquent ruler to reason. It is interesting to find the threat of secession employed against an unpopular monarch in the south as late as the seventeenth century, as well as a declaration by a popular assembly denouncing any assistance given to the king as an act of treason. A more common remedy was deposition by the council of minister or by the public assemblies. The kingship thus constituted proved to be in effect moderate, efficient and beneficent, served well the purposes assigned to it and secured an abiding hold on the affections of the people. The monarchical institution was however only one, an approved and very important, but not, as we see from the existence of the ancient republics, an indispensable element of the Indian socio-political system, and we shall understand nothing of the real principle of the system and its working if we stop short with a view of the regal facade and

fail to see what lay behind it. It is there that we shall find the clue to the essential character of the whole construction.

Wanted Control on the Export of Cattle.

The Indian Humanitarian writes :—

Those who remember the anxious days of November and December 1919, when it was said 60,000 heads of cattle were exported to Brazil will also see the necessity of immediate action both on the part of popular leaders and the Government in this matter just now. Letters have already appeared in the local press drawing attention to the advent of Brazilian agents amongst us for purchase of cattle, their very location is given and earnest appeals are made to interested persons to see that no cattle are exported this time. When we presented a memorial on this subject last January to the Government, we had full hopes that such a contingency would not be allowed to arise in so near a future and that effective measures would also be devised to prevent export if purchasers were forthcoming. We are utterly disappointed to find that Brazil still wants Indian cattle and we are so far as legislation and preventive measures are concerned as distant from them as ever.

Government ultimately undertook an enquiry in this subject last year and announced that 1500 heads were sent to Brazil. The figure was for many reasons unacceptable but the scare disappeared as soon as it was known that the authorities were looking into the whole thing. It is a pity no measures were adopted to prevent export of cattle for ever.

Once again therefore it becomes our duty to draw earnestly the attention of the Government to the present situation.

India and Constantinople.

Writing in *East and West* on "India and Constantinople" Sir J. D. Rees remarks :

The incomparable position of Byzantium guarded by nature on every side against hostile attack, accessible on every side to the benefits of commercial intercourse, marks it as the inevitable capital of a great empire.

On the question whether or not the Sultan is the Caliph his opinion is :

Whether this claim is really good or not, whether his religious, dynastic or official descent can or cannot be substantiated, there can be no doubt that no other potentate or person can put forward a better claim than the Sultan, and certainly an immense proportion, a large preponderance, of Islam considers it for all practical purposes proven. The Shias do not

admit it, but they cannot put forward any authorized claimant, and any claimant they might put forward, would, if only on that account, be opposed by the more numerous Sunnis, to which branch, moreover, the Indian Mahomedans for the most part belong.

The technical, indeed actual, flaws in the Sultan's case are such as it would be of little use to indicate in a brief article intended for general consumption, but no one acquainted with the feelings of Mahomedans will be inclined to under-rate the status of the Ottoman Ruler as the generally accepted Caliph of Islam. I believe, however, that this question stirs Islam less than that of the Sultan's position as the chief and the only Mahomedan great power seated in the incomparable city of Constantinople, which the ancestors of the house of Othman wrested by arms from the last of the degenerate Greek Emperors.

The remarks of Sir J. D. Rees on the goodness or badness of Turkish rule over the Arabs are interesting.

The Turk as a matter of fact ruled them with the lightest possible hand. It is a custom in England to regard the Turks, or perhaps the Turkish Government into which other elements largely enter, as all bad, but it is very doubtful whether Asiatic races always prefer a more energetic and efficient government. Certainly our own administration in India is not popular in proportion to its efficiency. It is also necessary to remember that the Moslems are a religion, not a nation, and that there is among the followers of Islam an equality by reason of the mere profession of the faith of Mahomet which in no sense exists among the followers of different nationalities, who profess and call themselves Christians.

His conclusion is :

It is, I believe, the case that the Caliph question has been rather exploited for political ends, but I agree with the eminent Oriental scholar, Mr. Browne, in thinking that the expulsion of the Turks from Stamboul would most certainly lead to profound and prolonged unrest throughout the whole Moslem world. Being of this opinion, which is held by distinguished authorities who have written to the press on this subject, I cannot but hope that no theories about the importance of preserving small nationalities, the sacred right of self-determination, no prejudice against Turkey and the Turks and no religious feeling against a non-Christian Power, will avail to obscure the really important issue at stake, and to bring about a decision of the Turkish question, which even, if it were just and reasonable, would be violently opposed to our own Indian interests.

Some Common Indian Birds.

The Agricultural Journal of India has been publishing a series of very interesting articles on "some common Indian Birds." The coloured illustrations are beautiful. What is to be regretted is that nowhere, so far as we could see, have the vernacular names of the birds been given. The Journal professes to be "of India," but the curiosity of Indian readers is ignored altogether, though it is Indian money which supports it.

Nerve Troubles.

In an article on "Nerve Troubles" published in *Health and Happiness*, their causes and remedies are thus described in general terms:

Worry and fretfulness are to a great extent responsible for nerve disease. Hurry and excitement of the modern life only accelerate this state. These are the result of the unnatural lives we lead from day to day. But this is not altogether incurable if one is in right earnest about it. Worrying and fretting go with nervousness, but in a great measure may be stopped by just stopping them. While the

condition of the body has much to do with the state of mind, it is also true that the mental state affects the whole being. Physical changes are effected by varying mental attitudes, in the circulation, in respiration, and in digestion.

The antidote for worry and fretfulness is cheerfulness. Good cheer is a real medicine, a real health measure, a remedy for many ills and evils. It belongs to the healthy home. It helps in all pursuits. Work is made lighter by it, and hard tasks are better accomplished. If the day is a crowded one, all the more need for putting cheer into it.

Another very potent factor to ward off nerve troubles is a very calm and quiet sort of living. Those that pile confusion upon confusion and causes detraction of mind should be avoided as far as possible. The whole life from day to day, month to month and year to year should follow some method. Nothing should be done hap-hazardly.

Vigour for the mind, health for the body, tone for the nerves, are in good part attainable through a mental grasp of life's real needs, purposes and privileges. There must not be fruitless dissipation and frittering away of energy. Let praise, gratitude, and joy take the place of complaining, gloom and peevishness and improvement will at once be seen.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

White World-Dominance.

An article in *Venturer* by Basil Mathews on "The Decline of White World-Dominance" gives some "dry figures" relating to that dominance which, in his words, "are staggering".

There are on the earth some 53,000,000 square miles of land surface—excluding the uninhabited poles. Of those miles 47,000,000 are under white dominance—or nearly nine tenths of the whole area of the world. Of the remaining six million square miles, still more are now passing under white authority by the mandates of the League of Nations—and about four million square miles are ruled by the yellow races—the Chinese and the Japanese—the latter now having sway over Korea, Formosa, and the Pacific islands north of the Equator that Germany used to govern.

Yet, in the long perspectives of history this dominance is, in the writer's opinion, a mushroom growth.

For instance, we have just been celebrating the tercentenary of the sailing of the *Mayflower*. But when the *Mayflower* sailed in 1620, all America save a few little settlements, was given up to the Red Indian and the bison: Africa was an absolutely unknown land beyond its bare fringe: India the West had barely touched with the tips of its fingers, and the South Pacific with Australasia and the Islands was beyond the edge of the really known world. The white races were at that time confined to a part of Europe, practically besieged by Asiatic and African Islam (which surrounded them on the South and the South-East), while the Mongol hung like a wolf on the Eastern flank. Not till more than two centuries later did Livingstone and his successors open up Africa. The steam-engine, the industrial revolution, the electric telegraph and the consequent wealth of Western Europe, did the rest, with the result of the stupendous dominance that we now see.

"Two vital and tremendous questions" are then asked and considered.

If it is so recent, is the white dominance likely to

endure? Is it, indeed, good for the world that it should go on?

Though an immense range of races took part in the war—the Japanese, the Indians, the Turks, the Arabs, the Malagasy, the Annamese, Senegalese, tens of thousands of South Africans, a hundred thousand Chinese, with Red Indians, south sea Islanders, and others—it was “essentially a war between the white races.”

From the point of view of the Asiatic or the African, looking at it objectively, it was “civil war” of white versus white. From the Asiatic and African point of view it was an object lesson in the divided weakness and the vulnerability of the white races. But the legend of white invincibility had already been broken by the crash of Goliath Russia at the feet of triumphant Japan—the David of Asia.

Furthermore in the Great War the Allies trumpeted through the megaphones of its world-wide propaganda in a hundred languages the message that the war was being fought by them to secure the establishment of the sacred principle of self-determination. This, we reiterated, was to be the dominant principle ruling the Peace Treaty: even the Africans of German East Africa and the Kameruns were to have this principle applied to them. But a sacred principle of that sort can have no geographical frontiers. If for Africa, (the other races cried) then for India: for Poland or Bohemia, then for Egypt.

What was more—if the white could penetrate and settle in Asia, the Asiatic (they claim) must be free to penetrate and settle in the lands of the white man.

Then the League of Nations Covenant emphatically asserted (over the signatories of more than thirty nations) that two mighty principles must dominate the new world-order: first co-operation between nations (the first sentence of the Covenant proclaims this) and secondly the tutelage of backward peoples as “a sacred trust of civilization.” (Article xxii.)

As a result of all these things a series of amazing racial and national movements have begun which—taken as a whole—constitute, soberly viewed, the vastest and most revolutionary upheaval of the human spirit that has ever been witnessed.

We have the “Asia for the Asiatic” movement, of which the Indian swadeshi (or Home Rule) movement, great as it is but a segment. We have the Egyptian movement, the Pan-Turanian movement, the Pan-Arabian movement, the Africa for the African movement. We have the uprising of the Slav world.

The writer adds that the principles of self-determination, of co-operation and of tutorship of the backward with a view to their freedom, which the white people have preached in the ears of the whole earth, must shatter white domination.

Looking over the whole trend of the world's life I

have a profound and growing conviction that the dominance of the white by stirring up new life has achieved its purpose and that the time has now come for us to sit down as partners with the others at a Round Table of humanity at which the Indian, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Negro will sit with the Slav, the Teuton, the Gaul, the American and the Briton.

If we, in insensate pride of place and of race, try to fight that world-tide we shall not simply be as futile as Canute, but we shall be drowned under the wave we try to resist. But if we freely and happily accept the other races as our colleagues, then the white races, as the most experienced political practitioners in the world, will put aside domination only to rise to higher levels of moral leadership than we have ever achieved. And in so doing we shall open the doors that lead man into the Kingdom of Peace on Earth among men of Goodwill.

The Case for Burma.

Maung Pu, Barrister-at-Law, ably argues the case for Burma in the *Venturer*. Says he:

The principal reasons put forward by the Government of India against granting the same measure of reforms to Burma as the other Indian provinces are in substance, two, viz., (1) Want of electoral experience, and (2) Lack of suitable persons available to take up the posts of responsible Ministers.

He meets these objections thus:

As to the first objection it may be pointed out that Burmans are not total strangers to electoral institutions. Even in small villages—although village headmen have been turned into village tyrants by the British Government—(to use the words of Professor Max Muller) still there is a certain amount of self-government left. The elders decide many local questions for the benefit of the village tract among themselves, and in Upper Burma more particularly those elders (called assessors) decide the amount of local taxes to be contributed by each family, according to their capacity to pay. The election of pagoda trustees and of municipal councillors are familiar to the people, and now in almost all important towns and villages there are social and political organisations and co-operative societies, the Committee members of which are elected annually by their members. The Buddhist Church is a purely democratic institution and the assembly of *Sangha*, not unlike a Church Parliament, is an institution firmly rooted in the country. Their social customs, their religion, and their traditions mark the Burmese out to be the most suitable people to develop democratic institutions.

In the writer's opinion there is no real substance in the second objection.

Sir Reginald Craddock, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, himself admitted that “the backwardness of Burma consists, not in her want of capacity, but in lack of experience.” No one ever learns to swim by reading “How to Swim”; he must go into the water and start swimming, even if he sinks once or twice. Until recently the same cry was raised by

vested interests that no Burmans were available for superior responsible posts, but now a Burman is officiating as Chief Judge of the Chief Court; there are Burman District Magistrates, and District and Sessions Judges. They have all proved themselves to be capable, efficient and reliable.

As a matter of fact, the introduction and development of political reforms in Burma is very easy.

"It can be confidently affirmed," said Sir Reginald Craddock, Lt.-Gov. of Burma, "that Burma is endowed with many advantages, notably in respect of those conditions which favour the development on democratic lines. Thus she is free from those acute religious dissensions which militate against the co-operation of men of different creeds. Toleration of the scruples and prejudices of others is a ruling tenet of her religion. There is an entire absence of caste, and no marked cleavages of social distinction or occupation exist. The man of humble birth has always been able to rise as high as his ability and education might carry him. The emancipated condition of their women is a conspicuous characteristic." Primary education is widely diffused, and the general level of intelligence among the Burman masses is high.

There is practically a uniformity of race, language and religion throughout Burma. The Burmese preponderate over all other races; Burmese is spoken all over the country from Mergui in the South, to Myitkynia in the North; and over eighty-five per cent. of the population profess the Buddhist faith.

An Indictment of Britain.

In the *Venturer* Miss H. M. Howsin brings the following charges against the British people:—

It is an ominous fact that wherever the British influence and interest is paramount in the processes of political re-adjustment the result has been national disintegration, forcible annexation, and the substitution of new tyrannies rather than the establishing of the principle of self-determination and freedom for weak and oppressed nationalities to which the British Government and the British people stand irrevocably committed. We cannot regard this policy as an unfortunate legacy of the war, nor as a temporary aberration of British democracy, since it was consistently and aggressively operative through British Liberal diplomacy in the fateful years preceding the war, with the betrayal of Persia as the conspicuous example and the abandonment of Tripoli to the Italian invader as hardly less infamous. Neither can it be mere coincidence that whenever the spirit of political reformation on democratic lines begins seriously to animate an Eastern, particularly a Muhammedan power, the traditional friendship of England, which decades of unprogressive Conservatism and ineffective misrule leave unimpaired, at once changes to an attitude of distrust and overt hostility. The radically altered attitude of England towards Turkey synchronized with the social and political upheaval which accompanied the first attempt towards a democratic reform of the whole Turkish policy under the inspiration and guidance of

the much criticized party of Union and Progress. While admitting freely and frankly that both in point of policy and personnel the party inevitably laboured under grievous handicaps and limitations, it nevertheless evinced an honesty of purpose and determination in the face of almost insuperable difficulties. It frankly appealed to Great Britain as the traditional ally of Turkey and friend of freedom for support and guidance; it was met by open animosity and such obstructive tactics on the part of British statesmen as were successfully calculated to destroy all the stable elements of reform, and leave it a prey to anarchical dissolution.

"The Poet Laureate of Asia."

This is the heading of an interesting article in the first number of *Outward Bound*, a magazine which bears marks of being under Christian missionary influence. The writer, Mr. E. J. Thompson, begins the article by saying:

There is a Bengali proverb that Saraswati and Lakshmi—the goddess of Learning and the Arts and the goddess of Wealth and Good Fortune—do not live together. But another proverb admits an exception to this rule, saying that they have put by their immemorial enmity in the case of the Tagores.

The first is really a Bengali proverb, the second not so, though it is true of some Tagores.

The writer says: "The head of the family, the Maharaja, is a musician and patron of music." There is a Maharaja Tagore, no doubt, but he is not the head of the family, and is, moreover, too insignificant a person to deserve mention in the context where it occurs. Mr. Thompson is also mistaken when he takes Jyotirindranath Tagore to be the eldest brother of the poet. The eldest is the venerable Dwijendranath Tagore.

Mr. Thompson writes of Rabindranath Tagore what others also have felt:

When I first came to know Rabindranath Tagore, he was over fifty; and the first impression gained was of his strange resemblance to the traditional pictures of Christ.

No one ever comes into the circle of his friendship without feeling that hardly in any other man can there be the same fascination, to which mind and soul and body have all contributed.

The writer gives a true estimate of the poet's short stories when he observes:—

Education in Bengal is as bad as well can be, both in its native and imported fashions; and in his boyhood the young Rabindranath steadfastly refused to be "educated." By this has come (I think) a loss. It has been a weakness that Rabindranath has written.

on every subject under the sun and on subjects where no amount of delightful imagery and apt phraseology is a substitute for exact and full knowledge.

Much of Rabindranath's prolific output, then, is of indifferent merit, partly, as I have suggested, because he has often attempted work for which a disciplined rather than a creative intellect was needed. But on the whole his gain from having escaped from Calcutta University has been immense.

To his songs must be added his short stories; his *Galpa-Guccha* or *Bunches of Tales*. There are eight volumes of these. Two volumes of selections have been published in English. I have never been able to understand why they have attracted so little notice in our country, for I believe that there are no such short stories anywhere else. Their variety is wonderful, and they range from sheer, unearthly imagination, as in *Hungry Stones*, to farce, as in *A Taste for the Rains*; from subtle psychological studies such as *Living or Dead* and *Subha* to rollicking slightness such as *Skeleton*. Their popularity in Bengal is immense.

Women as Human Beings.

Miss Maude Royden will have the support of enlightened womanhood all over the world when she observes—in *Outward Bound*:

The real inspiration of the Woman's Movement all over the world is a deep resentment against an attitude towards us on the part of society which seems to us a perpetual denial of our humanity.

The denial is age-long. It is found in every social system, in almost every religion, in almost every philosophy. It is indeed excluded from the first chapter of Genesis, but it appears in the second. It is implied in Aristotle's famous assertion that "absolute goodness" is for man alone—free man—and not for slaves or for women. It is assumed alike in the glorifying of motherhood in the East and the phrase, "superfluous women," in the West. St. Paul affirms it when he writes that the head of the man is Christ, but the head of the woman is the man; Milton in his sounding verse, "He for God only, she for God in him"; our Anglican marriage service when it reminds the bride that she must submit herself unto her husband "as unto the Lord."

Even when woman is revered most, it is not generally for her own personality.

The reverence paid to women in pro-Christian West or non-Christian East is given to the mother, not to the woman. It is her sex, not her humanity, that justifies her existence. A mother—the mother of a son—cannot be too greatly revered; has she not brought a man into the world? The childless widow is accursed; the celibate woman an impossibility.

Motherhood is so sacred a vocation, and one which inevitably absorbs so much more of a woman's life than fatherhood of a man's that this deep reverence for the mother has largely concealed the stifling, cramping assumption on which it rests. It is not possible to say things too beautiful about motherhood, and it is probably true that the maternal instinct is present in nearly all women. When one appeals to it

one is conscious of appealing to that which is most nearly universal, and most certainly sacred, in the nature of women all the world over.

It is true, some of the greatest and most revered names in history are the names of women. But

Such women will be found to be revered for the magnitude of the sacrifices they were capable of making for their husbands; for the courage with which they won them from the grave, or for the immovable determination with which they insisted on accompanying them thither. An Indian once quoted to me those touching words:—

"Life of my life, Death's cruel sword

Has severed us two like a broken word—

Severed us two who are but one :"

Shall the flesh live when the soul is gone ? "

This, my friend assured me, was the motive behind *sati*. I was willing to find it admirable—if the husband also was willing to mount the pyre when his wife died, on the ground that the two who were really one must not be severed.

"You would despise a man who should do so," was the answer. In other words, a man is always a man, even if he ceases to be a husband; a woman, however, has no further right to existence when she ceases to be a wife. He is a human being, she only a sex.

Women have been throughout the ages regarded as a sex and not as human beings—as "instruments to another's end," not "as ends in themselves."

But that is not the worst that has fallen or may fall to the lot of women.

Eastern women have good ground for their insistence that after all the East has something to teach the West in this matter, and something to fear from Western influence. Women can be treated as something even less human than a mere sex; they can be regarded as machines. Is the East to be industrialised? And if so, is it to be at the expense of women's lives?

It is rather curious to me to hear our barbarous and degrading system of industry denounced with fervour from many a pulpit and platform, and yet recommended to the awaking East as its only salvation. I have been assured that the population of India cannot be supported unless India be industrialised. I find it difficult to believe in the face of India's past, and I confess with shame that while we are denouncing her habit of regarding women as merely wives of men and mothers of sons, we are encouraging a system whose habit is to regard them as so much cheap labour. It is, after all, a great thing to be a mother, even if it is not the whole of life. It is a very small and pitiful thing to be a cog in a machine. Yet industrialism is claiming for its own to-day millions of women—girls—even children—not in one Eastern country only, but in many; in China, India, Egypt, notably in Japan. Will these countries refuse the offer of cheap wealth in exchange—after all, how costly an exchange!—for life?

The problem like all our problems, is not for one sex only, though it presses with peculiar harshness on women. But in fact the desire to use human beings not as human beings but as conveniences is common to all societies, and has disfigured all. Mercifully, the

resentment against such use is undying. We all, however dumbly, however blindly, resent it, and at last rebel against it. Even the highest of uses—that of motherhood—cannot in the end satisfy those who are, after all, something more than even mothers; how much less shall anyone rest finally content to be a machine, or a cog in a machine?

The Hellish Opium Traffic.

Mr. Basil Mathews writes in *Outward Bound*:

The opiates that are devastating China became the sin of Shanghai and of Canton because British merchants in the old days, for greed of gold, forced Indian opium down China's throat with a bayonet. At this hour opium made into morphine powder in Edinburgh and in London is being smuggled by Japanese merchants through Kobe and Yokohama into Canton and Peking to the besotting of China's youth. And New York, so recently "gone dry", sends up its S.O.S. as it finds itself at its wit's end to deal with the drug victims who are in the grip of the white devil of opium.

The picture that he draws of the morphia-addict is terrible but true.

The morphia-addict is a doomed man. At a very early stage all sense of right and wrong disappears. The most honourable of men, the frankest of women, will begin to lie with diabolical plausibility and will start stealing or doing any conceivable act to get the drug for which his or her nerve clamours. Her family may go to pieces; his business crumble; his clothes fall in rags; his body become unclean—all is forgotten. The sole aim of the whole life of the man or woman is to get larger and ever larger doses of the poison.

No available adjectives, however frenzied, are half as sensational as the cold facts regarding the morphia-maniac. There is not on earth any more pitiable or dreadful sight than the helpless victim whose very will is a chained prisoner, at the chariot wheel of the drug, as he reels down the slopes of sloth into hallucination, tortured nerve, moral corruption, to paralysis and lunacy—culminating in sheer putrescence of body, mind and soul, to which the only end is a death robbed even of death's natural decency and dignity.

To Britain's lasting shame—and also to India's lasting shame that she is a helpless tool in Britain's hands—it has to be admitted that

The greater part of the world's supply of manufactured opium comes from the British Isles, and by far the greatest opium-fields in the world are those of our own Empire—in India.

When we look out over the poppy fields of the world from the point of view of the demand made by Britain, we discover that last year Britain imported over 835,000 pounds of raw opium for manufacture, and that of that amount far more than a half was grown in India. The figures are so striking that they may be given:—

| From | lb. |
|---------------|----------------|
| India | 466,475 |
| Persia | 30,558 |
| Turkey | 204,966 |
| Arabia | 133,157 |
| Total | <u>835,156</u> |

Now 835,000 lb. of opium (which Britain alone takes into its factories) is more than six times as much as the whole of the human race requires for its present medical treatment.

"Yes," it may be replied, "but the importation of opium from India into China has been stopped by law."

That is true enough, but the action of that law is in fact a tragic farce. The Indian opium goes—in large part—not to China but to Britain, to America and to Japan. Yet it reaches China ultimately. Only a relatively insignificant fraction of it is consumed in those other countries. For in them—most of all in Britain—it is manufactured into the subtler and far more pernicious form of "morphine," the crystalline powder which in solution is used for hypodermic injections. It is then exported largely *via* America to Japan and thence by devious subterranean smuggling routes to China. What is more, 1,259 chests of raw opium went from India to Hongkong (British territory) in 1918 and (it appears certain) from there to Macao (Portuguese territory), "one of the Plague Spots of the East," where it was manufactured into morphine, and again by devious smuggling routes at last reached China.

Both the Far East and the Far West have been making money by ruining a whole nation, body and soul.

The tragic blunder at the Hague Convention of 1912 was the failure to foresee that Japan would make herself the intensive stimulator of, and medium for, a stupendous trade in manufactured opiates. The temptation financially is tremendous. The profit to Japan on opium smuggled into China last year was almost certainly nearer \$40,000,000 than \$30,000,000. Yet the greater part of the morphine came indirectly from Britain, though Japan has made the principal profit, and has also erected recently factories in Formosa, in Korea, in Manchuria and South Siberia; while Portugal has her busy factories in Macao.

Meanwhile America, having gone "dry", is sending over to China brewery after brewery "lock, stock and barrel," at a capital cost of millions of pounds, to add the debauching of China by alcohol to her degradation by drugs.

The whole picture is worthy of a Holbein's brush, or the acid pen of a Heine or a Swift—the "civilized" peoples of the world, Britain, America, Japan and Portugal, sitting round the most multitudinous people of the world, the Chinese, and seeking to enrich themselves by her moral and physical destruction.

The reader may very well ask, how has smuggling on such a terrific scale been practised so successfully? Here is the answer:

By brilliant inventiveness and an uncanny ingenuity, that baffles description, they contrived last year to

smuggle into China enough pure morphine to give four hypodermic injections to every man, woman and child of all China's four hundred millions:

The total in 1911 was five and a half tons; in 1918 was twenty-eight tons; that is, five tons are smuggled in to-day for every one ton that came in the year before the International Convention tried to end the trade!

An innocent-looking old Chinese woman comes ashore carrying with tender solicitude a basket containing a cat surrounded by five newborn kittens. What a scene of beautiful old age caring for helpless dumb and blind infancy! But the kittens are really dead—and not only so, they have been opened, and their interiors stuffed with opium and sewn up again!

A Chinese sailor comes ashore with his parrot in its cage. How typical of the honest "tar". But again, unfortunately for our guileless belief in this bluff exterior, we discover that the bird-cage has a false bottom and between the two tin linings lurks a close-packed layer of morphine-powder.

Here is a man with a Japanese rug under his arm. "Unroll it!"

Certainly—it is unrolled and contains nothing. But here again we are at fault; for while the woof of the rug is true material, the warp is made up of tiny paper cylinders—all filled with "dope".

A railway train comes gliding into a station from Manchuria. Ransack every compartment and you will fail to find anything; but if in a wild fit of universal suspicion you search the steel-tubes that form part of its engineering construction, and in addition unscrew some of the ventilators in the roof, you will find "morphine" in both.

The train carries a water-tank—full of water. No use searching there, for no opium can be in the water, which would destroy it. But our undaunted and remorseless quest leads us to fish in the tank—only to find water-tight bags—full of morphine.

Here are packets of match-boxes. We open one. Clearly matches, and matches only—but wait! Let our scepticism be complete. We take off the top layer of matches—and the rest is morphine. Here is a paraffin lamp—wick, oil, smell and all! Open it—and you see and smell the oil. Only when you poke the sceptical finger right into the oil do you discover that the reservoir is very shallow—and underneath is a second reservoir for opium.

A Chinese or Japanese man comes ashore and raises his straw-hat politely. The Customs officer in what seems an excess of interference raises the hat again from the owner's head—and between the true crown and the false crown he discovers "dope".

A case of oranges is opened, and on the oranges being examined very closely we find they have been emptied of their natural juice and stuffed with white powder. But there are many thousands of cases of oranges imported. They cannot all be examined. We cannot take everybody's hat off and pierce the crown.

To stop the smuggling you would have to take to pieces the boots of everyone who lands in the country—for much opium comes between the soles and the uppers; you would be forced to unmake countless wadded waistcoats and belts. You would be obliged not only to open each case of soap but cut in two each cake of imprinted soap, for soap-cakes are opened, hollowed out, stuffed with opium and re-closed. Soldiers' bottles, loaves of foreign bread, cakes,

seaweed, picture frames, double-bottomed cooking-pans—the list could be stretched out "till the crack of doom," and still be unexhausted.

The remedy which the writer suggests is the only remedy.

There is a Bill of high promise before Parliament now—the Dangerous Drugs Bill—and vigorous measures are afoot for stopping the traffic from Britain across America through Japan to China. But ultimately there is only one solution—a genuine, united determination by Britain, Japan and China, as a part of the League of Nations (with pressure on Turkey, Arabia and Persia) to reduce the opium-poppo fields to the dimensions asked for by the medical profession for the purposes of healing.

In any case the millions of pounds of revenue that come to the British Government in India from its opium fields are the product of a trade that is demoralizing the Far East; they are a moral millstone hung about Britain's neck; nor can Britain well hold her head erect till the cord is cut and the millstone drops.

Tree Rings and Climatic Fluctuations.

After nearly twenty years of study of the annual rings of trees in various parts of the world, Prof. E. A. Douglass has arrived at certain conclusions which are thus summarised by the *Scientific American*:

By comparison with meteorological records he established the fact that the thickness of the annual rings seen in cross sections of the trees varied with the yearly rainfall. Having determined this relation for the comparatively brief period for which weather records were available he argued that the relation held good for earlier periods, and that sections of old trees would therefore furnish a record of fluctuations of rainfall for hundreds of years. His plan has been to study a group of trees of various species, appropriately located, for each region embraced in his investigations, and he has worked out some ingenious methods and mechanical devices for making his analysis and determining periodicities, etc. Sections were obtained from many parts of the United States and Europe, and, in the case of the *Sequoias* of California, the record has been extended back more than 3,000 years. Among the interesting discoveries announced by Professor Douglass is the fact that practically all the groups of trees investigated show the sunspot cycle or its multiples. There is also found a complex combination of other cycles, including a prominent cycle of about 2 years.

The American Press.

In the French political and literary biweekly *Revue Bleue* Albert Schinz points out certain features of the American Press which are encouraging and certain others which are depressing. He begins by stat-

ing wherein the press in America differs from the French press.

The American press is very different from that of France, as is natural considering its environment. We have in France two kinds of newspapers and periodicals: one for the educated classes, including such dailies as *Debats* and *Le Temps*; and one for the masses, who expect to be guided or, still more, amused. They read such dailies as *Le Matin* or *Le Petit Journal*.

In America, conditions while apparently more simple are in reality far more complex. The distinction between the two classes of readers is less marked, or perhaps it would be better to say less observed. Newspaper writers look neither above nor below for their public, but seek them on their own level. If there is any deviation from this attitude, they look down rather than up, in deference to the strong influence which the common people have upon national policies. Let us add that even the most highly educated Americans are inclined to ignore questions of theory except so far as they apply directly to practical affairs. America is the land of pragmatism.

This characterization applies to all American literature, but more particularly to the periodical and daily press. Furthermore, two curious tendencies, directly the opposite of each other, are to be observed in the evolution of these publications. The monthlies are constantly lowering their standards in order to reach a wider public.

An opposite tendency is observable in the dailies and weeklies.

On the other hand the dailies are unquestionably raising their standard. This may not be true from the literary standpoint—even most book reviews are printed rather to avoid appearing indifferent to such topics, than from real interest—but it is true of the general tone of their political, social, and religious articles.

There remain the weeklies, which are really the most interesting publications in America at present. Less ephemeral than the dailies, they have borrowed something of the intellectual character which should properly belong to the monthlies. Their importance has been growing for several years; and they have profited by the war.

Mechanical Travel Tours.

In the French jingo clerical daily *L'Echo de Paris* Jules Chancel gives an amusing description of the way in which parties of American tourists are shown the sights of France. First comes a description of the great sight-seeing or observation cars.

Just see them perched in our great observation cars, whose benches are arranged in tiers like a section of an amphitheatre! Each is docilely settled upon his numbered seat, from which a cannon-ball would not eject him during this three weeks' tour. Each follows with blind obedience every command of the Barnum, who, armed with an enormous megaphone, orders the eyes of his party to the right and left, up and down, like a drill sergeant handling a squad of soldiers.

Standing at his post in front, he shouts his directions before the Louvre, or Notre Dame, and all heads turn promptly in unison to the point he indicates. Not a member of his docile flock ventures to ask a question or to let his glance of admiration or interest wander for the briefest moment from the commanded course.

The life of the thousands of American tourists is similarly regulated by the tourist agency.

What hotel? They don't know. On their arrival guides martial them, like soldiers assigned to barracks, to Montrouge, or to Montmartre. There they must put up with whatever is allotted them. The same applies to the restaurants, where they will take their meals while away from the hotel.

And such repasts! I had the time of my life the other day watching a party of these pilgrims from a little table, where the *garçon* whom I took into my confidence stationed me. It was excruciatingly funny to catch their expressions of anxiety while waiting for each succeeding dish to appear, to see whether they were going to like it! A wonderful exhibition! Of the fifty tourists who dined in my view that day, not a single one ventured to ask the slightest change in the prescribed menu. Restaurant managers are as surprised as they are disappointed by this admirable discipline. It puts out of question making any profit or extras.

What of the theatres and the battlefields?

The same amusing situation is repeated at the theatre. These remarkable travelers listen submissively to the operas and tragedies prescribed for them with the utmost resignation. It seems never to occur to one to make his escape and visit a cabaret.

Their itinerary includes a visit to the principal battlefields. They perform this pious pilgrimage in the same lockstep manner. They are very keen, however, to see anything that commemorates military glory.

One of the anecdotes told by the writer is too delicious to be omitted.

A man connected with one of the tourist agencies told me of a rich New Yorker who demanded, on looking over the programme of the journey, that it include a call on Marshall Foch.

"But that's impossible," was the reply.

"Why?"

"Because the great French commander would not let himself be made one of the sights of his country."

"All you've got to do is to charge a hundred dollars a head."

Since the agency would not promise what he wanted, he refused to make the trip.

Shelley's Pacifism.

A hitherto unpublished pamphlet by Shelley, now published by the Oxford University Press, contains a passage which will please pacifists.

From the moment that a man is a soldier he becomes a slave. He is taught obedience; his will is no longer, which is the most sacred prerogative of men, guided by his own judgment. He is taught to despise human life and human suffering; this is the universal distinction of slaves. He is more degraded than a murderer; he is like the bloody knife which has stabbed and feels not; a murderer we may abhor and despise; a soldier is, by profession, beyond abhorrence and below contempt. (Quoted by *The Nation*).

The Nation also refers to "his pleasing suggestion that the way to meet the attacks of armed forces under the orders of government was to stand absolutely still 'with folded arms and unshrinking bosom's.'" The crowd assembled at Jalianwala Bagh had no chance of being aware of this suggestion of Shelley's. (The same passive resistance is recommended in *The Mask of Anarchy*.)

The Wealth of Ancient India.

Young India quotes the following from Thornton's "Description of Ancient India":

"Ere the Pyramids looked down upon the valley of the Nile, when Greece and Italy, those cradles of European civilization, nursed only the tenants of the wilderness, India was a seat of wealth and grandeur. A busy population had covered the land with the marks of industry; rich crops of the most coveted productions of nature annually rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Skilled artisans converted the rude products of the soil into fabrics of unrivalled delicacy and beauty; architects and sculptors joined in constructing works, the solidity of which has not, in some instances, been overcome by the evolution of thousands of years. . . . The ancient state of India must have been one of extraordinary magnificence."

Literacy in India and the Philippines.

We owe the following comparison to the same magazine:

INDIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

In the Philippines, under American rule, seventy per cent. (700 in a thousand) of the population above ten years of age can read and write. In India under British rule 10½ per cent. of the men (106 in a thousand) and one per cent. of the women (ten in a thousand) can read and write. Yet Indian civilization is thousands of years older than that of the Philippines, though Indian people are much the more intellectual race, and England has had 160 years to build up education in India, whereas the United States has had only a little more than twenty years to work in the Philippines.

"Look here, upon this picture, and on this!"

Equality of Treatment.

Young India writes:

It was recently announced by the Indian Government that there were 204 vacancies in the Indian medical service, but 68 of these would be allowed to be filled by Indians, and 136 be reserved for Englishmen. Also, that 78 places were to be filled in the Indian Public Works Department of the Civil Service, one to three of which were open for Indians, all the rest—75—being reserved for Englishmen. There were plenty of thoroughly trained Indian men to fill all the places; but the foreigners wanted them, therefore to the foreigners they must go.

How do these facts compare with the promise made by Queen Victoria, when she was proclaimed Empress of India, that forever thereafter there should be in her Indian domain perfect equality of treatment for Englishmen and Indians?

Bolshevik Theory Examined.

The eminent British mathematician and thinker Bertrand Russell is a socialist and wishes to do away with the present inequalities of wealth. But he does not support Bolshevik theory and practice. He tells the public the reason why; in the columns of the New York *New Republic*. The very definite Bolshevik programme for achieving communism, which has been repeatedly set forth by Lenin, is thus summarised by the writer:—

Capitalists will stick at nothing in defence of their privileges. It is the nature of man, in so far as he is politically conscious, to fight for the interest of his class so long as classes exist. When the conflict is not pushed to extremes, methods of conciliation and political deception may be preferable to actual physical warfare; but as soon as the proletariat make a really vital attack upon the capitalists, they will be met by guns and bayonets.

There must be armed conflict sooner or later, if the injustices of the present economic system are ever to be remedied. Not only must there be armed conflict, but they have a fairly definite conception of the way in which it is to be conducted. This conception has been carried out in Russia, and is to be carried out before very long in every civilized country. The communists, who represent the class-conscious wage-earners, wait for some propitious moment when events have caused a mood of revolutionary discontent with the existing government. They then put themselves at the head of the discontent, carry through a successful revolution, and in so doing acquire the arms, the railways, the state treasure, and all other resources upon which the power of modern governments is built. They then confine political power to communists, however small a minority they may be of the whole

nation. They set to work to increase their number by propaganda and the control of education. And meanwhile they introduce communism into every department of economic life as quickly as possible.

Ultimately, after a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances, the nation will be converted to communism, the relics of capitalist institutions will have been obliterated, and it will be possible to restore freedom. But the political conflicts to which we are accustomed will not reappear. All the burning political questions of our time, according to the communists, are questions of class conflict, and will disappear when the division of classes disappears. Accordingly the state will no longer be required since the state is essentially an engine of power designed to give the victory to one side in the class conflict. Ordinary states are designed to give the victory to the capitalists: the proletarian state (Soviet Russia) is designed to give the victory to the wage-earners. As soon as the community contains only wage-earners, the state will cease to have any functions. And so, through a period of dictatorship, we shall finally arrive at a condition very similar to that aimed at by Anarchist communism.

Mr. Russell asks three questions in regard to this method of reaching Utopia.

First, would the ultimate state foreshadowed by the Bolsheviks be desirable in itself? Secondly, would the conflict involved in achieving it by the Bolshevik method be so bitter and prolonged that its evils would outweigh the ultimate good? Thirdly, is this method likely to lead to the end to the state which the Bolsheviks desire, or will it fail at some point and arrive at a quite different result?

He answers the first question in a manner favourable to Communism.

It is clear that the present inequalities of wealth are unjust. In part, they may be defended as affording an incentive to useful industry, but I do not think this defence will carry us very far.

He then passes on to consider the second question, which was :

Is the ultimate good aimed at by the Bolsheviks sufficiently great to be worth the price that, according to their own theory, will have to be paid for achieving it?

If anything human were absolutely certain, we might answer this question affirmatively with some confidence. The benefits of communism, if it were once achieved, might be expected to be lasting; we might legitimately hope that further change would be toward something still better, not toward a revival of ancient evils. But if we admit, as we must do, that the outcome of the communist revolution is in some degree uncertain, it becomes

necessary to count the cost; for a great part of the cost is all but certain.

The price which Russia has had to pay and is still paying is well known. According to the writer, Russia being vast and agricultural was capable of resisting both invasion and blockade; no other country could have succeeded equally well, except the United States of America.

Therefore, unless and until an international communist revolution becomes possible, we must expect that any other nation following Russia's example will have to pay an even higher price than Russia has had to pay.

Now the price that Russia is having to pay is very great. The almost universal poverty might be thought to be a small evil in comparison with the ultimate gain, but it brings with it other evils of which the magnitude would be acknowledged by those who have never known poverty and therefore make light of it. Hunger brings an absorption in the question of food, which, to most people, makes life almost purely animal. The general shortage makes people fierce and reacts upon the political atmosphere. The necessity of inculcating communism produces a hot-house condition, where every breath of fresh air must be excluded: People are to be taught to think in a certain way, and all free intelligence becomes taboo. Every kind of liberty is banned as being "bourgeois," but it remains a fact that intelligence languishes where thought is not free.

All this, however, according to the leaders of the Third International, is only a small beginning of the struggle, which must become world-wide before it achieves victory. In their reply to the Independent Labor party they say:

It is probable that upon the throwing off of the chains of the capitalist governments, the revolutionary proletariat of Europe will meet the resistance of Anglo-Saxon capital in the persons of British and American capitalists who will attempt to blockade it. It is then possible that the revolutionary proletariat of Europe will rise in union with the peoples of the East and commence a revolutionary struggle, the scene of which will be the entire world, to deal a final blow to British and American capitalism. (Times, July 30, 1920).

The war here prophesied, if it ever takes place, will be one compared to which the late war will seem a mere affair of outposts. Those who realize the destructiveness of the late war, the devastation and impoverishment, the lowering of the level of civilization throughout vast areas, the general increase of hatred and savagery, the letting loose of bestial instincts which had been curbed during peace—those who realize all this will hesitate to incur inconceivably greater horrors, even if they believe firmly that communism in itself is much

to be desired. An economic system cannot be considered apart from the population which is to carry it out; and the population resulting from such a world war as Moscow calmly contemplates would be savage, bloodthirsty and ruthless to an extent that must make any system a mere engine of oppression and cruelty.

The third question is then considered.

Advocacy of communism by those who believe in Bolshevik methods rests upon the assumption that there is no slavery except economic slavery, and that when all goods are held in common there must be perfect liberty. I fear this is a delusion. There must be administration, there must be officials who control distribution. These men, in a communist state, are the repositories of power. So long as they control the army, they are able, as in Russia at this moment, to wield despotic power, even if they are a small minority. The fact that there is communism—to a certain extent—does not mean that there is liberty. If the communism were more complete, it would not necessarily mean more freedom; there would still be certain officials in control of the food supply, and these officials could govern as they pleased as long as they retained the support of the soldiers. This is not mere theory; it is the patent lesson of the present condition of Russia. The Bolshevik theory is that a small minority are to seize power, and are to hold it until communism is accepted practically universally, which, they admit, may take a long time. But power is sweet, and few men surrender it voluntarily. It is especially sweet to those who have the habit of it, and the habit becomes most ingrained in

those who have governed by bayonets, without popular support. Is it not almost inevitable that men placed as the Bolsheviks are placed in Russia, and as they maintain that the communists must place themselves wherever the social revolution succeeds, will be loath to relinquish their monopoly of power, and will find reasons for remaining until some new revolution ousts them? Would it not be fatally easy for them without altering the economic structure, to decree large salaries for high government officials, and so reintroduce the old inequalities of wealth? What motive would they have for not doing so? What motive is possible except idealism, love of mankind, non-economic motives of the sort that Bolsheviks decry?

Mr. Russel asserts that the Soviet government in Russia has in fact a class consciousness and a class interest quite distinct from those of the genuine proletarian.

I see no reason whatever to expect equality or freedom to result from such a system, except reasons derived from a false psychology and a mistaken analysis of the sources of political power.

I am compelled to reject Bolshevism for two reasons: First, because the price mankind must pay to achieve communism by Bolshevik methods is too terrible; and secondly, because, even after paying the price, I do not believe the result would be what the Bolsheviks profess to desire.

CORRESPONDENCE

To
The Editor,
The Modern Review,
Sir,

With reference to the query addressed to the readers of the Modern Review by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (page 672 of the December issue) regarding "Untraced Arabic and Persian passages" in the Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin, the first two are of course from the Hadis (see Mishkat, Abu Dawud, Al Khutbatul Masura), the third as it occurs in the original text (Tuhfat-u-Muwahhidin) is presumably not a quotation; while the fourth, the couplet in Persian, I have as yet been unable to trace to its origin.

References:—

1. Taisur-ul-Asul, 2nd Vol., page 328, Nawal Kishore.
2. Abu Dawud Sherif, page 289, Namy Press, Cawnpore.
3. Mishkat Sherif, page 229, Nizami Press, Delhi.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours etc.

Hitendramohan Bose.
49, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

[Mr. Mahbub Alam, Editor of Paisa Akhbar of Lahore, has also sent us an identification of the third passage from Mishkat.—Editor, M. R.]

INDIAN RAILWAY COMMITTEE

AS a result of the discussions held in the Legislative Council of India and the agitation carried on in the Indian press for the last ten years or more, the Secretary of State has appointed a committee to enquire into the working and administration of the Indian Railway, so as to adopt for the future either the system of State management or that of Company management for railways owned by the State.

The committee is presided over by an eminent Railway expert with five other European and three Indian members. The proportion of Indians three to six is not fair, considering that the question at issue affects almost entirely India and Indians.

The railways in the past have been administered in an extremely unsatisfactory manner, ignoring generally the requirements of the people of India and to the detriment of Indian industries, trade and commerce and injustice to the children of the soil in the matter of higher appointments on the Railways. Money has been lavishly spent both on construction and working of the railways. Although the people of India have been made to bear all the financial burdens involved by the railways, they have been systematically kept out of their share in the administration and have been kept ignorant of the uses and working skill of the lines.

We are not quite satisfied even with the State-management as it is carried on at present, still we hold that that management is superior to the Company-management, as it is capable of being remodelled into a satisfactory system under the influence of the Government of India. The companies entrusted with the management of one of the largest properties of the State, cannot be expected to take that interest which the owners themselves of the property would, and consequently we find the companies lavishly spend money, which does not come

out of their own pockets, for the benefit of non-Indians.

It does not require an elaborate demonstration to show that State-management is superior to the Company-management. The Companies are a third party between the Government on one side and the people on the other. It is therefore perfectly clear that such a third party cannot but add to the expenses. Experience of the world shows that State-management works for the State, i.e., the people; while Company-management aims at profits for its individual shareholders. Where there are competitive railways, private companies may be useful in rendering better service with a minimum of cost; but here in India there are hardly any competitive lines. Care has been taken not to build such lines. Those places in India where competitive routes have, however, naturally cropped up, the competing administrations have agreed among themselves not to compete, but to divide the traffic between themselves. Thus the people cannot have the benefit of competition either, which is generally claimed as an advantage from private service. There is, on the other hand, an overflowing flow of traffic in India both in goods and passengers, for which the railways do not find accommodation, so that there is no idea of competition at all between the railways at present. As a matter of fact there has never been any competition between the railways for traffic in India and that is the main reason why accommodation for Indian passengers has not been improved or made tolerably comfortable.

Those who think that Government-management is usually more expensive than private enterprise, are under a serious misapprehension as to the constitution of the Indian railway companies employed as agents for working State-railways. There is a wide difference between the so-called

company management which obtains in Europe and America and the company management which obtains in India. In the United Kingdom as well as in America, the railways are owned by the Companies and managed by them at their own cost and financial risk, which compells them for their self-interest to manage the railways economically and with satisfaction to the public, in order to attract traffic, which, if one company did not provide decent accommodation and ever-increasing facilities and comforts, would go to the rival routes, of which there are many. There the competition is healthy and beneficial to the public. Here in India, the company management is nominal, has no risk or responsibility for financial results. It has large powers and very little, or no competition. Private interest might induce companies generally to exert themselves more than any state official would on behalf of the Government; but here the Government either finds the capital or guarantees the interest, defrays all costs of working and of highly paid establishments, all out of the public treasury.

It should be borne in mind that the railway companies have a large influence at their back both in India and England and that is the main reason why the Government have not taken the necessary step which they ought to have taken themselves on the evidence and administrative data proving excellence of the State-management. The companies themselves find that they cannot, any longer in the face of public opinion in India, carry on the sham administration from beyond the seas, and it has been suggested that their head-quarters be moved to India. This will not remedy the evils we complain of. We need nothing short of entire management by the State and management under the direction of the reformed councils. If the reforms are likely to be successful, the management of the railways must be brought under new councils, and the companies eliminated as early as their contracts permit.

The present Railway Board has completely failed to meet the requirements of the public. It should therefore be abolis-

ed and the whole administration decentralized and placed under the reformed councils both in the provinces and in the central Government. The Provincial division of the railways may be carried out in a convenient form. The best arrangement would be to begin with the State-worked railways and such of the Company-worked lines as lie entirely within a single province; those of the Company-worked railways which cover two or more provinces may be allowed to continue to be under the central Government, until such time as the working of each railway can be acquired or resumed by Government, when the line should be provincialized.

By provincializing of the railways, it is meant that the administrative control and financial responsibility of the railways within the boundaries of the provincial Government be placed under the Local Government or administration concerned. Take for instance the East Indian Railway which runs from Kalka to Howrah and Jubbulpur, through the following five provinces:

1. The Punjab.
2. The United Provinces.
3. The Central Province.
4. The Behar Province.
5. Bengal.

The portion lying in each Province should be under the Provincial Government concerned.

An objection might be raised that such a division of a single railway might create difficulties in working, but such difficulties are more imaginary than real. The division of State lines might be carried out according to the Provincial boundaries, utilizing as far as possible the existing districts or divisions of the Locomotive and Traffic Departments of the railway, which have separate charges administered by District Officers. If any of the districts covers more than one Province, its boundaries might be altered to correspond with those of the Province. As all State Railways belong to the Government, there should be no difficulty in carrying out such division, or a division of the financial responsibility.

In Europe similar through lines, say

from Brindisi to London, Christiania or Stockholm, are owned by four or more states or companies. In India itself, we have several independent railway administrations between Peshawar and Bombay or between Madras and Cawnpore, etc., etc.; yet there is no difficulty in working or accounting for through traffic. The existing arrangements in India for the interchange of rolling stock and for the booking and accounting of through traffic worked by different railway administrations could be applied to inter-provincial traffic.

Or as an alternative the railways might be divided into convenient groups and each of such groups might be placed under a Provincial Government, somewhat as the control of the Rajputana-Malwa State Railway from Ahmedabad to Ferozepur, Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, and Khandwa, was under the Government of Bombay up to 1905.

By placing the control of the railways under the Provincial Governments, we could secure such control and direction as are necessary for the efficient and economical administration of the railways. The Local Governments with their intimate knowledge of the needs of the people, trade and industries, can administer the railways far better than the central Board at Simla or Delhi, and they will be assisted by the representatives of the people under the newly reformed Councils.

In 1871 the Government of India itself thought of creating a Railway Branch in all provinces, but discarded it on narrow considerations. In 1879 the Secretary of State expressed the hope that the Government of India would make over to Local Governments the executive functions in regard to railway systems. The Famine Commission* of 1880 made a recommendation for provincial financial and executive responsibility in respect to Famine Relief Railways. In 1884 General Richard Strachey, R.E., C.S.I., F.R.S.,† who was a bril-

liant member of the Government of India both in India and England, advocated the decentralization of the Indian railway administration, that the railways might be placed under the Provincial Government both as regards the provision of funds and general control. Col. Conway Gordon, R.E., late Director General of Indian Railways, suggested* a popular representative system of railway administration for India.

In paragraph 277 of its Report the Indian Industrial Commission of 1916-18 drew attention to the absence of representation on the Railway Bodies of the provincial departments of commerce and industries and of British and Indian Commercial Bodies. The Commission recommended the appointment of a Commercial member of the Railway Board.

The subjects to be dealt with by the Provincial Governments should embrace:—

(1) Working and management of existing lines.

(2) Additions and alterations in the number and timing of passenger trains.

(3) Comforts and conveniences and necessary accommodation for passengers and goods.

(4) Rates and fares for passengers, goods and other traffic.

(5) Farther extensions of railways.

(6) Financial matters of the railways.

In local matters the Provincial Governments to have freedom of action; but in matters relating to through traffic arrangements, they should act under the advice of the Central Board of the Central Government according as it may be decided to keep the Board or the Secretariat system under a sub-committee of the Legislative Assembly.

The following advantages may be expected from the provincializing of the railways:—

(1) Local requirements would receive due consideration;

(2) The work which is unwieldy for a Central Government or a single body like

* Paras 12—15 of Report of the Indian Famine Commission 1880, Part II, Chapter V, Section 10.

† Paras 32—37 and 90—91 of the Evidence before the Select Committee of 1884.

* Para 4303 of Evidence before the Select Committee of 1884.

the Railway Board, would be divided into seven or more convenient groups ;

(3) It would improve the efficiency of the railways and would tend to greater economy ;

(4) The provincial revenues would have a share of the surplus profits, and this would improve the Provincial finances.

(5) In the case of new lines or extensions the Local authorities would have a

free hand and would create local syndicates to raise the necessary capital.

(6) By general improvements which are to follow such administration, greater interest would rise among the people in their railways, which would result in a general advance in agriculture, industries, commerce and general prosperity of the country.

CHANDRIKA PRASADA.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Home Rule or Independence.

In the October issue of the *Modern Review* I notice an article by J. T. Sunderland, regarding "The Meaning of India's Demand for Home Rule" and then a subtitle "An American View."

I ask that you, in fairness, publish this reply in your magazine.

First of all, Dr. Sunderland is a Canadian, and a Christian Missionary. He is a broad-minded man, but when he pretends to represent America, he misrepresents himself, alone.

America does not understand that India wishes Home Rule within the Empire. America, if it thinks at all, and a large majority are doing so to-day, wish for India an entirely independent existence as a free and independent nation. We can see no reason for India to be any the less free than America. We do not say Home Rule here when we speak of India. We say, and we think, "independence," and the withdrawal from India of every Englishman, rulers and army alike.

You in India have been told much of Home Rule propaganda in America. But if you were told the truth but once, you would know that such agitation is a foreign growth, and that the real movement here is one which believes and speaks for the absolute freedom for India. This view-point has been placed before every labor, race, social and political convention in the United States. And the so-called Home Rule talk is ridiculous, it is so silly.

You people of India have in America, if you wish it, an ally for absolute freedom. Do not permit yourself to believe the pish-posh about America's desire for India to have Home Rule. We will support you in a straight, frank, courageous plan of freedom. The movement for independence is strong here ; every element in the country except English is behind it. Do not permit anyone to send to this country any

word which will lower the ideal which the American people are building up about the Indian nation.

I speak as an American ; my ancestors fought in the American Revolutionary War and as such a descendant I can speak for America.

AGNES SMEDLEY.

Editor's Note.—We personally know Dr. Sunderland to be a great and sincere friend of India. More than once he has toured all over India, coming into contact with men of various shades of opinion. He calls his article "An" American view, not "The" American view. He may not be an American by birth, millions of Americans are not ; but he has certainly been in America long enough to speak and write as an American. Home Rule in the near future does not preclude full independence later on and so Home Rulers and Independentists need not fall out. Dr. Sunderland himself has nothing but friendly feelings for the Independentist party, as the following words of welcome of his in *Young India* for the latter's organ will show :

"We are glad to welcome into the field another vigorous helper in the cause of Indian freedom, namely *The Independent Hindustan*, a new monthly published by the Hindustan Gadar Party of San Francisco, California. The editor is Mr. Surendra Karr, and its business manager is Mr. Bishan Singh. The form and general appearance of the magazine are very attractive and the matter is thoroughly alive. The first two numbers (September and October) are before us as we write. There cannot be too many voices letting the American people know the truth about India and setting forth the justice of her struggle for freedom. We wish the new venture the largest possible usefulness."

So far as we are aware, the vast majority of politically-minded Indians would be content to have immediately a full measure of Home Rule, leaving the question of independence open.

NEW ZEALAND AND INDIAN IMMIGRATION

THERE have been some exceedingly important Parliamentary Debates quite recently published in New Zealand which throw light on the Fiji Indian situation and also at the same time betoken a very rapid growth of the doctrine of a 'White New Zealand' corresponding to the doctrine of a 'White Australia.' The one object, in both cases, is to keep the inhabitants of Asia out of the South Pacific.

A Bill, called the 'Immigration Restriction Amendment Bill,' was introduced for its second reading on behalf of Government by the Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey. This Bill appears absolutely to restrict the entry of Indians into New Zealand, except by the permission of the Minister of Customs. It does away with the old 'English' educational test, under which Indians had entered in the past, and closes the door upon them almost as fast as South Africa already had done. It is interesting to find, that, under this new Bill, the Maori is counted as a European and not even as a Polynesian.

Mr. Massey, when introducing the Bill, made great capital out of the Reciprocity Agreement, which was signed by Lord Sinha and the Maharajah of Bikanir and runs as follows :—

"It is the inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities."

This sweeping statement ought never to have been agreed upon by the Indian members. Let us take one single test case. Is it the 'inherent function' of the Government of Australia, to play the 'dog in the manger' policy for all time to come, in settling its vast fertile northern territory? There are literally thousands of square miles of tropical country in Northern Australia, which never by any possibility can be cultivated and settled by Europeans from the North of Europe.

What could suit New Zealand's case better than such an Agreement as Lord Sinha and

the Maharajah of Bikanir signed? There are probably not as many as twenty New Zealanders in the whole of India. How then can the Reciprocity Agreement ever effectively touch New Zealand? And yet I have in my mind instances of Indian children, who will not be allowed any longer now to go to New Zealand, simply on the ground of their being 'Asiatics'. Fiji is only three and a half days' journey from New Zealand, and previously Indians were able to go over as children to receive the best public school education along with English children. Now, they will not be able to do so any longer, unless with a permit of the Minister of Customs, who will be told by whatever Government is in power strictly to refuse, in order to uphold the 'White New Zealand' policy.

This Debate which takes up nearly 40 pages of the New Zealand 'Hansard', is extraordinarily interesting reading. The Bill is directed chiefly against the Indians, the Chinese and the Japanese. Though the language is guarded throughout, and though there is a special anxiety not to ruffle the feelings of Japan, yet the racial bias is palpably evident. What is to me quite astonishing, is to find how powerful this racial bias has become since the year 1917, when I visited New Zealand personally. Then, there were no signs whatever of this almost violently aggressive anti-Indian persecution. In this Debate of September, 1920, speaker after speaker declared that the determination to keep a 'White New Zealand' was an article of faith with them, and that it was no less strong in New Zealand than it was in Australia.

It is interesting to find, that this acceptance of a 'White Australia' went back as far as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and the first Colonial Conference of 1897. He stated there :

"We quite sympathise with the determination of the white inhabitants of these Colonies (which are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics), that there shall not be an influx of people, alien in civilisation, alien in religion, alien in customs,..... An immigration of that kind must, I quite understand, in the interest of the colonies, be prevented at all hazards, and

we (i.e., the Colonial Office, in London) shall not offer any objection to the proposals intended with that object."

This New Zealand anti-Asiatic Bill is on the surface conciliatory. It takes away, for instance, from the Chinese nation the hateful poll tax, which was so degrading. But, in reality, the Bill is not conciliatory at all, it is as sharp as a drawn sword. It leaves every individual immigrant absolutely at the mercy of the New Zealand government.

One of the Labour members frankly acknowledged the injustice of the Bill. "I, for one," he said, "deny our right to make legislation against the Indians, and then to force the Indians at the point of the gun to comply with our legislation, while refusing them the right in their own country to make laws of the same nature concerning us. I would apply the same argument in the case of the Chinese. We all know the history of the Opium War, and none of us want anything like that to happen in the days of the future."

Mr. Holland went on,—"Today we are imposing Chinese labour on the people of Samoa against their wishes."—This refers to the fact, that New Zealand, having taken over Samoa, as a 'mandated' territory, has decided to continue to import Chinese indentured labour in the interests of a tiny group of European planters. The New Zealand Parliament is ready to do this for the Capitalists, while, at the same time, shutting educated and intelligent Indians and Chinese, who are free men, out of New Zealand itself.

Mr. Kallett, speaking on the side of New Zealand labour, threw some interesting light on Fiji. He said,—"A few months ago some of the members of the House had the opportunity of visiting the Pacific Islands, and I think we were very struck with the state of things in Fiji. One has only to read what happened as the result of bringing a few slaves to America. At the present time the progeny of those slaves outnumber the white race by three to one, which is a very serious position. Now what is happening in Fiji? At a Council meeting in Fiji, I

asked why they were allowing Hindus to come to New Zealand. I said to them, 'You want them here and there is no need in New Zealand for them.' Unfortunately they have found occupation in this country."

In this last quotation, we have the real cause plainly stated of this fresh Anti-Indian legislation of New Zealand. Because Indians, who had received such bad treatment in Fiji, wished to emigrate to New Zealand, and to get better treatment there, they have been thus legislated against and forced back to Fiji itself, or else to India.

I cannot express, in words, what I feel concerning the wretched condition of these Fiji Indians, who are thus being driven about from pillar to post. I am obliged, in all honesty, to state,—though it is with shame and humiliation, that I do so,—that here in India itself, on their return, their fate has been often no less pitiable than their fate abroad. They have been fleeced and robbed in Calcutta, and have in many cases lost all their money before they left the city of Calcutta itself. In other cases, not few in number, they have been received with open hostility and stigmatised as 'outcastes' by Indian brothers and sisters when they have come back home to their own villages. This has been the cruellest wound of all. It has cut to the heart many of those who have come back with high hopes from Fiji. They have spoken to me most bitterly about their own experience.

It has appeared to me, therefore, more and more, as I have studied this question year after year, at home and abroad, that two things are vitally necessary.

(i) This foreign yoke of British Imperialism, which yields nothing but fresh humiliation, must be thrown off.

(ii) This yoke of 'untouchability' in India itself, under which Indians at home are treated so badly by their own countrymen, must be thrown off at the same time. To put this in other words, the Pariahs within the British Empire and the Pariahs in India itself must both equally be set free.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE EXCHANGE QUESTION

BY PROF. PRIYANATH CHATTERJEE, M.A.

[The Secretary of State for India, on behalf of the Indian Government, spends annually large sums in England which are included generally under the name of the Home Charges. These include interests on the promissory notes of the Government of India held in England, the interest on which is payable in sterling (the sterling debt amounts to about £200 millions), pensions and furlough allowances payable in England, etc.]

The Secretary of State raises the amount by the sale of what are known as Council Bills, or cheques drawn by the Secretary of State on the Government of India. These Bills on the Indian Treasuries of the Government are, of course, purchased by those in England who had to remit money to India. The Secretary of State gets what he needs in sterling in London, and the bills are sent to India by the buyers and are cashed at the Government Treasuries in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Thus the balances in the Indian Treasuries of the Government are reduced by the sales of Council, which increased the balance in the London Treasury of the Government controlled by the Secretary of State. In other words, a transfer of funds from India to England is thus effective without having to ship the money from India to England.

There is a demand in London for these bills. The Exchange Banks here in financing the foreign trade of India pay for Indian goods shipped abroad in rupees, in lieu of export bills (bills on foreign countries for goods exported to them). The bills are sent to London, the clearing-house of the world, for realisation. The foreign branches of the banks similarly pay for the goods which India imports, and the bills for these goods are sent to India for collection. So the cash balances of the banks in India, reduced by the value of the exports and increased by that of the imports, would steadily diminish and ultimately disappear, as there is invariably a balance in favour of India (the value of her exports exceeding that of her imports) if the banks did not replenish their balances in India by the purchase of Councils in London which are cashed in India, or by the importation of gold and silver which they sell here.

Reverse Councils are cheques drawn in India by Government on the Secretary of State for sterling drafts on London sold in India. They are obviously purchased by those in India, who have to remit money to England. The necessity arises when the balance of trade is against India.]

THE exchange question is being very much discussed now and huge losses have been incurred by merchants during export and business here, as also by Government. The European merchants are loudly

denouncing Government for having misled them as to the future course of exchange. They are very hard hit no doubt, but it should not be overlooked that Government also has lost heavily. It is perhaps excusable for an ordinary member of the public to try to understand if Government has been really to blame and, if so, how far. He may be, it is hoped, permitted to take a commonsense view of the situation. It is not difficult to understand how the fall in the exchange value of the rupee, contrary to expectations has resulted in considerable loss to importers, exporters, producers, Banks and Government. As is well known, the usual practice for importers is to order goods, a good many months ahead, for we import chiefly manufactured articles which take time in production, so, goods ordered six months or a year before may be coming in now. But our exports consist mostly of raw materials which may be shipped within a short time of their being collected. The busy export season is the period from July to January. When the imports have to be paid for here, the necessary funds become available by the sale of export bills to the Exchange Banks, *i. e.*, by what the local Exchange Banks pay for Indian goods shipped abroad against bills drawn on foreign houses importing them. Now, importers based their calculations on a high exchange, and they cannot very well be blamed if they did so. On 16th September, 1919, the value of the rupee was raised by the Secretary of State to 2s. ; on 22nd November to 2s. 2d.; on 12th December 1919 to 2s. 4d. In February, 1920, Government accepted the recommendation of the last Currency Commission linking the rupee to gold and making a gold sovereign equal to Rs. 10. On account of the depreciation of English paper currency consequent on the withdrawal of gold coins from circulation, the gold sovereign was then, as it still is, worth considerably more than a British currency note for £1. In America the pound sterling no longer was worth 4·86 dollars but it then fetched only

3.25 dollars, for the pound sterling was no longer convertible into a gold sovereign. The immediate effect of the acceptance by Government of that recommendation, therefore, raised Exchange still further. In order to make the rate effective, Government began selling Reverse Councils at 2s. 11d. or so. Later, on account of the appreciation of English paper currency in America—the rise in the dollar-sterling exchange known popularly as the cross-rate—the rate at which Reverse Councils were sold came down somewhat, but was still in the neighbourhood of 2s. 6d. for the next three months or so. Hence, importers could confidently count upon a high exchange value of the rupee, especially as they thought that in the busy export season the balance of payments due to the excess of exports over imports, would be in favour of India and that would raise exchange still higher. In paragraph 38 of the Narrative of the Finance Member introducing the Budget for 1920-21, the assumption is made that “the average rate for the rupee sterling exchange will not be below 2s. 6d. and the total gain in exchange during the current year is estimated at 30½ crores! But unfortunately all these turn out to be serious miscalculations. If, for example, the importers ordered £100 million sterling worth of foreign goods, they thought they would have to pay 80 crores of rupees or so at 2s. 6d. exchange; and accordingly they sold their goods in advance, as they always do, keeping to themselves a handsome profit, say at 110 crores. When the goods begin to be delivered to the importers, the shilling steadily rises in value, and actual payments perhaps amount to, say, 120 crores of rupees, resulting in a huge loss.

No wonder then that the merchants blame the Government, for did not Government give a sort of undertaking that the maximum value of the shilling would not go beyond eight annas, even if the depreciation of English paper currency disappears, which is very unlikely it would for a good many years? It must be borne in mind that the low value of the shilling very much stimulated the import trade and the loss of the merchants is very great also because of the considerable volume of imports.

The export merchants have also lost and that is due to miscalculation of the same nature. If the rate of exchange was 2s. 2d.

per rupee in May last, they confidently expected, for the reason already stated, it would be higher in the export season, when they thought they would get fewer rupees for the same amount in sterling. So they sold bills in advance. They thought, for instance, judging from the figures of previous years, that the exports in the busy months would amount, say, to 150 million sterling. So they sold forward bills for what they thought would be the value of the exports. Their anticipations are not realised, we have a poor export season, and the value of exports reaches, say, only 100 million sterling. So when the bills which they sold mature, they cannot be fully met by exports and to pay for the difference the merchants have to buy bills at a much higher rate in rupees than they realised a few months earlier. So they lose heavily.

The exporter has to some extent passed on the loss to the producer offering him fewer rupees for the same quantity of goods. So the producers have also lost and would lose much more if the present stagnant condition of export trade continues.

The Exchange Banks, financing as they do the foreign trade of the country, are also likely to lose. The cash balances of these Banks in India are diminished by the value of the exports and increased by that of the imports. Exports in the seven months, April to October, amounted to 163 million; imports to 191 million sterling. If, for the sake of simplicity, it is supposed that the Banks financed all this trade, and that they bought and sold bills at the same rate, say, at 2s. per rupee, there is an increase in the Indian branches of the Exchange Banks of 28 crores of rupees for which in their foreign branches the cash balance is reduced by 28 million sterling. If the accounts are now made up, it will be found that 28 crores of rupees cannot purchase 28 million sterling. Against the loss must now be placed their gains in Exchange due to their having different rates for buying and selling on the same day. The Exchange Banks generally are very cautious, refusing to do business without cover—selling as much as they buy and it is not likely they have lost heavily. Their losses, if any, can be fully met from the huge reserves they built up during the war when they made enormous profits.

How Government has lost is well known. Reverse Councils were sold up to the end of

September last for about 50 million sterling fetching about 40 crores or less. It cost the country about 75 crores of rupees to deposit that amount in England, for during the war except in the last five months (June to November 1918, when the rate was rs. 5d.), the rate of exchange was rs. 4d. The loss is thus 35 crores or more. Further, the estimates of Home charges, capital outlay on Railways for 1920-21 are based upon an Exchange at 2s. 6d. per rupee. The considerable appreciation in the value of the shilling would cause the expenditure to be much more in rupees. That is likely to be another huge loss.

The huge sacrifice made by Government to stabilise exchange has singularly failed; and to some extent it illustrates the futility of human efforts to overcome economic forces. The Finance Member on one occasion justified the sales of Reverse Councils and made light of the loss thus incurred. "The loss was potentially there always," he was pleased to observe, "and sooner or later, must become a reality." So he thought that the high exchange had come to stay. It seems now that the loss could have been considerably minimised, if not absolutely avoided, 50 million sterling being already worth about 70 crores of rupees. It was no doubt necessary to bring back a portion of the Paper Currency Reserve from London where it was located during the war, for the transfer was recommended by the last Currency Commission, but was it necessary to be so very precipitate? Then how would Government justify the sales of Reverse Councils at tempting rates considerably cheaper than market rates, which created an artificial demand, encouraged profiteering by Exchange Banks, and led to the withdrawal of considerable British capital from India? If Government had sold Reverse Councils at market rates, at least 5 crores of rupees would have been saved. By the middle of February 1920 the gap between the Government rate and the market rate was 3d. per rupee; a month later it was 4d.; later it came down to 2d. or so. The Finance Member on one occasion waxed eloquent on the advantages of these sales: "Unless they are sold, the Exchange policy does not become effective; trade does not get the remittance it requires and exchange breaks down." During the six months of current financial year, April to September, the imports (159 million) exceeded the exports (142 million)

by 17 million sterling. During the same period Reverse Councils were sold for 25 million or more. In October last, the excess of imports over exports was 11 million sterling as against 17 million in the previous six months, but no Reverse Councils were sold. If Government wanted to help trade by the sales of Reverse Councils, why were the sales stopped, when trade required them most? When Government began to sell Reverse Bills, in February last, the balance of trade was in our favour and it continued to be so up to May, by the end of which more than 33 million sterling had been sold. So that two-thirds of the total of Reverse Councils sold by Government were sold before any actual necessity arising out of trade was felt. The sales were stopped when imports exceeded exports considerably for the third month in succession. Europeans in India found it hard to resist the temptation of doubling the value of their property by converting rupees into sterling when the Reverse Councils were being sold, and the consequent withdrawal of considerable British capital has certainly accentuated the tightness of the money market here.

It may be said that the future course of the Exchange and of the sudden fall in the price of silver could not have been foreseen by Government. It is chiefly upon the price of silver that the Exchange value of the rupee depended more than upon anything else, since the old rate of 16d. for the rupee was departed from, in June 1918. The following table will show how the Secretary of State had to raise the rate repeatedly to catch the soaring price of silver, and to prevent the melting and export of rupees, until in February, 1920, the rupee was linked to gold. *But the rupee, as will be shown later, seems to refuse to be so linked* and the price of silver still appears to be the dominant factor. Column 1 of the following table is derived from paragraph 10 of the report of the Controller of the Currency for the last financial year (1919-20). Approximate figures are given.

| Average price of silver per ounce | | Rate of Exchange |
|-----------------------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| April, 1919. | 49d. | rs. 6d. |
| May | 51 | } rs. 8d. (from 13th May) |
| June, July " | 54 | |
| August | 59 | } rs. 10d. (from 12th Aug.) |
| September | 62 | |
| October | 64 | } 2s. (from 16th Sept.) |

| | | |
|--------------|-----|---|
| November | 70 | } 2s. 2d. (from 22nd Nov.) |
| December | 76½ | |
| January 1920 | 80 | } 2s. 4d. (from 12th Dec.) |
| February | 85 | |
| | | 2s. 11d. (the rupee is linked to gold.) |

Was it impossible for Government to foresee in March last when the Budget for 1920-21 was presented, that the price of silver would come down? The Controller of the Currency observes in paragraph 10 of his report for 1919-20 "that from the 7th May, 1919, an almost unbroken rise in prices occurred until the closing two months of the year when a reaction set in and a sharp fall in prices took place." He remarks that the heights to which the price of silver soared can be explained by (1) the removal of control in America on the 7th May, 1919, followed by the removal of restriction over the maximum price of silver in England, (2) a persistent demand from China. He might have added a third reason, *viz.*, a persistent demand from India due to the rapid absorption of crores of rupees in 1918 and 1919. In other words, the abnormal demand from China and India was largely responsible for the phenomenal rise in the price of silver. In paragraph 9 of the Narrative, the Finance Member tells us that the absorption of silver coin in 1918-1919 amounted to 45 crores, and in the period of ten months and a half of 1919-20 (1st April 1919 to 15th February 1920) it amounted to 22 crores (the total absorption for the whole financial year 1919-20, as we now learn, amounted to 20 crores). Now, could not the Finance Member in February last see in the marked decrease in the absorption of silver coins throughout the year a strong reason for the cessation of the abnormal demand for silver from India for purposes of coinage?

It has been shown above how the price of silver gradually rose from 27d. per ounce in August, 1914, to about 90d. in February, 1920. European countries in consequence experienced a heavy diminution in their silver currency, as the result of the melting and export of coins. The high price of the metal also stimulated production. So, the knowledge of the cessation of a strong demand from India, and of the likelihood of full supplies of the metal in the markets, and above all of the fact that the price had risen from 27d. to 90d. per ounce, during the war, would not perhaps make it difficult for an ordinary man, not to

speak of the Finance Member of the Government of India, to expect a sharp fall, and to apprehend danger to the new exchange policy. But we find him instead complacently calculating his gains in exchange on the assumption that the average price of the rupee will not fall below 2s. 6d. Government made frantic efforts to make the rupee equal to 2s. gold, and purchased by means of sales of Reverse Councils about 40 crores of rupees at artificially high rates, causing a huge loss to the poor country, and the total failure of the efforts is sufficiently clear from the fact that the rupee is now worth 1s. 5d. which is about *one-half* of what it should be if it could be the equivalent of 2s. gold (on account of the depreciation of sterling 2s. gold now equals about 2s. 10d.). Throughout the period Reverse Councils were sold, the rupee resolutely refused to be linked to gold and its exchange value in the open market rather followed the price of silver, resulting always in a gap between the market rate of exchange and the theoretical gold rate at which Government sold Reverse Councils. The following table shows how the price of silver is still the dominant factor. Approximate figures are given.

| | Price of silver in London per ounce | Market rate of exchange. |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| February, 1920 | 90d. | 33d. |
| April " | 72 | 29 |
| May " | 57 | 26 |
| June " | 50 | 21 |
| July " | 56 | 22½ |
| (Sales of Reverse Councils stopped.) | | |
| September " | 60 | 21¾ |
| November " | 46 | 18½ |
| December " | 41 | 17 |

The carelessness of Government has cost the country a good deal and has misled the merchants also, involving them in heavy losses. The wisdom of letting things alone, letting exchange find its natural level seems to be at last dawning upon Government.

If the unexpected fall in the exchange value of the rupee has been disastrous to trade and to Government and therefore to the tax payer, it does not follow that a low exchange is bad for India. The present disaster is caused not by a low exchange, nor so much by the instability of the exchange as by serious miscalculations about its future course. We all know how for about a year and a half after the termination of the war in November 1918 our export trade continued to be in full vigour in spite of the steady rise

in exchange which made Indian products more and more costly in foreign markets.

A low exchange such as we had for a long period before the war rather appears to be a great help. One may go further and say that it is essential to the revival of India's export trade. The considerable slackening in European demand for India's produce is certainly due in a large measure to the depreciated paper currency of European countries and a low exchange such as we have now, and such as we had for a long period before the war and to which we grew accustomed, would be of considerable help to foreigners to buy our goods.

One must not overlook however that unfortunately a good many of our necessities of life such as cloth and other piece goods, hardware, etc., are still imported and a low exchange would make them dearer, and a high exchange would considerably cheapen them. It is however doubtful if the consumers got the full benefit or a substantial portion of it of a high exchange such as was ruling in the latter half of 1919 and the first half of 1920. One would rather suspect that there was a good deal of profiteering. Un-

fortunately, however, it is true that the *dhuti* made in Bombay rises or falls in value with that of nearly the same quality imported from Manchester and bears no relation to its cost of production. So, a low exchange making the foreign production dearer, would also make the cloth made in India almost equally dear, and thus help profiteering by the Bombay mill-owners. If they are not satisfied with a reasonable profit and are found bent upon making as much profit as they can, then Government in the interest of millions of poor consumers should exercise some sort of control over the prices. One can never overlook that a low exchange fosters *Swadeshi*. The costliness of foreign luxuries, some of which have unnecessarily become our necessities of life, is not very undesirable. For that and for the revival of our export trade one would earnestly desire that the *present* exchange value of the rupee may continue for some time at least and that Government may not again interfere with it soon. The return of the rupee to nearly its pre-war level no doubt, has caused loss to many, but one would like to be satisfied how the continuance of the present rate is bad for India.

INDIA IN 1919*

"THE year 1919 opened full of promise for India, as for the rest of the Empire"—so begins the foreword. "The British Commonwealth had emerged victorious from the greatest war of history, and India was proudly conscious that she had contributed not a little to the achievement of that triumph." "But as the year proceeded, the picture changed," for there came the great famine, and the Afghan War, and Jhalianwala Bagh. Nevertheless, the foreword concludes, "the country stands now on the threshold of a new era—an era which seems destined to witness her advance from the early difficulties and inevitable readjustment to a full realization of her high destiny as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth."

* India in 1919: by L. F. Rushbrook Williams. Being a report prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th section of the Government of India Act. Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India. Price Rupee One. Pp., 281. [A remarkably cheap publication.]

The first chapter begins by noting 'the tacit change which had come over the attitude of Government.' From the way in which the Government tried to whittle down the moderate recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, there can be little doubt that the change of which the author speaks, whatever its extent and value, was more an imposition from without than a transformation from within. But it would be ungracious to pursue this enquiry further, and so we proceed to describe the change itself in the author's own words:

"Previous to this the aspirations of educated India had been regarded as something which so long as the existing regime continued could find no adequate satisfaction. But with the general acknowledgment among the Allies of those ideals of liberty, freedom, and the rights of the peoples for which the sword had been taken up, thinking men in England and in India turned with greater earnestness to the task of envisaging the final goal of British Rule in India. Their way was made

more smooth by the fact that throughout the stress of war there was never any real demand among the politically-minded classes of India for the severance of the ties which bound them to Great Britain and to the rest of the Empire. There was on the contrary, a demand that these ties should be strengthened in the most effective way, namely, by a recognition that India's position within the Empire ought to approximate as soon as possible to that enjoyed by the Self-governing Dominions. The outcome of the deliberations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India was the declaration of August the 20th, which with its announcement that the existing system of British rule was to be regarded as a prelude to the conferring of responsible government upon India, set the seal upon the new policy. Nor were practical signs wanting to bring home to India her changed status.....The steadily awakening national pride of India was gratified to know that India was among the original signatories of the League of Nations and with the ennoblement of a distinguished Indian, Sir S. P. Sinha, and his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India, it became clear beyond the possibility of doubt that India's status had changed once and for all."

Yes, but we cannot forget that one swallow does not make a summer, and that mere thresholds and antechambers of a new era, and preludes to responsible government, no longer satisfy us—we want the substance, and not the shadow, in a word, responsible Government itself, and not its prelude, but the British Government has not even fixed a limit to the time when the prelude will end and the real drama begin, and in the meantime we are asked to be content with being exhibited in show places like Peace Conferences and League of Nations meetings, while Esher Committees are forging fresh chains for keeping us under galling military subjection.

"Educated Indian opinion," the author proceeds to tell us, "but newly conscious of the stature of manhood, remained throughout the period under review impatient, resentful of inevitable delay, and suspicious that at any moment the clock might be set back to pre-war conditions." And he admits that India had some justification for this attitude in the treatment of Indian settlers in the British colonies, which 'has caused a profound and most painful impression in this country.' At the root of the whole colonial question is the question of the status of the Indians in India itself until the Indians are masters in their own house, and so long as they are relegated to a back seat in this land of their birth, they cannot hold up their heads as equal citizens in foreign countries, however able—and deserving they may be.

It is a trite copybook maxim that our sins

come home to roost, but never was its truth more strikingly demonstrated, in the region of politics, than in the case of the Government of India in the year of grace 1919. The Afghan War cost many lives and many millions of money (though curiously enough, the author does not favour us with any statistics on these points); "it left as its heritage a disturbed border which up to the moment of writing shows little signs of settling down into its pre-war condition;" the breakdown of the medical and transport arrangements, and the heavy casualties, especially among British soldiers, gave rise to bitter press comments in England which "very seriously affected the reputation of the Indian Government both in Great Britain and in India;" in the Treaty of peace Afghanistan was allowed to cut the painter and it "officially recognised the freedom of Afghan foreign relations from British control," with the result that the Amir was free to conspire with the Bolsheviks. And what was the Afghan War, with all this heritage of evils, mainly due to? The answer can be plainly gathered even from this official record—it was primarily due to two things, e.g., the Rowlatt Act, and the official magnification of the Punjab disturbances to the dignity and importance of a rebellion. Any British ministry guilty of so much bungling and incompetence would be given short shrift, but Mr. Montagu, in his despatch on the Punjab disturbances, eulogises the Viceroy as almost a second Saviour of India. Let us now quote from Mr. Rushbrook Williams:

"But just at the time when his [Amir Amanullah's] difficulties seemed insuperable, the Rowlatt agitation in India culminated in the Punjab disturbances, Afghan agents in India flooded Afghanistan with exaggerated accounts of Indian unrest. It was represented that owing to legislation which was inimical alike to the Hindu and the Muslim creeds, there would be a general revolt against the British as soon as the Afghan troops crossed the frontier. The Rowlatt Act.....was commonly misrepresented in Afghanistan as imposing intolerable restrictions upon Mussalmans and upon the public worship of the people of India.....The Punjab outbreaks were magnified by rumours until they assumed the proportions of a general rising against British rule; and our own official declaration that certain districts of the Punjab were in a state of rebellion seemed to confirm this view."

The aftermath of the Afghan War proved more disastrous than is commonly known. "The heritage of the disturbed border, to which reference has already been made, continued throughout the period under review." The Mahsuds and the Wazirs offered an 'unexpectedly obstinate resistance,' and "as they can put into the field some 30,000 warriors, of whom about 75 per cent. are now armed with modern weapons of precision, they are

formidable adversaries. Thoroughly excited by the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and Afghanistan, they refused to make peace even if the Afghans had done so." In Baluchistan, "our administrative system was severely shaken. In Zhob the structure of peace and order which had been built up so carefully in 40 years, collapsed in as many days. Time, patience, and a fearless grappling with new problems will be necessary before the building can be restored." Again, "This Muhammadan province, situated as it is midway between India and the Middle East, has a position of great political importance thrust upon it in view of the profound changes that are coming over Persia and Afghanistan. The people of the province, no longer ignorant, and blind as formerly, are fully alive to the large issues at stake, and realise now that their own interests are closely bound up with the solution of many questions of world-politics." And, as an instance of the necessity for "the fearless grappling with new problems," the author says that "we must be prepared to spend money in unprecedented quantities upon improving the frontier roads and extending our railways." It is rightly apprehended that this heroic policy may not be liked by the Indian people who have got to pay the piper, and so the writer adds: "There is some danger lest Indian administrators, when they find themselves in power, should be inclined to under-estimate the necessity of safeguarding adequately the gates of India."

The chapter ends with a reference to Lord Esher's Committee, and in view of the fact that they actually recommend the removal of the control of the Indian Army from the Government of India to Great Britain, and plead for the further increase of army expenditure without any adequate arrangement for the employment of Indians in the Commissioned ranks and in artillery and aircraft regiments, the following pious peroration appears almost ironical:

"Much is hoped from their deliberations from the purely technical point of view, but not the least among the problems which face them is that of *making the Indian Army a national army in every sense of the term* (!) [Italics ours] —an organisation in which the people of India take pride, with which they are in the fullest sympathy, in which they feel they have a weapon that it behoves them to maintain bright and stainless for the defence of their country and for the discharge of their responsibilities in the Commonwealth of Nations."

The second chapter on internal politics deals with the Punjab affairs and the Khatris, the fat agitation and the Congress. It discusses the causes of the disquieting developments during the year 1919. In April, the writer mentions that the "minded classes" had been "of making clear"

found advance in political thought which had come over educated India within the last few years," and both among Hindus and Muhammadans "there was a most unfortunate, and quite groundless, feeling that loyalty during the war might very well count for nothing after the danger to the commonwealth had passed away," and as for the masses, "the natural consequence of the continued rise of prices was to make them feel that Government was in some way to blame for their sufferings." The feeling excited by the Rowlatt Act was, according to the author, "in its essence sentimental, arising rather from what the Act was supposed to stand for than for the character of the Act itself." "To the educated classes in general, the Act stood as something symbolical, the very embodiment of past resentment and future fear; as full confirmation of these lively, if baseless (?) apprehensions that India was to be thwarted in her legitimate aspirations, as proof unquestionable that henceforth the sympathetic policy pursued by the administration towards the political development of India would be replaced by a regime of iron repression." The events leading to the great Punjab massacre are then detailed at great length, but the bombings from aeroplanes, the whipping and crawling orders and other official barbarities are discreetly passed over, and the only reference to "Dyer's Feast of Blood" is contained in the following colourless sentence: "General Dyer who was in command at Amritsar collected his available striking force, which was under one hundred in number, marched to the scene of the meeting and instantly opened fire upon the crowd of several thousands there assembled, inflicting casualties which so far as is known amounted in killed alone to 379." The future historian of India, turning to this volume of official report, will seek in vain for light regarding the horrors of the Punjab which had so thoroughly embittered the feelings of Indians everywhere, except what he can get from a casual sentence like the following: "The profound effect which the Punjab disturbances had produced upon Indian opinion in general, enabled the extreme nationalists to take up the position that the reforms were *per se* worthless unless accompanied by such a declaration of rights as would make a repetition of the Punjab occurrences impossible."

As to Hindu-Moslem unity, Mr. Rushbrook

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familiar with Indian conditions can appreciate adequately the difficulty which attends the attempt to identify the interests of the masses as apart from the political leaders, of the two communities. But in this time of public excitement Hindus and Mahammadans even of the lower classes seemed for once to forget their differences. As it chanced, the casualties at Delhi included both Mahammadans and Hindus and on April 6th, the occasion of the great general *hartal*, extraordinary scenes of fraternization occurred. Hindus publicly accepted water from the hands of Mahammadans and *vice versa*; and the large and disorderly processions which made their appearance in so many places indicated both by their cries and by the banners which they bore that Hindu-Mussalman unity was the popular watchword. But considering that in one place a Hindu religious leader had actually been allowed to preach from the pulpit of a cathedral mosque, these phenomena, surprising as they are, can hardly be considered the most remarkable features of the movement."

The following brief character-sketch of Mr. Gandhi will be appreciated:

"Mr. Gandhi is generally regarded as a Tolstoyan of high ideals and complete selflessness. Since his stand on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, he has commanded among his countrymen all the traditional reverence with which the East envelopes a religious leader of acknowledged asceticism. In his case, he possesses the added strength that his admirers are not confined to any one religious sect. Since he took up his residence in Ahmedabad in the Bombay Presidency, he has been actively concerned in social work of varied kinds. His readiness to take up the cudgels on behalf of any individual or class whom he regards as being oppressed has endeared him to the masses of his countrymen. In the case of the urban and rural population of many parts of the Bombay Presidency, his influence is unquestioned; and he is regarded with a reverence for which adoration is scarcely too strong a word. Believing as he does in the superiority of 'soul-force' over material might, Mr. Gandhi was led to believe that it was his duty to employ against the Rowlatt Act that weapon of passive resistance which he had used effectively in South Africa."

Quoting the Royal Proclamation signifying the assent to the Reform Bill, the last words of which were: "I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater progress and may grow in power and glory," the author writes: "The Indians are not yet ready to accept the principle which has been admitted in the Government of India Act, 1919, and capital investment of 2½ per cent. for investment in other public works which will return of 7 per cent. to the railways were

expression, have long ceased to think with Mrs. Besant and Mr. Banerjea, and are not so easily satisfied with mere words.

Alluding to the attitude of what the author terms the extreme nationalists, he observes:

"It might well seem that the entire Congress party is in some danger of drifting into an extreme attitude, not merely in regard to the reforms but also in regard to the whole relationship of India towards the British commonwealth. It is devoutly to be hoped that this will not take place; for the enthusiasm of the younger members of that party, their receptivity to generous ideals and their realisation of the necessity for sacrifice in the cause of political and social progress, constitute a driving force of great potential value to India. It is to be hoped that with the new opportunities for solid work in the national cause which the reforms will furnish, the extreme Nationalist party will find it possible to co-operate enthusiastically in hastening the progress of India along the road leading to responsibility." And the chapter ends with the following exhortation which, as events show, has been unheeded by the country at large, whether for its good or the reverse it is as yet too early to prophesy:

"The era of reform is opening to India; those who at present control her administration have fully and frankly invited the co-operation of Indian leaders in making the reforms a success. It is now for Indians to show by hard work that they possess the qualities which have so often been claimed for them—public spirit, self-sacrifice, capacity for adopting themselves to new political conditions."

The chapter on the Economic Life of India begins with a recapitulation of 'some of the general conditions in accordance with which the finances of the country are regulated.' "Firstly, India being still, in the main, a land of agriculturists, 70 per cent. of the population being dependent for their livelihood upon the produce of the soil, the Indian revenues are largely influenced by the character of the season. Secondly, India normally has large commitments in London, in payment for which a sum averaging about 20 millions sterling a year has to be remitted to England." This peculiar condition of Indian finance, due to her subjection to England and shared by no other country in the world, is known as the Indian drain, but the author seeks to justify it, by saying that it consists of three parts; salaries and pensions of civil servants (most of whom India could well supply if given the option), India office expenses (which should be inequity be paid by England—principle which has been admitted in the Government of India Act, 1919), and capital investment of 2½ per cent. for investment in other public works which will return of 7 per cent. to the railways were

exploiting India's raw materials, and India would have benefited more by devoting a far larger proportion of the money to irrigation, while many of the railways were strategic, and might well wait till Indian capital was available, in which case the people of India would have a predominant voice in their management, their countrymen would not have been so rigorously shut out from the higher posts and the rank and file of the clerks and station masters would get something more than starvation wages and miserable pigstyes for dwelling houses which are an insult to humanity and contrast so painfully with the lordly bungalows of the European 'officers', thirdclass passengers by whom the railways are really maintained and who form the bulk of the passengers would have got something like human treatment, and the excessive goods rates would not have been introduced to throttle the nascent Indian industries. The return of 7 per cent. of which the author boasts is thus counterbalanced by so many serious drawbacks that it cannot be regarded as at all a matter for congratulation from the Indian point of view.

A special feature of the currency position was 'a very rapid expansion in the country's readiness and capacity to utilize paper-money.' If the extensive circulation of paper-money is not supported by an adequate silver reserve, the popularity of paper money can hardly be welcomed. We learn from this report that "in any case it is out of the question to contemplate any return to the free and unrestricted issue of rupees at district treasuries throughout the country."

The amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks into one Imperial Bank with no less than 100 new branches in five years, which is to take effect in January 1921, the foundation of the Tata Industrial Bank with a capital of £8 millions and the Karnani Industrial Bank with a capital of nearly £4 millions are referred to and it is truly observed that "in the present condition of India, it is almost impossible for the larger portion of the population to employ their savings in a productive manner. The importance of increasing the banking facilities of the country is becoming more and more clearly recognised; and with the industrial renaissance which is springing up in India, a considerable popular demand for such facilities may be expected before long."

"The rise in prices in India for all commodities including the necessities of life, was of the most serious character. In the case of food-grains, the prices generally rose by an average of 93 per cent since the commencement of the war, while the increase in piece-goods was just under 190 per cent for imported goods and just over 60 per cent for Indian made goods. This remarkable rise in prices was partly due to world factors, and partly to factors peculiar to India. Since for some years past the principal nations of Europe

have devoted their whole energies to the work of destruction instead of production, there has naturally been a world shortage of the necessities of life."

"But the most serious of all the factors in the Indian economic situation during the period under review was the remarkable failure of the monsoon.....in 1918-19 there was no province which did not suffer from a shortage of the monsoon either partial or complete, with the result that the crop-failure of 1918-19 was one of the worst on the record [not in the century, or half a century or even quarter of a century, so frequent are crop failure of consequent famines getting to be in this country, but] in the last decade..... In 1918-19 the loss of production due to the failure of the rain may be put, at a conservative estimate, at not less than 20 million tons... Despite all that Government could do, these high prices and shortage of food caused the greatest distress and embarrassment in India. They have pressed most hardly on the poorer classes and on people living on small fixed incomes in the towns; but the effect of them has been felt by every section of the community, as well as by the Government and other large employers of labour.....since the margin of subsistence in India is considerably lower than that of other countries, the poorer classes have suffered to a disproportionate degree. It is small comfort to them to be told that they have escaped more lightly than most people in the rest of the world [who, however, had much more money to buy their food with,] when their own sufferings have been very great." But after this guarded statement, which everyone in India who remembers the situation in 1919 can testify to be strictly within the bounds of moderation, comes the official whitewashing, regarding which it will be necessary to say a few words. In the first place, nowhere in the course of the narrative is the obnoxious word 'famine' allowed to find a place—it is all either economic stress or economic strain or failure of monsoon or shortage of food, though it is admitted that "India had passed through the worst crop failure since the *famine* [Italics ours] of 1899-1901." In those days, evidently, officialdom was more blunt and would sometimes call a spade a spade. Now it is more wise. Indeed, so wise has it become, that we learn from the report that the Government refused to accept any assistance from a fund started at Toronto, because the promoters had 'wildly exaggerated' the conditions prevailing in India. "But the remarkable fact about these disastrous years has been the successful way in which the agricultural population has come through the stress [if so why 'disastrous'?].Remarkable though it may seem, the numbers on relief were never very large. Although the crop failure of 1918-19 was quite as bad as, if not worse than, the crop-failure in 1900, the maximum number on relief at any one time in the year was under 600,000, while in the

year 1900, it was no less than 6,000,000." Similarly, elsewhere reference is made to the fact "that the maximum number of persons on relief in 1919 was less than one-tenth the corresponding number in 1900." May this not be due to greater stringency and stricter organisation in famine relief operations, and also the growing self-respect of the people? The impression left on the mind of the writer of this review, after a friendly tour with a high Government official in an affected Bengal district distinctly was that there were many more persons needing relief than were borne on the official register. We met some rejected candidates for relief and helped them from our own pockets, for they looked pitiable enough, but we were told that they did not come within the four corners of the Code. Every Indian feels how acute the distress has been and is, and the

Bengali monthly *Probashi*, conducted by the Editor of this magazine, publishes monthly extracts from the provincial vernacular newspapers which read like one loud wail of melancholy distress, and yet we find the following passage perpetrated in cold blood in the report under review: "None-the-less, the general impression gained by those who have toured up and down in directing the work of food control has been that of a marked and impressive absence of visible signs of distress. The apparent ease with which the people have stood up to unprecedented price levels is a matter both for surprise and for thankfulness." Just as we are never tired of hearing of the elasticity of the Indian revenues, despite frequent crop failures which are made responsible for famines, so we are always told of the wonderful recuperative power of the Indian peasant. This, we suppose, means nothing more than the fact that even after a terrible and widespread famine, many people do survive, and as deaths from slow malnutrition are not accounted as famine casualties or deaths from starvation, the recuperation theory gaily holds its own. What purposes the official reports of an alien government are made to serve will become clear from the next sentence: "This impression is borne out by the season and crop reports received from the provinces. Prices were nowhere higher, for example, than in the Central Provinces; yet the report records that distress was nowhere really serious or severe [if so, how does the author, in a passage quoted previously, say: 'Despite all that Government could do, these high prices and shortage of food caused the greatest distress and embarrassment in India'?] and that the agricultural population have come through the period of acute strain extremely well. Similar testimony is borne, to take another example, by the report from the United Provinces." And if the official records of the 'famine' of 1899-01 with which the 'distress' of 1919 is compared and contrasted, — be searched, we doubt not that similar testi-

mony would be forthcoming as to the wonderful recuperative power of the agriculturists of those days. Mr. Rushbrook Williams is conscious that he is trying to prove too much, and so he starts a theory of his own by way of explanation, which, he rightly surmises, is badly needed. We shall no doubt hear more and more of this new theory as the years roll on, and the agriculturist's wonderful recuperative power stands more in need of vindication in future famines.

"In the light of the statements," says the author, "which so frequently appear as to the grinding poverty beneath which the Indian masses labour, the unexpected powers of resistance displayed by the population of India seem to need a word of explanation. . . . Even if—a contingency which is highly unlikely—this figure [£2] still were approximately accurate today [in the opinion of Sir Sankaran Nair, it is too high, for according to him the Indian is getting poorer], it would certainly convey a false impression to persons unfamiliar with the conditions of India. In any discussion of the economic condition of the Indian masses, it should be remembered that of a total population of well over 300 millions, considerably less than one-tenth live in towns. The natural result is that in the case of nine-tenths of the population of India, the economy which rules their life is even now an economy which cannot be measured merely in terms of money. The monetary income of the average villager, small though it may be, represents but a fraction of his total budget. His dwelling as a rule costs him little or nothing [this is news to us, though it is not unnatural for a European accustomed to luxurious homes to imagine that the miserable shanty of an Indian cultivator cannot possibly cost much even from the cultivator's point of view]. His food [only the staple food grain, e.g., rice or wheat, of a section of the villagers, but even this competes seriously with non-edible products, e.g., jute, which has to be bartered for money] is mainly produced by his own labour and by that of his family, and it would probably [mark the word] be fair to say that his annual compulsory expenditure on necessities is considerably less than his annual monetary income."

The truth is, though bureaucracy in India poses as the champion of the masses and even His Majesty the King is made to warn the new popular assemblies 'not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to the franchise' [para 5 of the Royal Proclamation], when the time comes for the bureaucracy to show practical sympathy, it behaves with a callousness which is nothing short of shocking, and finds a marked and impressive absence of visible signs of distress when as a matter of fact the whole country is groaning under it [as is indeed virtually admitted in this book in explaining the causes of the internal disorders]

and seeks to minimise the abject poverty of the Indian agriculturists [admitted in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, paras 132 & 135]. In the next sentence, however, the writer, perhaps doubtful of the soundness of his theory of natural vs. monetary economy, observes as follows: "But this state of affairs is changing with increasing rapidity every year. A monetary economy is beginning to replace the old system; and the period of readjustment is painful. In the towns we have already an approximation to Western conditions, for the monetary income of the industrial labourer represents by far the largest proportion of his assets."

On the subject of the export of food, the author has the following:

"Investigation shows that, in marked contrast to popular belief in India, the net export of grain and pulse from India in the ten years ending 1918 averaged less than 1.5 million tons per annum—roughly 2 per cent., and 2 per cent., only, of the estimated total outturn.....It was impossible to cut off entirely the export of food grains from India, on account of the large Indian population which lives in certain colonies such as Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Mauritius. There are many rice-eating countries almost entirely dependent upon India for their food supplies; and among countries which for political reasons have a special claim on India [which may they be?], the balance of rice that remains after a preliminary estimate has been made of India's probable requirements, was divided up..... it will probably be a long time before grain becomes really cheap, and it is doubtful whether prices will ever return to their pre-war level. It has been decided to continue for sometime larger the embargo on exported food grains from India. This measure has for long been held up in the Press as a panacea for Indian food shortage. But there are obvious dangers in it. In the first place, as we have already seen, the proportion of the total crop which is exported in a normal year is extremely small. It may therefore be doubted whether the measure would for long be effective, save in the case of extreme emergency; and in the second place, there are many crops which seriously compete with food crops [but we have seen that the author conveniently forgets this when propounding his theory of natural vs. monetary economy]; and if the embargo is maintained too long, it will tend to drive the cultivator to grow other crops of which the export is not prohibited. This would mean that the safety margin afforded by the surplus food grain ordinarily exported would disappear." Admitting the force of the above argument, we may say that 'normal years' being rather unusual in the Indian agriculturists' life, the export of food-grains should be rigorously controlled and should be stopped altogether whenever there are signs of an approaching food scarcity.

Regarding the supply of standard cloth, the report says: "But to get such a cloth to the poorer classes needed organization to an extent which was not realised at the outset. As operations progressed, it became clear, that the poorer classes for whom all along standard cloth was intended, would readily buy if it were sent out to them, but they would not come to public offices to purchase it. The reason of their reluctance was either dislike of leaving the homes or ignorance of their own interests." But we know from experience that the public offices being situated at a great distance, the villagers had to undergo heavy expense, comparatively speaking, or to trudge for miles, in order to reach them; moreover the atmosphere of peons and constables is not very stimulating and thus the villagers had very good reasons for not coming to the offices in large numbers, however keen their appreciation of cheap cloth.

"Throughout the year 1919, the discontent of industrial workers revealed itself in strikes and serious dislocation of industry occurred from time to time." "In the course of the period under review, postmen, Telegraphists, railway workers, millhands, and other representatives of Indian labour, formed themselves into associations for the protection or enforcement of their rights." "The fact is, the economic condition of India, in common with the rest of the civilised world, is undergoing a profound change to which all employers of labour, Government included, must now adapt themselves. Many an increase of wages which looks generous on paper, proves in fact to have little influence in easing the hard lot of the labourer. And the labourer, in India as elsewhere, is beginning to demand more from his employers than good wages by themselves can supply. He now wants better working conditions, more leisure, increased opportunities for bettering himself. Neither private employers nor Government is blind to this development [but the capitalists in England who draw fat dividends do not like the labour unions]; and the problem of providing large numbers of poorly paid employees with a decent living wage is engaging the anxious attention both of the central and of the provincial administrations. It is clearly perceived that no time must be lost in giving effect to this most urgent and pressing reform upon which not merely industrial development of the future, but peaceful progress in the present, virtually rest."

"It is no exaggeration to say that the country is at the beginning of an industrial renaissance.....The conclusion of hostilities naturally led to a great rush on the part of the Indian public to invest in new industrial ventures.....Examination of the actual returns of company flotation shows that in the nine months April to December 1919, 634 new companies, with an aggregate authorised capital amounting to more than £134 millions

were registered in British India and Mysore..... During the year 1919-20, 906 companies have been floated with an aggregate capital of £183 millions, for every conceivable purpose..... The phenomenon is particularly interesting as evidence both of the stimulus which the events of the last few years have exerted in the direction of encouraging Indian industry, and of the growing capacity of the country to finance an era of great industrial expansion." We must however remember that "the country was still unable to produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilised activities. Any technologist will realise what must be the state of a country that makes no nails, screws, steel springs, iron chains, wire ropes, steel plates, machine tools and internal combustion engines. Rich though India is in raw materials, she is very poor in industrial achievements. For example, raw rubber to the value £ 1.5 million is annually exported, while rubber goods worth more than £ 1 million are imported." "In future Government must play an active part in the industrial development of the country..... Steps are being taken to investigate the way in which State-aid can best be given to stimulate and develop industrial enterprise. Such aid naturally will take various forms, among which may be mentioned research, the survey of natural resources, technical and scientific advice, educational facilities, commercial and industrial intelligence, the establishment of pioneer and demonstration factories, and financial assistance. Perhaps almost equally important in the encouragement of India's industries is the proposal to set up an agency for the purchase and inspection of stores in India....." To the same end various industrial surveys have been initiated or completed, e. g., on the possibilities of utilising water-power in India, the development of the Indian silk industry, the improvement of the cotton industry, the best method of increasing the production of Indian sugar, and of Indian coal, which is the cheapest in the world, for India owns thick seams at shallow depths, and her labour is cheap.

The *swadeshi* movement revived by Mr. Gandhi comes in for a word of appreciation, and one cannot but regret that such encouragement was wanting at the psychological moment for Bengal, when it could have worked wonders. "There can be little doubt that this movement, if it is inspired by principles of sound business, will be advantageous to India as a whole. The classes for whose benefit it is primarily projected are those who stand most in need of its assistance. But it may be doubted whether, when world conditions return to a state more nearly approaching the normal, any such enterprise, unless it be founded rather upon business principles than upon considerations of sentiment, will exhibit suffi-

cient vitality to enable it to stand up against the pressure of the competition which will inevitably oppose it. In so far, however, as the *Swadeshi* movement can assist to increase the efficiency of the labour of India, its results will be to the good. Upon the successful solution of this problem, the future of the new industrial movement really depends. As Mr. Thomas Ainscough points out in his *Report on the conditions and prospects of British Trade in India*, Indian labour, though paid low wages as compared with British or American labour is as yet untrained and inefficient, inclined to be slovenly in its work. Already the demand for skilled mechanics and operatives is greater than the supply, and in the course of the next few years until the new works are able to train their own stuffs this demand will be largely increased. Industrial success will come despite, rather than through, lowpaid labour. Until the living- and efficiency-standards of the Indian workman can be raised, he will never be able to turn out as good work as his rival overseas; and in order to effect this change, the wages, housing and general conditions of labour in India will have to be raised and improved considerably. This will provide the only solid foundation for the industrial future of the country."

On the subject of mechanical transport we find that the total mileage of metalled roads was just under 200,000 in 1917, and it is admitted that this is "quite inadequate to India's requirements." But "the capital expenditure sanctioned for the year 1919-20 [for Indian railways] amounts to no less than £ 17.7 millions. This is the largest amount that has ever been allotted to Railways in any one year; but there can be no doubt that it is absolutely essential for the maintenance of the Indian system in a condition of reasonable efficiency." We are not convinced that such an enormous outlay was justified by the circumstances.

Bengal enjoys a monopoly of the world's supply of jute, and so the manufacturers had a good time, unfortunately at the cost of the cultivators, the price of jute falling 15 per cent below the pre-war level "which the mills were generally far-sighted enough to utilise." The writer of this review comes from one of the best jute-growing districts, and can testify to the distress prevailing among his jute-growing tenants when the foreign manufacturers of that commodity, which is said to contribute so much to the prosperity of the peasantry of Bengal, were literally rolling in wealth.

"Japan's share of the total trade now amounts to nearly 15 per cent.....striking as are these statistics, there is some reason for believing that the high-water mark of Japanese imports at least, has been reached. The war afforded to Japanese manufacturers an opportunity for expansion without parallel in industrial history. Their goods are now to be found in every bazar

in the country, and a substitute for the cheap showy articles of a similar type which formerly came from Germany and Austria. But in the goods of better quality, they have succeeded mainly through absence of competition; and with the re-entry of British manufactures upon the market, with their high reputation both for quality of goods and methods of trading, it is improbable that Japan will for long maintain her remarkably advantageous position.....The latest figures would seem to show that America, unlike Japan, is more than holding the initial advantage she secured."

The next chapter is headed the 'Foundations of Progress.' Regarding agricultural indebtedness and cooperative credit, we find the following:

"Whatever the exact figures may be for agricultural indebtedness up and down India, there can be no question that the problem is one of extreme seriousness. For as long as the population of the country is subjected to a burden so crippling, it is difficult to see how they can advance morally and materially even if facilities for such progress are placed in their way...There can be no doubt that if the cooperative movement continues as it has begun, the problem of agricultural indebtedness will in the course of another generation have lost much of its terrors." Among the moral effects of cooperation are said to be diminution of extravagance and litigation, growth of public spirit and a sense of common citizenship, combining for social and sanitary enterprises and the like. An idyllic picture of a Sikh village near Amritsar is drawn where the cooperative movement seems to have worked nothing short of a miracle. The picture seems to be far too good to be true, but we note that "there is a growing and healthy tendency to bring it [cooperative organisation] under popular control and to make it as non-official as possible." As in so many other things, e.g., primary education and female education, "the Bombay presidency is exceptionally fortunate in possessing a large number of non-official workers who interest themselves in cooperation and are very largely responsible for the remarkable progress which the movement is making."

Agriculture is the next topic dealt with. "The means of the Indian cultivator are very limited and in most cases do not permit of outlay either upon improved agricultural implements, or upon expensive fertilisers necessary for supplementing soil deficiencies. The Indian cultivator needs improved seed, improved tools, and improved methods; and unless these can be placed at his disposal, he cannot be expected to achieve much progress..... unless the agriculturist can be equipped with the knowledge, as well as the capital, for developing the resources at his disposal, it is difficult to see how he will in future support his share of the economic burden from which no nation

on the road of Self-Government can escape." Among the hopeful signs, the author mentions that in Southern India, the dawn of an era of intensive cultivation has already arrived, and low grade cotton has been practically exterminated. We learn from this report that "Around the Bay of Bengal lies one of the great rice-producing tracts of the world, and much work has already been accomplished in placing better varieties of plant at the disposal of the cultivator. Although the improved strains even now occupy only 250,000 acres out of 21,000,000 acres of riceland in the province, the grain supply has already been increased by 28,000 tons. If this important crop can be improved throughout, it will enhance the prosperity of a larger proportion of the people of India throughout a larger area than can be affected by the improvement of any other single crop." "Indian wheat is as a rule of a low quality, and fetches low prices in the world's market." New varieties have however been evolved at Pusa, and one is glad to learn that they have been widely distributed, so that "in the Punjab alone, the wheat crop was about 11,000 tons more than it would have been without the Department's help." "Despite the fact that India has a larger area under sugarcane than any other country in the world, a very large quantity, some half a million tons of sugar, was imported during 1918-19. With nearly half the world's acreage under sugarcane, India's normal output is only one-fourth of the world's cane-sugar supply. Unable to satisfy even her own requirements, she has to import large quantities of sugar at what are now very high prices.....Throughout the sugarcane area of India there are substantial indications that the old varieties are losing favour with the cultivator and are fast being replaced by new and improved varieties supplied by the Department."

"Plant diseases caused by fungus parasites are numerous and destructive. The staff of Mycologists is at present small in comparison to the number of problems awaiting investigation, but already they can claim success in checking the ravages of disease..... Against insect-pests also, a continual war is waged. There are however only four Imperial service officers for the whole of India, and it is difficult to achieve much progress in the education of the Indian cultivator in the importance of insect pests and the possibilities of their control [but it would seem that Provincial service officers and a large staff of subordinates are much more required than Imperial service officers to achieve that end]. It takes a very long time to eradicate from the mind of the cultivator the idea that blights come from the clouds as a symptom of the wrath of heaven. But gradually, it is hoped, by means of energetic propaganda, to instil into the minds of the people that pests can be controlled, and

that the damage caused annually to crops can be minimised at the cost of a little intelligence."

In India, the proportion of head of cattle to head of population is 65 to 100. A scheme for cattle breeding and dairying in India, recommended in 1916 by the Board of Agriculture, has been accepted in its main outlines by the Secretary of State.—"The investigations of the [Veterinary] Department are rendered to some extent fruitless by the ignorance of the villagers who do not sufficiently understand the fatal nature of contagious cattle diseases and the disastrous results which follow from the neglect of ordinary precautions. Much work remains to be done, especially in the way of educational propaganda for the spreading of improved ideas in cattle sanitations."

"Perhaps the most important condition of the growth of agriculture in India, with all which that growth implies, is the prosperity and extension of the irrigation system." In spite of this emphatic statement regarding the importance of irrigation, and the enumeration of some big projects which are awaiting sanction, one feels that much less attention is devoted to it than to the extension of railways, and small projects which affect the health and prosperity of an entire countryside, are totally neglected and big schemes, which are likely to bring in a handsome return, take an inordinately long time to mature.

"With the increasing development of forest industries [rosin, turpentine, lac, paper], there is every reason to hope that India's forests will be of greater asset, to her financial prosperity." A general scheme for the enlargement of the Forest Research Institute and College at Dehra Dun has been submitted to the Secretary of State for sanction.

There is an immense future awaiting the active development of India's fisheries. The fishermen are usually of low caste, ignorant, idle and uneducated. They have a low standard of comfort and are mercilessly exploited by middle men. "In the case of the fresh water fisheries of Bengal, the methods of working are so disastrous that the fisheries are getting depleted from year to year, while the demand for fish is steadily increasing. To meet these demands, continuous and ruthless fishing is carried on throughout the year without any closed seasons, both broad and immature fish being destroyed in large numbers; while even the spawn and fry are not spared. The enforcement of protective measures for the fisheries is an extremely difficult matter, which calls for urgent attention. It is proposed to appoint district fishery officers to rouse a popular interest in the subject, and there can be no doubt that the whole questions of fishery in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa demands urgent attention if irreparable damage is not to be carried further than has already been the case." "In Madras, the prospect is considerably brighter.

As a result of the exertions of the Madras Fisheries Department, some 250 small fish-oil factories have been established along the coast, mainly by the fishermen themselves. In the year under review, fish-oil to the value of nearly £7,000 and fish guano to the value of nearly £30,000 have been exported from the West Coast of the Madras presidency. A fish cannery equipped with modern plant has been established at Beypore, and there is no doubt that the prospects of the canned fish industry are extremely promising..... During the period under review, the outstanding feature of the activities of the Madras Fisheries Department has been the introduction of an educational scheme providing for specialised primary education for the fisher community." When are we going to hear of a similar promising record regarding the fishermen of Bengal?

"Another line of progress must be concurrently pursued, namely, the Amelioration of the material conditions which now shape the lives of the masses. Until this can in some measure be achieved, the people of India can derive adequate benefit neither from the natural resources of their country nor from any opportunities for self-development which the administration may be able to put before them..... Dispite the labour which has of recent years been directed towards this end, it is difficult to perceive that sanitary development has taken place in India to any perceptible degree...the immense population of India and its general poverty make sanitary reform a problem of immense difficulty. The best organised preventive medical service in the world must work in vain unless it finds the right atmosphere in which to carry on its labour. The great calamity which overtook India in the influenza epidemic mentioned in the last year's report has been responsible for attracting a larger share of both public and official attention to the necessity of grappling earnestly with the problems of sanitation. [The writer then speaks of the growing popularity of the 'anti-influenza' the 'anti-cholera' vaccines manufactured and supplied at cost price by Government, of both of which most Indians, ourselves included, are ignorant.] It must be remembered that less than ten per cent. of the total population of India live in towns; the remainder live in villages which have been all truly described as collections of insanitary dwellings constructed on dung hills. It is in grappling with the sanitation of the rural population that the greatest difficulty is found, for the people are conservative, set in their ways, and wedded by long usage to social customs at variance with modern conceptions of public and private sanitation. At present the total number of lepers in India is probably between 100,000 and 150,000.Plague is unfortunately endemic in India...it must be perfectly plain that a disease which even in the lowest year of virulence is capable

of causing nearly 90,000 deaths, cannot be lightly ignored." Official activity is marked by the grant of five lacs of rupees (!) for the establishment of a central Health Board, whose constitution and scope of activity have both been severely criticised, and it is hoped to set up a mobile corps of epidemiological workers, and an Indian Red Cross society—has been established all of which seems to be utterly inadequate, and there is nothing said about the need of more medical colleges and schools.

Among the many problems of public health in India one of the most pressing is infantile mortality. The following figures will show at a glance the terrible waste of infant life that occurs in India as compared with other countries :—

| (A) Birth rate per 1,000 of population. | | | |
|---|----|----------------|------|
| Central Provinces & Berar | 48 | Madras | 32 |
| United Provinces | 46 | Assam | 31 |
| Punjab | 45 | British India | 39 |
| Bihar & Orissa | 40 | Scotland | 20.1 |
| Burma | 36 | Ireland | 19.9 |
| Bombay | 36 | England | 19.8 |
| Bengal | 36 | United Kingdom | 19.9 |

| (B) Death rate per 1,000 of population. | | | |
|---|----|----------------|----|
| Bombay | 41 | Bengal | 26 |
| United Provinces | 38 | Burma | 25 |
| Punjab | 38 | British India | 33 |
| C. P. & Berar | 36 | Ireland | 17 |
| Bihar & Orissa | 35 | England | 15 |
| Assam | 27 | Scotland | 14 |
| Madras | 26 | United Kingdom | 15 |

| (C) Ratio of Infantile mortality per 1,000 of population. | | | |
|---|-----|----------------|-----|
| Punjab | 248 | Bengal | 185 |
| C. P. & Berar | 227 | Bihar & Orissa | 180 |
| Bombay | 217 | British India | 206 |
| United Provinces | 216 | Scotland | 97 |
| Burma | 213 | England | 91 |
| Madras | 194 | Ireland | 83 |
| Assam | 189 | United Kingdom | 91 |

"During the whole of the year 1919 there has been a marked tendency towards the encouragement of social reform. The stimulus which has been afforded by the war to democratic ideals has not failed to exert its influence upon Indian conditions.....Caste questions and the problems of social reform are among the most pressing and difficult of those with which the modified administration will have to deal; but it should be remembered that such questions can never be satisfactorily settled by an alien Government, however well-intentioned and sympathetic. There can be no doubt that the problems, and they are many, of social reform in India must find their solution at the hands of Indian administrators, and of them alone." It will be seen that in this passage the official report readily admits that the Government is alien, and that the fact of its being so prevents its attempting many pressing administrative

reforms. The logical conclusion of this admission is that in order that India may advance in all directions, it is necessary that it should enjoy perfect autonomy. Sir Sankaran Nair in one of his able minutes of dissent, speaking both as an Indian and as a Nair, truly complained against the official attitude in the matter of social reform. And the report under review furnishes further material in support of that complaint, for with regard to the Patel Inter-marriage Bill, the author says: "But the volume of opposition aroused in conservative quarters by this Bill has been simply amazing, and there is some reason to conclude that it will be impossible to proceed with it." It will create a most unfortunate impression among the advanced section of the Hindus, who are sure to lead their countrymen in future, if the Government has already arrived at that conclusion with regard to this Bill. It lends support to the opinion expressed in some quarters, that the Government does not really care for social reform now, however sympathetic it may profess to be, in as much as social advance is bound to hasten the political unification of the country and thus make the introduction of full responsible government at an early date almost inevitable.

The root of the matter, with regard to the untouchable classes of Malabar, rightly points out Mr. Rushbrook William, "is less economic than social. They have no outlook in life; they are condemned to the most degrading forms of labour.....Until these depressed classes can be put on a level with their fellowmen, can be treated as equals, and relieved from the moral degradation into which they have been thrown by centuries of scorn, it is difficult to do very much with them. Official orders can be passed in such directions as insisting that children of the depressed classes should be admitted into schools, that members of these classes should have a proper house and free access to the public water supply; but in the absence of public opinion it is quite impossible for Government to enforce these orders which fly in the face of habits centuries old."

The observations of the author touching the general condition of the Indian peasantry altogether sully the specious theory of the comparative prosperity of the masses which he enunciates in an earlier part of the report with a view to gloss over the severity of the famine. We quote the following: "Recent settlement operations in certain parts of Northern India have revealed that in some places, the average agricultural labourer is not infrequently compelled in time of stress to mortgage his personal liberty....The money is not repaid, nor is it intended to be repaid; but the borrower remains the life-long bondsman of his creditor.but perhaps of even greater importance than the instances which have been quoted, is the outstanding fact that the average Indian of the

lower class is remarkably poor and helpless—poor and helpless to a degree to which Europe can afford little parallel. [Italics ours.]

But, as the report says, "for this, as for so many other problems of present day India, the readiest solution would seem to lie in a well designed and efficiently executed scheme of national education." Only 3 per cent. of the population is under instruction, this figure being made up of 5 per cent. of the males and one per cent. of the females of British India. Only six individuals in every hundred could achieve the very modest standard of literacy in the census of 1911. After alluding to the political necessity of education, the author says: "Nor is it merely from the political point of view that the need for popular education in India is so crying. Until the general standard of literacy can be raised, it will be impossible for India to realise her immense industrial potentialities. She must therefore necessarily remain to a large degree in a state of industrial tutelage until such time as her population is in a position to realise where its true economic interest lies.... upon the realisation by India of her industrial possibilities depends very largely her competence to sustain the sacrifices, pecuniary and otherwise, which progress along the road to self-government necessarily demands of every nation."

In regard to Indian education, the most significant feature is that it is top-heavy while the lower classes are largely illiterate, the middle class is educated to a pitch equal to that attained in countries whose social and economic conditions are more highly developed. For instance no less than 9 per cent of the male population is undergoing education in secondary schools, and this figure is far greater than the corresponding figure for England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. The proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time University courses in Bengal, is ten times as great as in England. Secondary education as at present understood does not in fact equip those who undergo it for citizenship. It is necessary to devise a sound system of vocational education which may, as in the Western countries, equip the great majority of Indian students for citizenship, without their being compelled to enter the portals of the University at all.

The writer pleads for greater expenditure on education, saying that "if the money be not found and Indian education does not expand in proportion to the developing needs of the country, India's assumption of the position due to her in the British Commonwealth of Nations may be greatly delayed," and he looks to the Indian administrators who will henceforth be in charge 'to discover sources of income which have not hitherto been exploited.' The Government spends between 7 and 8 per

cent. of her public resources on education, and in view of the military expenditure, the author considers this to be a fair proportion. The percentage of military expenditure is not however given for purposes of comparison. So far as we are aware, (taking the figures for 1918-19) it is really not less than 59 per cent., though the League of Nations at a recent sitting considered 20 per cent. to be too high, and the Esher Committee have recommended a further increase. The Indians are not allowed to have any say in regard to their crushing military burden, and they are practically shut out from the higher ranks of the Army, but for the vital needs of their education, they are merrily asked to discover other unexploited sources of income. We find from the same report that the percentage of the total population under education in some of the Native States is many times greater than the corresponding percentage in British India. In Mysore, it is 40 per cent., in Cochin, in the case of boys it is 77 per cent., and in the case of girls 36 per cent. We note in passing that the report admits that "there is every reason why a schoolboy should take a reasonable interest in politics," though it deprecates what it calls its unhealthy characteristics. The Report of the Calcutta University Commission is eulogised and of the members it is said that "during the course of their investigations, they have been successful in creating an atmosphere which seems to render the translation of their conclusions into practice perfectly possible."

Regarding female education, "It has been said on good authority that the unfavourable opinion which still lingers in many quarters against the education of women, is directed more against the nature of the education now supplied than against the mere fact of the education itself. Nor is it possible to deny that the old conservative objection has a grain of wisdom in it. There is a real fear that girls when they are educated may become unfitted for home life; that they may become averse from tasks which constitute the glory and the pride of the orthodox Indian woman." "But as was pointed out in last year's report, the main hindrance to the rapid spread of female education is the lack of effective demand..... The importance of overcoming the existing female illiteracy in India is obvious, for it constitutes a serious bar to educational progress among the population as a whole. If half the population grows up practically illiterate, incentive to education in the other half must be sensibly lowered; and when home education is almost unknown, education in general appears as something extraneous to the real life of the people... The importance of educating the female community is not yet fully realised by the bulk of public opinion in India; indeed it would not be too much to say that the demand for such education is confined to a few advanced thinkers. But now

that Indians will have the opportunity, under the reforms scheme, of tackling the problems of educating their countrymen and countrywomen themselves, it is hoped that means will be found to break down the apathy which has hitherto operated to hamper the expansion of female education and to arouse an informed public opinion upon this most important subject."

It is interesting to read that "The Osmania University of Hyderabad, the foundation of which was noticed in last year's report, is progressing if but slowly. This has largely to be explained by the fact that since the educational medium of this University is to be Urdu, it has been found necessary to undertake an elaborate series of translations before University work can be seriously started. Mysore has a flourishing University already; and Universities are now projected for Baroda and Travancore. Several Indian States spend a considerable proportion of their income upon education; Baroda leading with a proportion of nearly 11 per cent. of the State's gross revenue. A Compulsory Education Act has been established in Baroda....."

"Turning now to the all-important topic of technical education,' we have the following: "Government and public opinion are alike agreed upon the vital importance of spreading throughout the country institutions in which technical training is available. The report of the Calcutta University Commission as has already been noticed, laid great stress upon provision by the Universities of technical institutions affording training of a University standard. With the change in the control of education which will result from the operations of the reforms scheme, the matter will rest very largely in Indian hands, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the enthusiasm with which projects of technical education are now everywhere hailed in the press will translate itself into practical and beneficial development."

Chapter V deals with the Government and the People, and begins with the usual eulogy of the Police, which even the scathing judgment of the Calcutta High Court in the Shibpur case, will not, we suppose, substantially modify in the next year's report. We have here a typical instance of the gentle art of official reporting: "The expenditure sanctioned for schemes of improvement in 1918-19 amounting to more than £200,000 is already beginning to produce beneficial results. The expenditure of this small sum has not only improved the condition of the rank and file, but has also allowed some £80,000 to be allotted to raising the pay of the Imperial Police Service." Put in the usual way, the sentence would run thus: "The expenditure of as high a proportion as £80,000, out of a total grant of £200,000, for raising the pay of the handful of officers in the Imperial Police service, leaving a balance of only £120,000 for

the vast army of constables certainly effected a very satisfactory improvement in the condition of these highly paid officers, but the rank and file, and the lower subordinate staff of Indian Inspectors and Sub-inspectors, who do the real work, have been left very much as they were."

It will not do for us to forget that India contains races of widely varying stages of culture. At one end, there are some 4 million individuals whose hereditary profession is theft or burglary. Their whole structure of social habits is conceived on a basis of crime. The criminal Tribes Act of 1911 was passed with the object of concentrating them into settlements, where they are subjected to adequate supervision and assisted to gain a decent livelihood. Again, "from the United Provinces two cases of human sacrifice are reported. One boy and one girl were sacrificed to propitiate certain deities..." "At the other end of the scale, there exists a highly educated town population, accustomed to all the amenities of twentieth century existence."

"Although the party which hopes to attain its end by violent means is still alive, its influence is steadily waning. It is not too much to hope that with the entry of India upon her career of progress towards responsible government, those impatient spirits who previously found an outlet for their energies in anarchical crime will be able to devote themselves to the promotion by constitutional means of the end which they have at heart."

We are glad to learn that "the treatment of youthful convicts is a topic which has recently come to the fore in India, with the increased interest in social reform which is so marked a feature of present-day thought."

We were rather taken by surprise when we came across the following sentence in the book under review: "the whole system of Indian administration is based upon very rigid economy." But the explanation of this rather startling statement, which is contrary to the commonly received opinion on the subject, is quite satisfactory from the official point of view. For the economy here meant is the right kind of economy, not false economy, and "it is false economy from every point of view not to pay the market value for the right stamp of man." "It is necessary for the future of the country to attract into the public services men of first class capacity." Quite so; but are first or even second class men common in the Indian Civil Service? Japan can attract first class men from England on a lower scale of remuneration, and in exercising 'true' as opposed to 'false' economy in the case of services recruited mainly in England, we have to starve the numerous body of subordinate officials in every department who are children of the soil, and on whom falls the brunt of the work.

The last chapter is devoted to a summary of the constitutional reforms, and in the appendix

are published the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Government of India Act, 1919. There is an index and some useful charts and diagrams.

We have finished our review of the report, which contains much useful matter which we have not been able to notice, but before we close, we should like to say a word about the general merits of the book. Except where the self-interest of the ruling race or the reputation of the Government is closely involved [e. g., to add one more instance to those already cited, where the Rowlatt Act is called a 'harmless' piece of legislation], the author has generally attempted to be fair to the Indian point of view, and has succeeded in making his report interesting and instructive reading. And because we have had to criticise official opinion in so many particulars, it must not be supposed that there is nothing to the credit of the Government, or that the popular attitude in regard to various matters of grave public concern does not stand in need of revision. The Government may have been remiss in educational expenditure, but in regard to primary or female education in particular, we have not ourselves done what we could; in the industrial field, we have not availed ourselves of whatever opportunities were open to us before competition became keen; in joint stock enterprises we

have not maintained a high standard of commercial honesty; capitalist exploitation of labour is bad, whether the capitalist is European or Indian; and our own treatment of the depressed classes, and the suicidal blindness of our conservatism in the matter of the Patel Bill and other measures of social reform, are thoroughly deserving of condemnation. Similarly, if the bureaucracy have not been actuated by any genuine sympathy with the masses, few of us, middle-class Indians, can altogether escape the same charge, though naturally we are bound to have more sympathy than an alien people. The official whitewash can no longer deceive us, and in so far as these official reports can divest themselves of bias and succeed in identifying themselves with the people's cause, the Government will deserve the friendliness due to a national Government. Perhaps this can only be expected when the Government is, both in name and fact, truly national. But when all is said, we must admit that the reports written by Mr. Rushbrook Williams are highly useful publications and should obtain a wide circulation among the politically minded classes and we gladly recommend the one under review to the favourable notice of our fellow countrymen.

POLITICUS

CARTOONS OF THE DAY.



THE BOMB FASTENED TO JOHN BULL'S LEG.
—De Amsterdammer (Amsterdam).



AN ENGLISH THRUST AT ENGLAND
THROUGH INDIA.
"Take that! and that! you bad boy, you, for forgetting that British rule does not rest on force. And now—go to Ireland."
—Star (London).



JAPAN.—"YANKEE, WHY DOES A BIG MAN
LIKE YOU FEAR MY BABY?"

—Puck (Osaka).



"THE RETURN OF THE DOVE."

—Bystander (London).

The Messenger of Peace the Dove has come to
Turkey, but pierced through by the dart
of an Olive branch symbolical of Peace.



THE MOUNTAIN AND THE MOUSE.

Germany owes us a mountain of debt,
We've got to be thankful for what we can get ;
We may expect something as big as a house,
But the thing that arrives is the size of a mouse.

—John Bull (London).



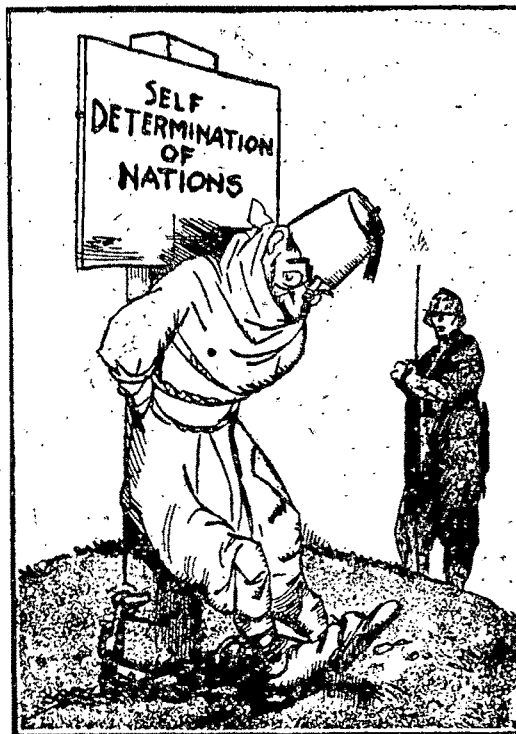
THE HOT POTATO

—Morris for the George Matthew Adams Service



THE CONSTABLE.—"You are going to prison, you little wretch : that will teach you to cry 'Hurrah for Liberty !' "

—Charivari (Paris).



AN ITALIAN-VIEW OF THE TURKISH TREATY.

The Turk—"So this is self-determination !"

—Asino (Rome).



A VANISHING HOPE.

The Chef—"It's all very well to say, 'First catch your hare !' "

—Westminster Gazette (London).



IRELAND, 1920.

"Hullo, what side are you on ?"

"Justice and Liberty. And you ?"

"Lawland Order."

—The Star (London).

NOTES

Freedom All Round.

There is happily a great longing for political freedom in the country. At this juncture no one should forget that free political institutions presuppose the existence of free, unbending, courageous spirits. The nursery for such souls is such a socio-religious polity and such a society in conformity to it as would not hamper the free development of the personality of anybody in any direction and to any extent. Indian society is not yet such a society. Its women and its "inferior" castes do not in practice enjoy the right of free development of personality in all directions. Society does not yet concede to some castes in some places even the elementary rights of humanity, and deprives them of ordinary self-respect. When high claims are made for perfect political freedom, we should not forget to recognise the equally valid claim of all persons, irrespective of their sex, birth or caste, to perfect socio-religious freedom. The human spirit does not know divisions into compartments. Perfect political freedom is incompatible with social and religious servitude.

Education Under State Control.

The leaders of the Non-co-operation movement have devoted their attention chiefly to the destruction of schools and collèges under Government-control or aided or recognised by Government. There was, therefore, some appropriateness in the policy of non-co-operation being considered at the All-India College Students' Conference held a day before the meeting of the Indian National Congress. Calcutta dailies of the 26th December have given a summarised report of the address delivered by Mr. Lajpat Rai as president of the Conference, in which we read:

From his boyhood he had been under the impression which was strengthened as he grew old that any education imparted under the

aegis of a foreign Government was solely meant to strengthen the hold of that Government over the country governed. He would go further and say that it was a truism applicable to every country, however independent; for example, Japan is an independent country and had national Government in the form of monarchy of a very particular kind and in formulating their policy with regard to education their first and foremost principle was to establish the claim of that monarchy to rule over Japan for ever. This was to show how even under a national Government the Government for the time being dominated the educational policy of the country for the purpose of strengthening their hold over the people.

It may be added that education in Germany also, as directed and controlled by the Kaiser's Government, was meant to produce a type of mentality favouring monarchy and German world-dominion, and this was a cause of the war. Napoleon Bonaparte also controlled education in France for the attainment of certain objects which he had in view. Mr. Lajpat Rai proceeded to observe:

A foreign government was therefore bound to go in this respect a step further. He and other co-workers in the Punjab had realised this 40 years ago but being politically impotent they could not start their own institutions. They therefore resolved to check the evil influences by establishing national institutions like the D. A. V. College, Lahore, affiliated to University afterwards. It was found that they had practically failed in their purpose and found that Government's educational system controlled by universities was denationalising and meant more to slave than to free them but impotent as they were they could not successfully counteract its activities.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's Ideal of Education.

To those who have read Mr. Lajpat Rai's articles on national education contributed to this REVIEW, the scheme or ideal of national education outlined in his address will not appear new. Said he:

There was a time when as the result of English education the literate classes despised everything Indian. Fortunately that period was over but

they still stood the danger of going to the other extreme and consider everything Indian as absolutely perfect. "I must say," continued the Lala, "that so far as I am concerned I believe that truth is truth, knowledge is knowledge, science is science. They are neither eastern nor western nor Indian nor European. We have to maintain your educational continuity and we must keep that object in view. We do not want to be an European or an American nation. We want to remain an Indian nation quite up-to-date." The underlying policy of the scheme of education should be based on the past civilisation remodelled in the light of the present-day developments. What was good in each culture should be embraced. True nationalism of India should be above religious distinction and above all narrowing influence that would retard educational progress. The economic and social system under modern civilisation was bad but that should not blind them to the fact that science and knowledge had made wonderful progress during the last three hundred years. All science and knowledge coming from whatever culture should be fully utilised to free India and then maintain that freedom at any cost.

Constitution and Organisation of the Students' Conference.

On the question of the constitution and organisation of the Students' Conference, Mr. Lajpat Rai's suggestions have been thus summarised :

He would suggest that this body should be a permanent organisation to look after the interests of students and advise them on all matters. It should express its opinion on political matters when occasion demanded and its door should be open to students of all shades of opinion so as to make it fully representative as distinct from party organisation. The resolution passed at this conference should not be of a mandatory character. For these reasons the constitution at the present stage should be sufficiently elastic to enable it to continue as a really representative body of the student community.

Mr. Rai on Non-co-operation as Applied to Colleges.

Touching the question of non-co-operation Mr. Lajpat Rai said that his views on this subject were by this time fully known to the law college students who came to him for advice.

He had been saying to Medical, Engineering and technical college students that his lead was not to leave the present courses and to the arts college students he said : Consider the situation well and be under no delusion that anybody

was going to make provision for their education in national colleges, although attempts in that direction were being made. The chairman of the Reception Committee had told them to rely on the leaders who had not themselves decided as to what form of advice should be given to students. The matter was under discussion and there was acute difference on the wording of the resolution. Their one care was that they should avoid anything which might go to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy and also to take steps to see that its rule did not continue in the present form. Another difficulty was that the Congress had to do great propaganda work in the country to bring people to the sense of political consciousness and all interests must be subordinated to this great work and only spare time could be utilised to see to the educational prospects of the students. His belief was that truly national education could not be imparted without a national Government but they should not all the same abstain from making attempts to change the present system. A question had been asked what the students were to do after leaving their studies. The answer was simple. Let the students give up false notions about dress and prestige and let them work in factories and carry along with them that torch of national spirit which should be spread among the uneducated workmen to make them ready for country's cause. Let the students take up this propaganda work among the masses and then see how soon the country attained Swaraj. The issue involved was so momentous that they should not be dealt with light-heartedly. Superficialities must now give place to realities.

In conclusion Mr. Lajpat Rai appealed to the students to be tolerant towards all those who held different views—not a superfluous piece of advice, considering the intolerant attitude of considerable number of young men at meetings held in many towns in several provinces. He also asked them to decide for themselves the line of action they should take. As for himself, he could not guide them, but he was ready to help them.

Mr. Rai's address evinced greater sense of responsibility than the speeches of those who simply asked the students to leave their future education or their future work for the country, should no education be provided for them, to chance or to "the leaders"—those unknown, unknowable and unnamed persons whom nobody can bring to book for breach of promise.

Non-co-operation and Education.

It is a relief to find that the Nagpur

All-India Students' Conference was a College Students' Conference. The line has to be drawn somewhere, as advanced and up-to-date Kindergarten children are not in all respects fit to be leaders. We are not exactly in a jocular mood, for the other day some girls not yet in their teens were actually overheard discussing in their school 'bus whether they should not strike.

Now to educational Non-co-operation.

For a nation the greatest political disgrace is to be ruled by a foreign nation. Young men and women, whether students or not, whether students of Government-controlled institutions or of "national" institutions, are not free from this disgrace. They cannot get rid of this disgrace simply by leaving Government-controlled institutions. They can do so only by becoming politically free. But they cannot themselves become politically free or make their country politically free simply by leaving colleges and schools. They must do something else in order to be free, but this something none of the Non-co-operating leaders have been able as yet to tell them of definitely.

Each and every member of a dependent nation lives a life of political compromise. Young or old, none of us can say that our political self-respect is intact. The lives of our students are not lives of more galling and degrading restriction and compromise than the lives of their elders. Can they escape the degradation of being ruled by a foreign people simply by leaving their colleges? It may be argued that in addition to the restrictions and degradation to which all inhabitants of British India are subject, students are subject to others peculiar to themselves. Taking that for granted, why not try to get rid of these? For instance, the Principal of the Calcutta Presidency College promulgated an order sometime ago that students of that college, even though residing with their parents or other natural guardians, must not be absent from Calcutta even for a single night without his permission. This was a clear usurpation of parental rights and an arbitrary interference with the liberty

of the students; and the parents of Presidency College students residing in Calcutta ought not to have put up with this insulting usurpation. But we have not heard that even a single such parent sent a letter of protest to the principal. It could have been easily done, as there is no such rule in any other college in Calcutta.

Just as the inhabitants of British India have to live a life of political compromise under a foreign government, but do not for that reason leave India or commit suicide, so our students may put up with their restrictions for the sake of the knowledge which they receive and which may make them better equipped for the fight for freedom if they be so minded. But if they think the restrictions are intolerable, and they should not put up with them for a single day for any consideration whatsoever, they should certainly leave their colleges, whether there be or be not any national colleges for them to join, resolving to be self-supporting. Our opinion, however, is that political dependence is such a disgrace that college restrictions cannot make any appreciable addition to it, and there is moreover the set-off of the equipment of knowledge which makes a man a better soldier in the fight for freedom. But we have no right to expect any student to take our view of the question. Every one is free to judge and decide for himself.

The main object of the official system of education obtaining in India is no doubt to produce cheap and efficient servants and submissive subjects; we need not consider whether there is any better, subsidiary object. But just as in manufacturing industries, the by-products sometimes turn out to be more valuable than or as valuable as direct products, so whatever the object of the British Indian Government in establishing their system of education, the result has been to produce not only cheap and efficient servants and submissive subjects but politically conscious and discontented men longing for liberty. It is admitted that among English-educated men and women there are not very many heroes, ready to stake their

all for freedom. But the question is, is the number of such heroes greater among those that have not received English education than among those who have? Choose any number of leaders of the Moderate, Extremist and Revolutionary parties, and you will find that you cannot name a single political leader ignorant of English to match any one of them. And it is to be borne in mind that English-educated men are a very small fraction of our total population. It is easy to indulge in the vague indictment that our English education makes us slaves. But, admitting that to be true (which we do not), is it not also true that those who have not received any education are greater slaves, not only in that they are not politically-minded and hence unconscious of their servile condition, but in that in the mass they are politically more timid than educated men. In recent times even illiterate persons have, no doubt, become somewhat politically-minded, and have in some places and on some occasions acted bravely, but that also is in part an indirect result of English education, and they have done so under the leadership and inspiration of English-educated men.

As "slave mentality" is found both among English-educated persons and others and to a greater extent and degree among the latter than among the former, English education cannot be considered as the sole or main cause of such mentality, if it be a cause at all. On the other hand, it must be said to its credit that it has destroyed servility in many, making them free in spirit.

Leaving aside details, no one can question the broad fact that our schools and colleges do not reconcile the young men and women educated therein to political servitude. On the contrary, political discontent and unrest and a longing for freedom has been spreading *pari passu* with the multiplication of schools and colleges. It is admitted that the longing is not as strong, all-devouring, and earnest as could be desired. And therefore we are at one with Non-co-operators in the desire for the multiplication of "national"

institutions, which will not only not, directly or indirectly, seek to stifle political aspirations, but will directly rouse and strengthen the longing for freedom. But in the absence of a sufficient number of adequately equipped national institutions there is no sense in asking students to leave their colleges and schools, as neither *a priori* reasoning nor the argument from actual experience can show that absence of education makes Indians more patriotic, liberty-loving, courageous, altruistic, and efficient fighters for freedom than its provision and reception.

The money which Government spends for schools and colleges is money received from us, and in that sense it is our money. Whatever the iniquities of Government, as we all (including the greatest Non-co-operators) take advantage of all non-educational State institutions in spite of these iniquities, the editor of this REVIEW cannot consistently ask Indian young men and women alone to forego the advantages of education because of these iniquities, whatever the leaders of the Non-co-operation movement may urge them to do.

Having considered the subject from the political point of view, without repeating what we have said in previous issues, we may pass on to consider it from the educational viewpoint.

There is a disposition to taboo legal studies. The present structure of civilised society may be quite faulty from top to bottom, but so long as it lasts, people will quarrel. So there must be lawyers to help the parties, whether in "national" courts or in the law courts of the State. We certainly desire that people should not quarrel. But the paucity or entire absence of lawyers will not bring about that result. Only a change of heart and improvement in the character of the people can lead to that consummation. The spiritual teachers of mankind work to that end. We have heard that some lawyers and their agents work directly or indirectly to produce a plentiful crop of quarrels in order that they may reap the harvest. We have also heard that lawyers are merely advocates indulging in special pleading for their clients, not sticklers for and

upholders of truth and justice. We hope all lawyers are not men of this description. Lawyers have a very noble part to play and many lawyers have played that part. It is the role of the defender of those who are persecuted, oppressed and victimised by the police, the executive and the tyrannous landlord or other rich and powerful men. In many countries, e.g., the United States of America, France, etc., lawyers have worked to win and maintain the liberties of the people and to give shape to the constitution. It cannot be denied that in our country, too, the majority of political workers have been lawyers. They could and ought to have shown greater devotion to the public cause—there is no doubt of that; but this fact ought not to make us forget what little they have done. There is certainly a superfluity of lawyers. But there ought not to be any artificial limitation of their number. Men should be free to choose careers. Already many trained and qualified lawyers have taken to commerce, manufacture, banking, &c., and in some cases with great success. In the field of politics and education those lawyers who have given up the practice of law have not perhaps forgotten what they owe to the study and practice of law.

Scientific and technological education is the rage now. So we need not dwell on the value of scientific and technological studies and research in this connection. The tendency at present is to neglect and give a back seat to the Arts side—to the study of literature, history, philosophy, &c. We will, therefore, briefly direct attention to the importance of a liberal education, of which the study of literature, &c., forms an integral part. Some time ago, *The Times Educational Supplement* wrote :—

“.....if technical education is ever to become a living thing in intimate relation on the one hand with the industries of the country and on the other with the Universities, it must be founded on a liberal education and it must avoid, despite all temptation, early specialization.....A full University education must be open without let or hindrance, financial or social, to the best students. It is from this University grade that the great applied mathematicians, chemists, electricians and engineers

will spring..... The great industries will in future depend for their thinkers on this University source. We do not believe that Universities of technology would be nearly so fruitful in this respect as Universities in the full sense of the term. The great technical colleges must take their place as a part—an essential part—of a University which collates all forms of human thought and aspiration. Most eminent scientists are at one on this elementary proposition.”

In the course of the Annual Presidential Address to the Classical Association delivered by Lord Bryce in January 1917, after dwelling on the value of scientific education, he observed :—

“We have to remember that for a nation even commercial success and the wealth it brings are, like everything else in the long run, the result of Thought and Will. It is by these two, Thought and Will, that nations, like individuals, are great.....”

“.....what I desire to emphasise is the need in education of all that makes for width of knowledge and for breadth and insight and balance in thinking power. The best that education can do for a nation is to develop and strengthen the faculty of thinking intensely and soundly and to extend from the few to the many the delights which thought and knowledge give, saving the people from degenerating into base and corrupting pleasures by teaching them to enjoy those which are high and pure.”

Lord Bryce proceeded to ask : “What place in education is due to literary and historical studies in respect of the service they render to us for practical life, for mental stimulus and training and for enjoyment ?” His answer was :

“These studies cover and bear upon the whole of human life. They are helpful for many practical avocations, indeed in a certain sense for all avocations, because in all we have to deal with other men; and whatever helps us to understand men and how to handle them is profitable for practical use. We all of us set out in life to convince, or at least to persuade (or some perhaps to delude) other men, and none of us can tell that he may not be called upon to lead or guide his fellows.

“Those students also who explore organic tissues or experiment upon ions and electrons have to describe in words and persuade with words. For dealing with men in the various relations of life, the knowledge of tissues and electrons does not help. The knowledge of human nature does help, and to that knowledge letters and history contribute. The whole world of emotion—friendship, love, all the services of enjoyment except those which spring from the intellectual achievements of discovery—belong

to the human field, even when drawn from the love of nature. To understand sines and logarithms, to know how cells unite into tissues, and of what gaseous elements, in what proportion, atoms are combined to form water—all these things are the foundations of branches of science, each of which has the utmost practical value. But they need to be known by those only who are engaged in promoting those sciences by research or in dealing practically with their applications. One can buy and use common salt without calling it chloride of sodium. A blackberry gathered on a hedge tastes no better to the man who knows that it belongs to the extremely perplexing genus *Rubus* and is a sister species to the raspberry and the cloud-berry, and has scarcely even a nodding acquaintance with the bilberry and the bearberry. None of these things, interesting as they are to the student, touches human life and feeling. Pericles and Julius Caesar would have been no fitter for the work they had to do if they had been physiologists or chemists. No one at a supreme crisis in his life can nerve himself to action, or comfort himself under a stroke of fate, by reflecting that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal. It is to poetry and philosophy, and to the examples of conduct history supplies, that we must go for stimulus or consolation. How thin and pale would life be without the record of the thoughts and deeds of those who have gone before us! The pleasures of scientific discovery are intense, but they are reserved for the few; the pleasures which letters and history bestow with a lavish hand are accessible to us all.

"These considerations are obvious enough, but they are so often overlooked that it is permissible to refer to them when hasty voices are heard calling upon us to transform our education by overthrowing letters and arts and history in order to make way for hydrocarbons and the anatomy of the cephalopoda."

Our own view is that all our students should learn science in our schools in addition to the subjects usually taught there, and that in the courses pursued in the Intermediate College Classes there should be both arts and science subjects. Bifurcation of studies and specialization should not begin earlier than when a student begins to work for the bachelor's degree. If our national colleges and universities could substitute a vernacular medium of instruction for the medium of English, making English only an ordinary subject of study, it would be possible for students 18 years of age to know as much of many subjects as graduates at present know. It would then be possible to lay down the

general principle that specialization should begin after students have learned as much as our present day B. A.'s and B. Sc.'s know. In future, there should not be any "educated man," whether called a graduate or not, who is entirely ignorant of science, nor any who has been practically uninfluenced by great literature and is ignorant of history and philosophy. A healthy body able to work hard and bear fatigue and hardship; a mind which knows both man and the external world, with the emotions and imagination properly developed, trained and under control; a sympathetic heart; a soul which aspires to know, love and obey the Supreme Spirit; and the bodily and intellectual powers trained to earn a living—these are the things on which educationalists should set their hearts. These aims should be pursued from the kindergarten stage.

Destruction and Construction.

The speech of Mr. R. J. Gokhale, chairman of the reception committee of the first All-India College Students' Conference, has been summarised in the dailies. But after looking at it in three papers we could not get a wholly correct version. We give below the greater part of the summary in a connected form.

It was acknowledged on all hands that the present system of education was corrupt. Its resumption and its continuance any longer is a serious menace to the future prospect of the nation. The work now before the country was firstly, to boycott Government schools and secondly, to replace them by national institutions. The first part was the essence of non-co-operation. Construction there must be, but for construction were required materials which must be secured through the destruction of the old order. Both must go on simultaneously. Among students there should be no spirit of bargaining. Students of India must realise their responsibility to the onward march of the country and should follow in this respect the example of students of China and Egypt. The sort of education now imparted in colleges was antagonistic to the development of national sentiments, and the authorities had usurped the right of sole judges to shape the destinies of students. The liberty of students ought not to be sacrificed at the altar of the selfish motives of unscrupulous authorities and the higher call of duty ought not to be subordinated to the fancied notion of loyalty to fancied masters.

The present system was not only material but was anti-national and must go. If this system had produced some Gandhis and Tilaks, for every one Tilak, there had been turned out one thousand sycophants and traitors. Would anybody argue that because certain healthy men had survived attack of plague, plague was therefore a thing to be desired (hear, hear). Concluding the speaker said, national education should be conducted along national lines controlled by representatives of the nation and so controlled and conducted that it had for its object the realisation of national duty.

In our previous note, the reader will find observations which, though not written with reference to this summary, may serve as comments on some portions of it. The present system of education is no doubt bad. But the question is, is it so bad that it must be destroyed root and branch? Does it not admit of reform? We think it does. It is also our opinion that without national autonomy it is not practicable to establish a system of education national in its character and quality and so extensive as to meet the needs of the whole "school-going" population. Therefore the problem is, should we strive for national autonomy first or national education first? We know the two are interdependent. Still to some extent we can work for both simultaneously and also separately. Our view is that, while educationalists should establish and conduct as many national institutions as they can, the main effort of the political workers should for the time being be directed to the attainment of national autonomy. The present Government cannot be paralysed or so seriously embarrassed by the destruction of schools and colleges as to be compelled to capitulate to the nationalists. If advanced students are to be utilised for political propaganda, they should undergo the requisite training and discipline.

Destruction, it has been said, is necessary for materials for new structures;—that is a good analogy. But one should destroy, not in a fit of frenzied fury, but only as much as one can reconstruct. Have the Non-co-operation leaders the capacity and resources to found and maintain an adequate number of institutions to replace those which the movement is seeking to

destroy? We think not. The speaker has used an analogy for an argument. We will give him another. For sound and strong structures, good builders use new and first-class materials, not damaged materials. Now, non-co-operators assert that the present system of education makes the mind servile in the case of the majority of its recipients. If that be true, the majority of our college students having passed through a long school course have in great part acquired "a slave mentality." Therefore for the purpose of building up a sound edifice of national education, they are damaged materials, not first-class materials. On the other hand, there are millions of totally illiterate boys and girls as yet unspoiled by any enslaving education. They are better material for a new and sound structure. Their minds are a clean slate on which the Non-co-operating leaders can write the national gospel. We presume our analogy is not inferior to that employed by the speaker.

Our students should certainly emulate the *spirit* of the best of their contemporaries in China, Egypt and other countries; but as the external environment is different in each country, imitation in externals is apt to be futile and sometimes dangerous.

As regards the charge of manufacture of sycophants and traitors, the reader is referred to our previous note. Are there not far more sycophants and traitors among those who have not received any education? And has the absence of education produced one Tilak or Gandhi? It is a cheap analogy to compare the present system of education to the plague. But will the speaker or anybody else prove that it is as destructive to the soul, mind and heart of man as the plague is to the body? It is quite easy to refer to or name undesirable specimens of English-knowing Indians. But the point is, would these men have been better specimens of humanity without any education? In many, if not in most or all cases, the vileness was there, and it is the equipment of knowledge which has made it conspicuous and given it power for evil.

Having spent the best part of our life in educational work, we can claim that we sincerely desire that there should be a sound and healthy system of education. We also believe that our former pupils will bear us out when we say that the present system of education did not in any way oblige us to predispose them towards servility. Our personal experience leads us to enter a protest against wholesale denunciation and destruction without the ability to reconstruct on an adequate scale.

The Indian National Congress.

The attendance of delegates and others at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress beat all previous records. The delegates numbered over fourteen thousand. The number of visitors was so large that on the opening day two overflow meetings had to be held outside the pandal. All accounts agree in crediting the vast gathering with intense enthusiasm. There is no time for us to comment in the present issue on the proceedings, and the resolutions passed and the speeches made thereupon. *It is to be hoped that the secretaries will publish in the papers an authorised version of the resolutions as actually passed.* Generally only the drafts are published, and readers are left to gather from newspaper reports of the proceedings in what form actually the resolutions were carried.

The Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Seth Jammalal Bajaj, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address in Hindi. From its English translation published in *The Servant*, it is clear that the worthy Seth is a thorough-going and enthusiastic advocate of the policy and programme of Non-co-operation adopted in the Calcutta Special Congress under Mr. Gandhi's lead. In his opinion,

The country has yet only three months' experience of the efficacy of the non-co-operation resolution but the results achieved already are encouraging enough to impress upon us the advisability and the necessity of a still more emphatic renewal of that resolution. It is also in-

cumbent upon us to embody in the Congress constitution clearly and definitely, the ideal which the Special Session has incorporated in its Calcutta resolution. Apart from this and for an effective and successful expression of the new political life it is also inevitable that the Congress constitution be changed according to the needs of the times.

We do not think that Mr. Gandhi's programme has achieved adequate success; but if he and his colleagues and followers are satisfied with the results, we need not quarrel.

Mr. Jammalal reviewed the present situation and the events and circumstances which have led to it. His diagnosis of the cause of the present discontent is correct. There are in his opinion only two ways of saving India.

I have not the least doubt that in the present crisis there are only two ways of saving India from a dishonoured life or a still more dishonoured death: an armed revolt or a universal non-co-operation. And no true Indian who knows the defects of the Western civilization and who is acquainted with the past culture of his own country would be happy if India at this critical juncture goes against her own ancient culture by resorting to the first alternative. Even those who regard both these alternatives as of the same moral order would also be ready to concede that from the point of view of practical politics the second alternative is alone both feasible and suited to the needs of the time.

We think resort to physical force is not practicable and therefore out of the question. We are in favour of non-violent non-co-operation, though, as we have indicated in previous issues, we do not support all the items in Mr. Gandhi's programme. At the same time we do not think that fighting with weapons for a just cause is against the ancient culture of India. The *Gita* is one of the best outcomes of that culture, and yet it is a long-drawn argument to convince Arjuna that the resort to arms was necessary and righteous. We do not know of any Hindu scripture which forbids fighting under *all* circumstances. Isolated texts like "Ahimsā paramo dharma" do not prove that ancient Hindu culture was against fighting for righteous ends. The Buddha preached "ahimsā" (non-killing, non-hating) as a supreme

virtue ; but Buddhist kings, Buddhist republics and Buddhist peoples have fought like others. No doubt, the highest spiritual teaching in the most advanced Hindu scriptures is that man should value the *sattva-guna* above all. But this does not mean that under no circumstance is man to cultivate the *rajo-guna* or that fighting is under all circumstances "*tāmasika*," not "*rājasika*". Our own objections to war in modern times are many : (1) it is not practicable in the present condition of India ; (2) warfare cannot in practice be confined only to the soldiers of the two parties, large numbers of innocent non-combatants—women, children and men—being killed or injured in consequence (this implies that we are not quite sure whether it may not be an act of righteousness to disable or kill in open warfare those soldiers who fight unrighteously for a wicked cause and seek to slay their innocent opponents) ; (3) fighting cannot in practice be carried on without violating ethical principles, treachery and deceit (verbal and actual) and plunder being freely resorted to ; (4) war (in modern times) has lead to authorised and organised prostitution, which is loathsome and is an outrage on womanhood ; and (5) war leads to the forcible dishonouring of innumerable girls and women, making them miserable for life. This is hellish.

The Seth examined various objections against the Non-co-operation programme, and concluded his criticism thereof by saying :

To confess the truth I see nothing but Arjuna's doubts and Arjuna's weakness of heart in most of this criticism. It is only my earnest prayer that God may soon cure us of this doubtfulness and faintness of spirit and give us courage and strength to fight our holy battle.

He was partly right, but not wholly ; for every critic of any item in Mr. Gandhi's programme is not, as far as we know, suffering from faint-heartedness.

The Seth was right in observing that "Hindu-Muslim unity is the first and the most indispensable condition for the successful ending of the sorrows of this ever trodden country." He appealed fervently to Indian merchants to shake off

their apathy and timidity and participate freely and fully "in this national *yajna*." He called upon others too not to shrink from any sacrifice.

Without selflessness and sacrifice no political struggle can ever succeed, and for the success of such a huge undertaking as the liberation of this ancient country from its slavish bondage it is essential that none of us should flinch from any sacrifice whatsoever. And it is also essential that our hearts should have the strength which is born of truthfulness, confidence and devotion. Gentlemen, a close study of the whole situation fills me with optimism. I do not feel the slightest doubt in the ultimate success of the movement.

Referring to the constitution of the Congress, he expressed an earnest desire that the Indian States and their people should not be kept outside the new Constitution.

The residents of the native states are also an important limb of the Indian nation, and I assure you that the cordial sympathy of many of the princes of the native states is also with you. And even if some of the princes do not sympathise with you, you should have no doubt about the sympathy of their subjects. And therefore the real interest of the Princes will also lie in joining hands with you.

The other suggestion that I have to make with reference to the new constitution, is that as far as possible you should give a proper place to the mother tongue of the major portion of the people of India, Hindustani, a language which in the near future is destined to become the lingua-franca of our various provinces, so that we may soon be in a position to discard the use of a foreign language from the business of our great assembly, and thus enable an ever increasing number of our people to participate in its proceedings and benefit by them.

We do not object to Hindustani becoming ultimately the *lingua franca* of India. But nothing is gained by making the incorrect statement that it is the mother tongue of the major portion of the people of India. And any attempt to force the pace may even defeat the object of its advocates.

Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's Presidential Address.

The address of Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, president of the Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress, is original in conception and plan. It is a courageous pronouncement in that it boldly

criticises the Government as well as those items of Mr. Gandhi's Non-Co-operation programme to which Non-Co-operators have been chiefly directing their energies. But it must be said that it is somewhat academic and theoretical, and not calculated to impress a vast gathering when read out. Neither the matter in part nor the manner is such as to enable the speaker to carry his audience with him. This is not to deny that the address possesses the qualities of vigorous thinking, cogent reasoning, and adequate information on constitutional matters. Another merit of the address which we appreciate is that it seeks to avoid offensiveness and irritating any class or party without being obsequious and without loss of dignity.

As the president's political ideal is that India should remain a part of the British Empire as a self-ruling and equal partner with the other self-ruling members, including Britain, his address proper begins with a message "to our gracious sovereign."

And that message is that the people of India are now placed by their rulers in an intolerable position and that they are determined forthwith to make their beautiful country "fit and safe" for her sons and daughters to live in, and that any further delay in their achievement of this vital object means ruin to them and peril to the Empire if not to the future peace of the world.

In the speaker's opinion, "We are, of our own free-will and consent, a constituent people of the great British Commonwealth by virtue of an original compact." Was this "original compact" an historical fact? We trow not. It may be a historical theory or a constructive inference. In that case, there is bound to be great divergence of opinion, which would not have been the case, if it had been a historical fact.

With the President we hold that

The time has arrived, if it had not risen years ago, for the immediate establishment of responsible government for British India with an instrument in writing containing a declaration of the fundamental rights of the people and a constitution similar to the constitution of the United Kingdom and the Self-governing Dominions.

The speaker explained in detail the

reasons for the "Draft Constitution of the Dominion of British India" prepared by him, and showed why a written constitution was necessary. On a cursory view of the Draft, it appears to us good, so far as it goes. It treats the whole of India as a Unitary State, thus recognising and strengthening the idea that the Indians form one nation, and also avoiding the centrifugal and disrupting tendency of the Reform Act now coming into force, which treats the provinces as separate entities. So far as we can see, the Draft does not expressly provide for the local government of provincial areas. Probably the idea is that the Indian Legislature should legislate for such government.

The tribute paid in the address to France is thoroughly deserved.

Although all civilized countries, ancient and modern, developed great political concepts and built up systems of political philosophy, the glory of discovering and rescuing the primary rights of man from the obscure depths of history and philosophy belongs to France. It was her philosophers who not only so discovered and rescued them but also enunciated them with exactitude and draped them in the freshest and most attractive garb of phraseology. It was the most precious French blood that was shed to enthrone and consecrate them at the altar not only of patriotism but also of humanity. While English patriots claimed and established their political rights in terms of ancient English pedigree and heritage, France thought, spoke, fought and bled for humanity in terms of humanity.

The speaker explained at length the meaning of responsible government and why it was to be preferred for India to other forms of self-government. In his draft constitution Mr. Acharia intends that the people of India should possess sovereign powers in their own country. Says he :—

The only other part of the proposed draft Constitution to which I would call your attention relates to the power of altering the constitution from time to time, to be held and exercised by the Indian legislature. That is to say this legislature is not only to be a law-making body and to have control of the executive but also to be what is known as a constituent body. This provision embodies the principle of national sovereignty and the power to alter the constitution is delegated to the legislature by the

sovereign people. Without this power it would be mere delusion to say that the people of this country have the rights of self-determination and political sovereignty. The constituent power is, according to the same great French authority, "the beginning and the end and the very essence of sovereignty."

The discussion of the question "how this responsible government is to become an accomplished fact technically," though theoretically important, is rather technical and academic and need not detain us.

There are three ways by which this problem can be solved, (1) by a statute of Parliament, (2) by Letters Patent of His Majesty the King Emperor and by instructions by the Secretary of State for India, (3) and by an Act of the Indian Legislature.

Mr. Achariar prefers the second, and seems to hope that the solution may be reached in that way. We have no such hope. As he has observed in a subsequent part of the address, "we have been petitioning and praying and agitating these thirty-five years and over for a real and substantial voice in the government of our own country, but in vain..... We are bound, if we won't perish as a people, we are bound to think of and adopt a method to force England to let us get into freedom at once," we do not see any propriety and consistency in his appeal to Mr. Montagu, and also to the Cabinet and the House of Commons not to "grudge poor India a share of" their "generosity." We are sick of appealing to anybody's generosity. It jars on our sense of self-respect. It has been infructuous. And even if it bore fruit, what is given out of generosity, may be taken away when it clashes with the self-interest or pleasure of the giver. He alone can keep who can win. He alone is a gainer inwardly in spirit (and that is the best and only true gain) and outwardly in the possession of rights and privileges who can earn and win by his manhood.

We are entirely at one with the speaker in his vigorous and indignant protest against the assumption in the preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, that "Parliament is the sole judge as to the time and manner of each advance" in our

way to the goal of responsible government.

This is a most extraordinary claim by the British Parliament of absolute authority over the country and people of British India. May we ask, what is the source of this authority so pompously claimed? Remember we had no



MR. C. VIJARAGHAVACHARIAR,
President, 35th Indian National Congress at Nagpur.

voice in the election of the Commons and the House of Lords never pretended to be a hereditary reflection of the opinion of this country; it is a mockery of all political principles and equity for the British Parliament to advance such a claim as against poor India.

Is it pretended that the people of the United Kingdom ever claimed such a right over the people of this country? They can only do so if the people of India are the slaves and property of the people of England. The claim is a negation of all principle of sovereignty in a people and of the first principles of self-determination in the maintenance and protection of which the greatest war on this planet was fought by England and her Allies. This claim is an insult to the nation of India and a fraud and a huge

fraud upon their God-given rights and upon their rights admittedly as British citizens.

Mr. Achariar shows the essential identity of the Hindu and Moslem ideals of polity, namely, that the sovereignty of the king is derived from the sovereignty of the people, and then observes :

It is authoritatively admitted that England has succeeded to the status and rights of the Hindu and Mahomedan sovereigns. If it has any meaning, the succession must mean to the rights as well as obligations of the best Hindu and the best Mahomedan kings and not those of the effete and wicked ones whom the people of this country, Hindu and Mussulman, replaced by inviting the English and co-operating with them in every way.

Sir Alfred Lyall of the Indian bureaucracy and by no means one of the best advocates of Indian national freedom, admits that from the first the people of India welcomed and assisted the English in their acquisition of India. It is thus conclusively clear that the political relation of England to India is one of voluntary compact between her and the people of India.

If it be taken for granted that this interpretative and constructive compact is a real one, we still stand in need of the power to enforce its observance by the party which is now master of the situation. Appeals to its sense of justice and generosity are futile.

Mr. Achariar's analysis of the present situation and his diagnosis of its causes are in the main correct. Only we do not think that he is quite correct in observing :

Speaking negatively I venture to think that this unique situation is little due to high prices and is by no means connected with the vague awakening of the new consciousness of people's rights in consequence of the great world war.

Also, though his protest against the claim of the British Parliament to be the "sole judge as to the time and manner of each advance" is perfectly justified, we do not think the Indian people in general have been, as a historical fact, greatly disturbed by this particular impudent claim, although we admit they ought to have been. As regards "Indians abroad in the British colonies," we agree that

it is difficult to imagine that it is at all possible for us Indians to protect and safeguard the interests of our countrymen abroad while we ourselves are semi-slaves of the British Empire. Every interest of ours requires that our countrymen in the British Colonies should be brought

back to India as early as possible in as large numbers as possible for their own sake and in view to co-operate with their countrymen in the making of the Indian nation.

But we must say that if we are to do justice to those countrymen of ours who may return from abroad, we must give up altogether our notions of "untouchability" and "loss of caste," and must start an efficient organisation to help these our sisters and brethren to become self-supporting and self-respecting citizens of India.

Of the system of dyarchy devised for our benefit, the President has rightly observed :—

This system has been thought of and constructed on purpose to conciliate the ancient bureaucracy, most unwilling to abate a jot of their power and prestige, actual and imaginary. The whole involves a double peril, perpetual friction between the bureaucracy and the people's representatives and inter-provincial jealousy and strife to be designedly ripened into international jealousy and strife. Already a bitter inter-provincial strife has begun on account of the highly artificial and inequitable financial arrangements affecting the several constituent provinces. Under the name of "Reforms," perilous principles and provisions have been thus introduced effectually to divide the country into separate peoples to be ever animated by bitter jealousy.

He proceeds to say,

We may challenge the authorities here and in England to import the best practical statesmen from England in order to work this system for us as the peoples' ministers with the unenviable and disquieting portions of powers and privileges vouchsafed for them under the new regime. We shall ask them thus to teach us an object lesson and demonstration for training ourselves later on for running such a system and thence wade our way to the goal of responsible government. In fine, I venture to say that we cannot admit the experiment to be a thoroughly honest and disinterested one.

He holds :

As to the great necessity for the adoption by us of some such weapon as that of organized non-cooperation with the rulers in view to reach our full freedom immediately there can be no two honest opinions.

He calls the pronouncement of the Governor-General in council that Mr. Gandhi's principle of non-co-operation is unconstitutional, an astounding one.

His Excellency in Council, who is in the main

responsible for the darkest page in the British history of India, would have done us a great service if, in the same remarkable communique, he had vouchsafed for our benefit what exactly our constitution is and where it is to be found. If, for a moment, it is pretended that the constitution of England is applicable to India, would he be pleased to tell us what part of it, what principle in it, the principle and plan of non-co-operation offends? On the other hand, the whole British system of administration rests on the basis of non-co-operation of conqueror against conquered, of Europe against Asia, of white people against coloured people. And several discriminatory laws in India and administrative measures bristle with sinister principles of this kind of non-co-operation and are wholly unconstitutional from the standpoint of the British Constitution. The new diarchial system of provincial autonomy is one entire homage to the chronic doctrine of non-co-operation of the British bureaucracy in India with the children of the soil. It is a mockery therefore on the part of the Government to characterize Mahatmaji Gandhi's principle of non-co-operation as unconstitutional. On the other hand, the essential principle of this movement being renunciation and self-sacrifice and non-violence, whereas the other doctrine of non-co-operation is aggressive, selfish, and sordid, we are entitled justly to claim that this principle of non-co-operation is sacred and directed to secure and preserve our legitimate rights and our honest enjoyment thereof. It is not in support of might *versus* right. We are entitled and bound to adopt such a principle without favour and without fear of consequences and guided solely by a consideration of it as a means to the end of our self-preservation as a people.

Having thus asserted the legitimacy of the principle of non-co-operation, Mr. Achariar proceeds to examine the several items of the Gandhi programme. He does not attach any importance to the item relating to the abandonment of titles. He thinks that in the case of the item prescribing the abandonment of honorary offices, an exception may be made in favour of judicial offices. In his opinion the item relating to the boycott of the Reformed Councils is no longer a live issue and is of very little interest for the next three years. He holds that considerable success has attended this part of the programme and that

On the whole the nationalists were well advised in finally declining to seek and occupy a position where it might be said at the end that we were responsible for the failure, and not the fatal inherent infirmities of the novel system.

He does not support the item relating to the withdrawal of students from non-national schools and colleges, mainly on grounds of finance and of the just first claims of the illiterate masses on the non-official national purse for their education, which we indicated in our Notes in the last November number. He also dwelt on the more urgent need of scientific and technical education, the claims whereof we have all along urged. The withdrawal of lawyers from the established courts he does not advocate. He has not examined the other items included in the programme, nor those "also intended to be added."

His constructive programme is "in one word nation-building." The first step in nation-building is "the unification of the people and the mobilisation and augmentation of the national camaraderie of spirit." Our national misfortunes and the efforts made by "Mahatmaji Gandhi and the stalwart patriots who are co-operating with him" have done much for the cause.

But yet we are not fully as great and vital a nation as we may well be, and processes of *further renovation* must be immediately thought of by us and adopted and put into effect. *The first and foremost is the education of the masses* on as large and fast expanding a scale as we can endeavour to achieve.

The immediate repatriation of Indians in the British Colonies is another. Then the nation should attend to the questions of labour organisation, missions for the elevation of the depressed classes, and the amelioration of the condition of the "criminal tribes" and "criminal classes." "I think the social reformers will take care of themselves, but the Congress must extend their right hand of sympathy and good fellowship towards them."

With the people of India thus renovated, if not reborn, into a nation, well-knit and vital, we have the means of converting not simply the personnel of the bureaucratic government but what is still more important the non-official English exploiters of our country as well into a new angle of vision. With this scheme, we can starve the English planters, the English merchants, traders and manufacturers in our country with increasing scarcity of labour into

gradual exhaustion and into a satisfactory mentality towards us. And this will also give us power in reserve to produce national strikes of inferior and unskilled workmen in Railways, Posts and Telegraph departments and so forth. Let us remember that the great bible of the Englishman is the financial code. Financial statistics which show loss of income and which threaten progressive loss of income have far greater effect on the mental outlook and on the moral calibre of the average Englishman than any other weapon we can conceive of. I desire that we intentionally and with set purpose make provision for gradually and rapidly affecting the income of the English exploiter in India and even of England so far as India is her market and supplier of raw produce, in all legitimate ways, immediately by organizing labour, for the economic advancement of India at an accelerated speed and calculated at the same time to starve the foreign exploiter as stated above. The Congress must appoint a select committee of experts with power to form branch committees throughout the country for making suitable arrangements for the gradual boycott of foreign goods and for stoppage of exportation of raw produce. I consider this is the most effective method of converting Englishmen into our friends at least into a sense of justice for us.

The President advocated the gradual boycott of all foreign goods, not merely of British goods, as that "would only swell the import of other foreign goods and therefore would check the promotion of our economic prosperity as effectually as now." Thus he would proceed only as far as bringing indirect pressure to bear on the British Government and the British nation through their loss of income. Obviously the objection did not occur to him that the method suggested by him would take at least the life-time of a generation. He did not consider the feasibility or legitimacy of such direct action as the non-payment of taxes even after the nation had been unified, educated and vitalised.

He would enter into an alliance with the Labour party in England. In the long run no doubt an India enriched by the development of industries would be a better and bigger customer for British goods than now; but as soon as we begin to produce on a large scale most of the commodities we now import from England, the result cannot but be injurious to many British industries. Under such circumstances, can our alliance with British labour be lasting?

The President's observations on the need of unity and of presenting a united front, on the dangers inherent in the decay of the faculty of private judgment of individuals, on the dangerous consequences of the country being divided into the two mutually hating parties of co-operators and non-co-operators, are wise and seasonable.

His long exhortation to the British nation ends with the sentence: "In one word, be a good boy and be partner with us or get thee gone." But suppose the British people decide not to be good boys and partners, but tyrannical and grasping masters, how can we force them to depart from India? Is it possible to do so by some such method of non-violent non-cooperation consisting in the universal boycott of all official and non-official Europeans in the country as was foreshadowed years ago by Seeley and Meredith Townsend?

Dr. Ansari's Presidential Address.

As was, to be expected, Dr. Ansari's presidential address at the 13th session



DR. M. A. ANSARI,
President, All-India Muslim League.

of the All-India Muslim League held at Nagpur is in great part devoted to the Khilafat and Turkish questions. It gives in a compact form an account of all the misdeeds and the hypocrisy of which the allied powers have been guilty in their dealings with Turkey. It shows to what a state of utter helplessness the Sultan of Turkey has been reduced.

From the account of the Khilafat Delegation's work given by Dr. Ansari we learn how the British ministers and party politicians were quite apathetic, how in France the Delegation met with a more sympathetic reception, "though owing to the prevalence of the views of the British Foreign Office, the French sympathies proved equally futile in the end," and how

At Rome, Mr. Mohamed Ali, succeeded in obtaining an audience with his Holiness the Pope, whose candid opinion of Turkish tolerance and broadmindedness was an oasis in the desert of the Christian want of charity, met with all over Europe. His interviews with the Italian Premier and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, were also a great contrast to those of the British Ministers. Here in Italy, Mr. Mohamed Ali found a true appreciation of the injustice done to the Turks and the Musalmans of the world. The Italian Government was in full sympathy with the views of the Indian Khilafat Delegation.

Dr. Ansari is not too optimistic in thinking that world events make a change in the Turkish treaty probable.

After dealing with the Khilafat question Dr. Ansari dwells upon the affairs of the Punjab, giving a recapitulation.

As regards the principle of Non-co-operation, he observes :—

So far as the Musalmans are concerned the principle of Non-co-operation is not a new idea ; rather it is a clear and definite injunction of the Divine Shariat which the Musalmans of India had in their forgetfulness consigned to oblivion.

A survey of the progress of the movement of Non-co-operation has been given in the address which appears to us rather optimistic in parts. Dr. Ansari has also attempted to answer the critics of the programme of non-co-operation. In conclusion he rightly points out that

To win the co-operation of India there is nothing for our alien friends but first to disabuse their minds of "domination, race supremacy"

and kindred evils, secondly, to do ample penance for past wrongs such as the dismemberment and the subjugation of the Khalifa's temporal and spiritual empire, and the massacre of Jallianwala, and lastly, to recognise in unmistakable terms and in actual practice the sovereignty of the people of India.

Is Non-co-operation Impracticable ?

Those who are against Non-co-operation say that the movement is impracticable, inexpedient, dangerous, &c. We do not want to meet these objections here. What we want to say is that Englishmen pride themselves on being practical, and the idea of Non-co-operation by Indians as a probable weapon arose in the minds of two Englishmen years ago, long before Mr. Gandhi thought of it. What Professor Seeley wrote the reader will find reproduced on page 68-69 of this issue. What Meredith Townsend wrote in *Asia and Europe* (London, Constable and Company) is quoted below.

"There are no white servants, nor even grooms, no white policemen, no white postmen, no white anything. If the brown men struck for a week the Empire would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not even feed himself or get water."

Mr. Chintamani's Presidential Address.

Being a practised and experienced journalist, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani has been able to present his case in an able and lucid manner and with easy mastery of details in his address as president of the third annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held at Madras. He has taken care to tell all whom it may concern that "our opposition to non-co-operation is not due to misplaced tenderness for the authors of the wrongs ;" also, that for the Punjab horrors, "the Government of the province was not alone to blame. The Government of India were answerable in equal measure."

After describing the events of the year, Mr. Chintamani asked, "what has happened since ?" The answer was :

I am sorry to have to say it, but it is the fact that we have met with a series of disappointments. A financial policy was followed, particularly in the matter of the sale of Reverse

Councils, which was the reverse of beneficial to India. It was not only Indians possessing a knowledge of the subject, but the *Times of India* that described the action of Government as 'organized plunder'. Indian criticism made no impression upon the Government of India. Military expenditure has been run up with a reckless disregard of Indian interests. The increases of emoluments of the so-called imperial services, whose personnel is European in the main and who were always in receipt of handsome salaries, allowances and pensions, have further added to the enormous cost of administration and also given occasion for a repetition of the old question, whether the services are for the country or the country is for the services.

The salaries of the Indian ministers are an item in the enormous cost of the administration, and Mr. Chintamani is going to be one of them. Can not he and all the other ministers of all the provinces resolve in a body not to take a salary exceeding Rs. 1000 per mensem? That would not, of course, relieve the exchequer to a phenomenal extent; but the moral effect on the country and on the foreigners would be very great, and the prestige of the Liberals would be immensely raised.

Mr. Chintamani's comments on the affairs of the Punjab and the reform rules were all to the point; only we do not think the agitation against the Rowlatt Act "overstepped the limits imposed by considerations of the public safety." In the section devoted to Non-co-operation, he tells the Government that "they ought to realize that there is acute discontent in the land and that immediate remedial measures are imperatively needed. They owe it to themselves to regain the lost confidence of the people." This distrust of the Government is a note struck alike in the presidential addresses delivered at the sessions of the Congress, the Moslem League and the National Liberal Federation. Voicing the conviction of the Liberals, Mr. Chintamani said :—

We can and shall reach our political goal of complete self-government such as the dominions enjoy, by constitutional action inside the councils and outside, by demonstrating our fitness in office and in council, and by building up the strength of the nation. Unceasing work in the various spheres of national life so as to make of Indians a more efficient as well as a more united nation, and organized and sustained efforts in the political field to secure much

needed reforms in administration, military not less than civil, are the only means by which we can hope to achieve success.

Our temperament is such that we are not disposed to find fault with anybody for believing that his method of work alone will bring success. Every sincere and unselfish worker is entitled to credit for his labours, whether they be crowned with success or not. But we have also our notions of national and personal self-respect and adherence to principle. Even the lure of success does not incline us to associate with unrepentant evil-doers and their supporters and confederates, and to depend for national salvation mainly on the sense of justice and generosity of others.

We believe with Liberal, Radical and Revolutionary alike that we shall reach the political goal of complete self-government. Should we reach it as citizens of the Indo-British Commonwealth of the future, British statesmen in office would claim that it was due entirely to their generosity, as they have always done whenever any administrative or constitutional reform has been effected, the Indian Liberals would claim that it was due to their "constitutional agitation," Radical Indians would take credit for their non-violent non-co-operation, and Indian Revolutionaries would not be behindhand in thinking that the Britishers' fear of armed risings or of bombs and revolvers was the miracle-worker. We wish joy to all these parties and congratulate each and all on the prospective fruition of their desires, provided the cause of rejoicing duly makes its appearance. Only we would deprecate any greedy desire to monopolise all the credit.

We are afraid we cannot quite appreciate the following passage in Mr. Chintamani's address :—

To those into whose soul the iron has entered and who have worked themselves into the conviction that any state of existence would be better than life under this Government, the only path that is open is armed revolt. If they think they can, if they feel they must, let them go forward and risk it. I will deplore their folly but will respect their courage and straightforwardness. But to desist from such a course of action and at the same time to denounce

constitutional agitation as another name for mendicancy, while you go on stirring up feeling and undermining respect for law and authority among the masses who have not developed an intelligent understanding, is, I confess, beyond my poor comprehension on any assumption that does not savour of uncharitableness.

We are not cocksure that the only path that is open to the class of persons referred to above is armed revolt. To indite a sentence which indirectly though plainly imputes want of courage to Mr. Gandhi among others does not become any Indian politician, as no one belonging to that class has given proof of greater courage than or as much courage as Mr. Gandhi. It is also our personal opinion that Mr. Gandhi is not wanting in straightforwardness. Without that virtue, "the rare moral grandeur of his character," to use Mr. Chintamani's words, could not exist. Mr. Chintamani has probably read passages in newspaper articles and reports of public meetings to the effect that if certain Moslem leaders had the sword they would have drawn it. We have seen a few such passages. So we had an idea that it was possibly because armed revolt was impracticable without the possession of arms, therefore these persons did not resort to that method. But we may be mistaken. For an armed revolt arms are perhaps not necessary; the only things required are folly, courage and straightforwardness.

Mr. Chintamani, like many other persons, has waxed sarcastic over Mr. Gandhi's book on *Indian Home Rule*. We do not think Mr. Gandhi has been able to keep himself within bounds in his denunciation of railways, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, &c. Nevertheless we do believe there is a core of very valuable truth in his criticisms of these institutions and classes of men which "civilised" society may profit by.

We perfectly agree with Mr. Chintamani in thinking that the attention that has been bestowed upon the Esher Report is less than it demands—very much less. All his criticisms of the Report are quite justified. So are his comments on the Lovett Committee Report. It increases one's

national self-respect to read in his address that

The feeling of dissatisfaction among Indian doctors has been so accentuated by the Government's persistent failure to do justice that about a couple of months ago the Medical Associations of Lucknow and Allahabad resolved to boycott the I. M. S. officers in private practice.

The method of 'selection and concentration' recommended in the address is the right method.

In conclusion, we may assure Mr. Chintamani and his fellow-Liberals that though their angle of vision is not ours and though we do not belong to their fold—or for that matter, to any fold whatsoever—we appreciate his peroration, having for its text a passage from Mr. Masterman's 'Case for a Liberal Party.' It is to be hoped that every member of the Indian Liberal Party and all other parties will be able after self-examination to declare truthfully, "in building up our party we but serve the country, we have no other motive."

As for the failure of Mr. Gandhi's programme and the falling off in the numbers of his party which are anticipated with confidence in more than one passage in Mr. Chintamani's address, we would ask all men, to whatever party they may belong, not to forget that a particular programme is not identical with a principle, that a cause does not fail with the failure of its leaders for the time being, that all failures are not in reality failures but that some may be stepping stones to success, and that the pages of history are strewn with many an unsuccessful struggle for liberty which were righteous and just and from whose ashes rose Phoenix-like in years to come champions who led the fighters on to victory.

Oudh Kishan Congress.

From the democratic point of view no Indian gathering which assembled anywhere during the latter part of December can compare in importance with the Oudh Kishan Congress, which means a Congress of the cultivators of the soil in Oudh. The awakening of the masses to a sense of the reality of their position is fraught with the most momentous consequences. It is not unusual in India for Hindu pilgrims to assemble in millions at sacred places of

pilgrimage on some occasions, but this is, we think, the first time in Indian history that one hundred thousand cultivators of the soil came together for a political purpose. Making deductions for conscious or unconscious exaggeration, the gathering was certainly unprecedented in numbers.

All dharmashalas were completely packed. Thousands slept on the riverside. The whole day long roads presented a stream of heads. Kisan delegates, having walked in most cases sixty or seventy miles, marched to the Congress grounds. Swaraj banner floated in the skies. No police constables were visible. Mottoes of "stop ejectment, *Begar*, and *Nazarana*", "Nothing but bare rent to the taluqdar", presented an unprecedented scene. Pandit Gauri Shankar Misra, who has renounced his vakalat and has given his life for the uplift of the Kisans, was unanimously elected president. He beautifully dealt with the several aspects of the kisans' life and their grievances and suggested methods to remove them.

Resolutions on the panchayats and Swadeshi were unanimously passed. Satyawati Devi of Lucknow exhorted the ladies to share the country's responsibility.

Resolutions condemning taluqdar and zamindar's high-handedness and police connivance at the relentless plunder in Jaunpur-Pertabgarh border villages were passed and an enquiry committee appointed. Among others resolutions on complete deletion of ejectment laws from the statute book, approval of the Special Congress resolution on non-co-operation, accrual of mortgage and sale rights in the Kisan's holding deserve special mention.

Soul Force & Physical Force.

It is reported that some delegates to the Nagpur Congress have given exhibitions of physical force. The world has been of late hearing so much of the soul force of the No-co-operators that perhaps the latest idea among some of them was to prove to the world that they were not disembodied spirits but possessed bodies, too.

Rowdyism in all forms is to be condemned. It is no defence or palliation of rowdyism in our midst to say, what is true, that there is greater rowdyism in the West. Our consolation, however, is that those who have strong bodies and strong feelings can also acquire great soul force by self-discipline. And this they ought to do.

Wrong Advice & Good Advice.

The following report of a women's meeting at Nagpur is taken from *The Servant*.

On 19th December at 3 p. m. Mahatmaji addressed the women of the city in the Chitnavis Park. The audience consisted of 2000 women. Mahatmaji advised the women not to learn English. He asked them to study Sanskrit instead. He said their country was in a fallen condition and so long as its former glory was not restored, he said, it ill befitted them to decorate their persons and use fashionable things. They could practically serve their country by helping Swadeshi. He asked them to learn weaving and he said he would be glad to see handloom industry reviving in every home. He spoke in simple Hindi and his speech produced great impression. At the end of his speech gold ornaments and rupees were offered to him.

To advise women not to learn English is wrong. Neither is it wrong or unnecessary for them to learn Sanskrit. In considering the question of the education of women, we have to keep in view the fact that they are human beings and also the fact that they belong to the female sex. But it is very often forgotten that they are human beings like men. If it be necessary for Indian men to learn English, it is necessary for Indian women too. No Indian vernacular literature at present contains books which can give one all the modern knowledge of different subjects which one requires for the purpose of ordinary culture. No Indian vernacular suffices for intellectual contact and intellectual commerce with all provinces of India and civilised countries outside India. No Indian vernacular is yet fitted to give one a broad world-outlook. Many inhabitants of many independent countries now learn English, not only for purposes of commerce, but on account of the wealth of its literature. For all these reasons we consider it necessary and beneficial for Indian men and women alike to learn English. This does not mean that they should not learn Sanskrit or their vernaculars.

In all other respects Mr. Gandhi's advice was good.

Indians in Kenya.

A Reuter's telegram states that, replying in the House of Commons to Sir John Rees, Col. Amery stated that it had been decided that the representation of Indians on the Legislative Council of

Kenya should be by election, but the nature of the franchise had not yet been settled. It had also been decided that there would be no question of introducing restrictions on the immigration of Indians other than the immigration ordinances which were of general application.

To be able to make proper comments on this decision, we want to know how many representatives the Indians are to have, what percentage of the total number of representatives in the Council these would constitute, whether the Indians would have as much representation in proportion to their population and contribution in taxes as the Europeans, and the nature of the franchise. As to the last part of the telegram, if the immigration ordinances of general application are sufficiently restrictive from the selfish European point of view, it is no consolation to learn that there would be no additional restrictions on Indian immigration.

Enquiry into Indian Railway Policy.

The Indian Railway Committee which has already begun its sittings has been entrusted with very important work. The Committee has been appointed as a result of the agitation started by certain non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council for the substitution of the system of management of railways by the State for Company management. That independent and informed Indian opinion in the matter was overwhelmingly in favour of State management in preference to Company management was shown when in March, 1915, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah brought forward his resolution on the subject before the Indian Legislative Council. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah's resolution suggested a consideration of the desirability of the future policy in regard to State Railways being one of management by Government instead of by Companies. This resolution was accepted by the Government of India but the consideration of the question was delayed owing to the exigencies of the War. The matter again came up for discussion before the Indian Legislative Council in 1918, when Mr. B. N. Sarma

moved a resolution urging that on the expiry of the contract of management with the E. I. Ry. Company in 1919, the management of that Railway should be assumed by the State.

The announcement about the appointment of the Railway Committee was formally made in a resolution published by the Railway Board in October, 1920. The resolution defined the terms of reference but the personnel of the Committee was announced later. Among the questions to be discussed by the Committee the most important is the relative advantages, in the special circumstances of India, of the various methods of management of Railways. The Committee has been called upon to advise as to the future policy to be adopted in the matter, and also to consider and report on such other important questions as the system of control to be exercised by the Government of India over the Railway administration, the financing of Railways in India, Government control of rates and fares and settlement of disputes, and to make suggestions on any other matters that may seem germane to the enquiry.

As everyone familiar with the controversy on the subject of State management *versus* Company management is aware, there are two distinctly divergent views in the matter. There are first those who are anxious to perpetuate the present arrangement or to so modify it that vested interests may not suffer. There are again others who urge that the Railway policy should be determined entirely in the interests of India, her industries, and her people. It is well-known that the exponents of the first view, that is those who are anxious to secure Company management in some form or other, are very powerful and influential people. They have at their back almost the entire body of officials in whose hands rests at the present moment the direction of the Railway policy and administration in India.

In order that the results of the present enquiry might be fair and equitable and the decision of the Railway Committee might be received by the public with

confidence, it was essential that the Committee should be constituted in such a manner that all sides of the question under consideration would receive due and proper attention. The personnel of the Committee shows that the authorities have failed to take into account in an adequate measure this important aspect of the constitution of the Committee. The Committee is composed as follows:—*Chairman*—Sir William M. Acworth; *Members*—Sir A. R. Anderson, Sir H. P. Burt, Sir G. C. Godfrey, Mr. E. H. Hiley, Mr. J. Tuke, Sir R. N. Mukherjee, Mr. Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. V. Srinivas Shastri; *Secretary*—Mr. T. Ryan; *Assistant Secretary*—Mr. E. R. Pole. The Committee as it has been constituted has two obvious defects. These are, the inequality of the Indian element, and, the inadequacy of the representation of the view in favour of State management. Company interests, however, are represented on the Committee in an unmistakably preponderating manner. This naturally causes distrust in the public mind.

The Chairman of the Committee, Sir W. M. Acworth, is undoubtedly an expert of acknowledged authority.

It may not be known to many in this country that the United States Congress appointed in 1916 a Joint Committee of both Houses of Congress to investigate the Railway position in that country with special instructions to report on the history of State ownership in foreign countries. Sir William M. Acworth submitted to the Committee a short but concise history of the question of State ownership of Railways and gave oral evidence before it on the subject. He was also invited in the same year to become a member of the Royal Commission to advise the Canadian Government as to the future Railway policy of the Dominions. Sir W. M. Acworth's work, "Historical Sketch of State Railway Ownership," published in 1920, no doubt shows his familiarity with the history of the subject so far as it concerns India. But the views to which he gives expression in the course of his book give clear evidence of his bias

against State management. From a Committee on which European representation and Company interests preponderate so largely, and specially when the Chairman's predilection appears to be against State management, it is futile to expect a decision which would be favourable to Indian interests.

Further, the way in which the Railway Committee has begun its enquiry causes serious misgiving in the public mind. The Railway Committee has already done a part of its preliminary work in England. This has been done, like the Esher Committee's work in England, without affording the Indian members an opportunity to join the Committee in its deliberations in that country. This procedure in the case of the Esher Committee provoked the strongest condemnation both in this country as well as in England. But the authorities appear not to have taken these objections very seriously. Otherwise they would not have allowed the adoption of the same objectionable procedure in the case of the Railway Committee. The practice, on the part of the responsible authorities, of settling questions of vital importance to the future welfare of the country, in such a manner, is naturally resented by the people. The matters discussed in England should certainly be placed anew before the Railway Committee for final determination.

It is a matter for regret that the sittings of the Committee in Calcutta have not aroused that amount of public interest which the great importance of the subject matter of the Committee's enquiry calls for. Individuals desirous of tendering evidence in Calcutta were asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Committee, and the Committee proceeded to take evidence from the 20th to the 23rd December. It appears that the Committee has followed an entirely wrong procedure. It should have addressed all the important public bodies and prominent public men on the subject and invited them to place their views before it. As the Committee will be in Calcutta until the 15th January, steps should be taken to correct the mistake that it has made in the matter. If the

adoption of the suggested course interferes with the work of the Committee it should fix some other time to take supplementary evidence in Calcutta.

A serious responsibility rests with Indian publicists and businessmen in the matter of the present enquiry into the Railway Policy and Administration in India. They should unhesitatingly insist upon State management of Railways, —a system which has been found to be advantageous to the people in so many countries,—and by placing their views before the Railway Committee endeavour to safeguard the interests of India. The hardships under which Indians suffer in Railway matters are of a grievous nature. Whether in the capacity of passengers, traders, promoters of industry, or Railway employees, Indians smart under various inequalities, indignities and humiliations, to which they are all subjected in an almost equal measure. The only way in which this condition of affairs can be remedied is by making the Railway administration and policy amenable to Indian public opinion by bringing the management of railways under the control of the State. A Reuter telegram from Paris dated the 19th December states that the Chamber of Deputies by 417 votes to 188 have passed a Bill for the reorganisation of Railways, enabling the employed to participate in the management and to hold special shares. This shows the trend of the Railway policy in other countries. The question may be asked, why should India lag behind?

S. K. L.

High Prices Committee.

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into High Prices in Bengal has been published. It was a non-official Committee, presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Roy, appointed in pursuance of a resolution passed in the Bengal Legislative Council. The world factor which has raised prices in the West and in the East, viz., the inflation of currency, has been pointed out as an important cause of high prices; but the Committee has failed to note the methods of slowly deflating the currency.

Among other causes of the high price of rice, the Committee, quoting expert witnesses,

pointed out the diminution in Bengal in the yield of rice by more than 8 per cent. and the encouragement of export in the face of a reduction in the Burma supply. This left only 7 chitaks of rice per head per day available for consumption, as contrasted with $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ chitaks between 1915-1918; according to the official estimate, the minimum required is about 10 chitaks. We are thus below the verge line of starvation. According to a recent estimate, 50 million tons of rice constitute India's minimum requirements for human consumption; but in 1918-1919, the out-turn of rice dropped to about $42\frac{1}{2}$ million tons. And yet export of rice overseas continued.



NOWHERE TO GO BUT DOWN.

—Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle.

[But in India wages have not risen as high as prices.]

As regards cloth one expert witness pointed out that only 70 lakhs of spindles are working in India out of 2 crores that would be necessary to meet her requirements. Raw cotton is exported because it cannot be consumed here. Profiteering has been found to prevail at every stage from manufacture to retail trade and the Committee has suggested the lines of legislative or executive action to control profiteering with a view to reduce prices. In the matter

of rice the Committee recommended the stoppage of overseas and interprovincial export, preferential railway and steamer freights for Burma rice and the fixation of prices, wholesale and retail, as well as the creation of co-operative reserve stores for grain. As regards cloth the Committee's recommendations were: the introduction of standard cloth, checks to profiteering in manufactures, the empowering of Government to commandeer articles withheld from the market for the purposes of large future gains, encouragement of handloom industries, etc.

All this involves the general question of the efficacy of Government control and direct assistance in India. It is true that economic practice in the more advanced countries in the world has rejected the old *laissez-faire* doctrine, but the methods and limits of Government control of economic activities must be determined. As a general rule it may be laid down that government control can be effective only when it can be thorough and detailed, and when it leaves no loophole for corruption. The Bengal Committee has not pointed out the methods of control of profiteering in manufactures. It may have utilised the experience of the Munitions Ministry in England, which has inaugurated an elaborate scheme of "castings" by which they are enabled to estimate the cost of production of a commodity at all its stages and thereby come to an estimate of a fair price. Where mills have been earning dividends of from 200 to 300 per cent., such a method of thorough control to eliminate profiteering is necessary in India. As regards profiteering in food-grains and other commodities, the practical method of approach would be to deal with the *mahājans* or big purchasers and exporters. If any official system is to exercise its supervision over the *fariās* or small dealers who deal directly with the agriculturists, we add a new instrument of harassment, and a new field of unending corruption. Direct Government subsidies to artisans have been successful in many European countries and the organisation of a supply of yarn to weavers at wholesale rates, purchasing direct from the mills and importers (any loss due to a falling market being paid by Government under guarantee), may be practicable. But the true

method would be the development of co-operative weavers' societies and co-operative supply societies for the purchase of yarn. Similarly, a great deal more may be expected from the organisation of village grain stores, *dharma-golās* or temple granaries for reserving stocks of food grains under the supervision of the village *punchayet*, than from any departmental attempt to intercept the profits of the *fariās*, who form the only link between the isolated peasant and the outside market. It is these minor recommendations of the Committee which deserve the careful attention of the people for future economic protection. It is in this direction that non-co-operation may find a haven of refuge—a village commonwealth with its communal workshops owned and operated by the village, utilising the forest products of the surrounding tract, with its own handlooms and lathes run by electricity from the communal power-house, its own education, amusements and festivals on national lines, and, above all, its own assemblies and courts where neither the long hand of political injustice nor the insidious net of economic exploitation will reach.

R. K. M.

Our Frontispiece.

Our frontispiece in this issue is a portrayal of the dawn as described in a poem in Rabindranath Tagore's *Naivedya*. The lines may be literally translated as:

"There comes the dawn with the golden
platter in her hand,
Bearing the garland of beauty,
Silently to crown the earth."

Note on "Cartoons of the Day." The words on the coat of the left-hand figure of the second cartoon are—"Our Dyer (punning with 'dire') Prussianism." The book lying on the ground is "Amritsar Commission Report." In the right hand of Lloyd George is the pen to punish "Dyer Prussianism", who applies his handkerchief to one eye, as if weeping, but smiles with the other. In the left hand of Lloyd George is his Irish Home Rule Bill inscribed "Single Ireland". He orders "Dyer Prussianism" to go to Ireland, as his work in India is over.

The Japanese cartoon refers to the Californian law against further Japanese immigration and land-holding, owing to the increase of the Japanese population in that State.

ERRATA. P. III, L. 15 for "had" read "have"; L. 22 for "increased" read "increase"; L. 25 for "effective" read "effected."



AFTER THE DAY'S WORK
By the courtesy of the artist Deviprosad Rai Choudhuri

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AMERICAN EDUCATION THAT EDUCATES

BY DR. SUDEHINDRA BOSE, LECTURER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, U. S. A.

WHY is America considered the most go-ahead nation of the world? Why is the United States regarded as the original impulse of modern progress? How is it that the world counts so many Americans among its men of unconquerable self-reliance; of high-minded patriotism and of inspired leadership? Where do they get their training? The answer is to be had in the study of the American educational system.

The general plan of education in the United States is not very difficult to indicate. Broadly speaking, public education is organized into three large groups: the elementary, the secondary, and the higher education. It takes eight years to go through elementary school and four years to go through high school. Then it requires four years to get the B. A. degree and one or two years more for the M. A.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

The elementary school is the basis of the whole educational system. Here the pupils are instructed in those subjects which are essential to the work of all other schools. The program of studies in the elementary school is comprehensive. Reading, spelling, language and arithmetic naturally occupy the greater portion of the time, yet geography, history, civics, drawing, science and manual training receive considerable attention. Even music and art are studied, because, as a director of elementary school told me, "civilization cannot do without them."

But how do they teach art to the little children in the lower classes? You will understand that if you visit an elementary school and talk with its principal.

"Children in the last two classes are encouraged," you will be told, "in making things with their hands, except the representation of nature forms by means of drawings, painting, and paper cutting.

"They model in clay to stimulate observation of things in three dimensions. The purpose of this plan for the first two years is to avoid habits of symbolizing nature forms, a habit which is radically opposed to that direct and real observation of nature which is essential in representation drawing which is the foundation of all graphic and plastic art expression.

"Practice is given in construction drawing, lettering, clay modeling and color theory. Construction drawing is given in a manner that will not be confused with representation drawing. It is applied to things of interests to the pupils. Lettering, while it is good training for the eye and the hand, makes a desirable approach to harmonious space-filling and design.

"Clay modeling, construction drawing, lettering and color theory are continued in upper classes. Freehand drawing and coloring from natural objects are introduced, using lead pencil, charcoal and pastel crayons. It tends to cultivate a greater consciousness of real vision and realistic representation, while avoiding symbolic interpretation."

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The high school, which is called the secondary school in America, receives its pupils after they have completed their studies in the elementary school. The secondary education may be divided into general and vocational.

The required schedule of studies in the general course includes English, science, history, mathematics, civics, music, and physical training. Unlike the European secondary school, the American high school offers a rich variety of elective courses. Among the elective subjects which the pupils are allowed to choose according to their

special taste and capacity are the following : manual training, French, Spanish, Latin, home economics, art and commerce. The elective system by permitting each student to select almost any work that he sees fit, makes it possible for him to discover early his special aptitude and lay the foundation for a life of fruitful service.

One of the main purposes of general education in high school is to train young people for the university, though the larger proportion of them do not continue to the university. The great majority of the scholars, boys and girls, are interested in learning some trades or industries. They want vocational education. Hence there are agricultural high schools to fit the boys for the farm and girls for the home; there are commercial high schools and trade schools to prepare young people for business career.

Of late years continuation schools have been developed to teach certain trades during working hours. The courses in the continuation schools are planned specially to help those who are ambitious to qualify for higher-paid positions. In several of the States, attendance at a continuation school is compulsory.

In this connection mention should be made of the Smith-Hughes law passed by the United States Congress in 1917. Although education (as will be explained later on) is a State function and not a Federal, yet this act provides for a large grant of Federal money for vocational education in the various States of the Union. The money is spent with characteristic American educational statesmanship to assist in the payment of salaries of teachers of industrial arts, of agriculture, and of home economics in the elementary and secondary schools, and in the careful training of such teachers. The courses in this Smith-Hughes vocational education are intended only for those who are preparing to enter, or have entered a trade or industry. Furthermore, the students must be over fourteen years of age, but of less than college standing.

A recent development in American education is the vocational guidance offered by schools to the pupils in the selection of their life-work. The vocational guidance bureau, which is to be found in almost any school, aims to give boys and girls the best available information with regard to trades and industries, or other occupations which they may wish to follow. It does not primarily attempt

to secure employment for students, although that is done not infrequently. "The real purpose," says Professor Cubberly in his *Public Education in the United States*, "is to sort out capacities and adaptabilities, to prolong preparation in school, and to steer young people away from vocations for which they have no natural aptitude...."

"In giving such guidance the school is not only making its own education more effective, but also protecting society from the dangers that arise when adults find themselves in work for which they have no aptitude and in which they cannot support a family."

The "vocational counsellors" are not content with simply aiding pupils to determine the line of work they should enter; but, as has been observed by Dean Russell of the College of Education at Iowa, they "follow them up and keep in touch while at work, and if readjustments are needed help the child to make such a change."

HIGHER EDUCATION.

The higher education, like the secondary, is also of two kinds: general and professional. The general education is designed chiefly to furnish a broad preparation for life, though it may also secure a basis for professional training. The successful completion of the course leads to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The professional education is intensely practical, rather than theoretical or scholastic. It teaches a man a profession, whether that be of an engineer, agriculture, or medicine.

The higher education, as is imparted in an up-to-date American university, is as efficient as it is varied. A large university is divided into a series of colleges, schools, or divisions, and each subdivided into a number of departments. They are all usually on one campus and always under one administration, the head of which is styled the President or Provost. Most of the leading universities in the United States contain all or most of the following:

- The College of Liberal Arts
- The Graduate College
- The College of Engineering
- The College of Agriculture
- The College of Medicine
- The College of Dentistry
- The College of Pharmacy
- The College of Education
- The College of Law
- The School of Commerce
- The School for Nurses



Baskets Made by a Girls' Basketry Class.

The School of Domestic Science
 The School of Fine Arts
 The School of Music
 The School of Forestry
 The School of Mining
 The School of Veterinary Medicine
 The School of Architecture
 The School of Journalism
 The Extension Division.

For an explanation of each of these schools and colleges there is no room. I shall, however, give a passing thought to the extension work which is a notable feature of the American university. The Extension Division is an agency through which the university strives to extend the advantages of higher education to those who have not the time or the means to enter a higher institution of learning. This it tries to accomplish by lecture courses, by technical instruction at convenient centres, by short courses at select public schools, by traveling libraries and exhibits, and also by correspondence study. The Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, whose unofficial motto seems to be to extend the opportunity for education "to the whole body of the people, to the whole period of life and to all the vital interests of life," offers over 254 courses in

its correspondence-study department. In one of its recent announcements on correspondence courses in mechanical and industrial subjects, I find among others the following listed: shop drawing, sheet metal drafting, mechanics, mechanism, principles of steam engineering, steam engines, foundry metallurgy, hydraulics, electric wiring, telephony, gas and oil engines. What is being done by vocational correspondence in machine shops and draughting rooms is also being attempted successfully at Wisconsin in the science and practice of modern agriculture. Among agricultural correspondence courses are included dairying, animal husbandry, poultry, crops and crop rotation, soil management, bee culture, farm book-keeping, and marketing.

THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

There is in America no national school system. Education—elementary, secondary, and higher—is entirely a matter for the individual States, which correspond to Indian Provinces. There are in the Republic forty-eight States, each with its own independent system of education, and each educational institution having the right to issue its own certificates and grant its own degrees practi-

cally without any control either from the State or the Federal government. The only function exercised by the Federal government relative to education is an instructive and advisory one, with the exclusion, of course, of the aid to certain agricultural schools and colleges. The work is carried on by the United States Bureau of Education at Washington, which is directed by an official known as the Commissioner of Education. The Bureau has become a sort of clearing house for educational information. "It seeks to gather such data with reference to the educational activities of every progressive community of the world," writes Mr. Haskin in *The American Government*, "as will enable the more backward communities to take advantage of the lessons of progress, and to bring themselves to the forefront of educational work."

"If one community happens to make a marked success of a system of transporting pupils to rural schools, the Bureau of Education sends experts to study all details of its operation, and then prints the result of this investigation in pamphlet form so that interested educators and legislators the country over may have the benefit of the experience."

The Bureau, as has been just intimated, collects facts and statistics about educational advancement, and publishes them in annual reports and bulletins. Some fifty or more bulletins are issued every year and are distributed free. Again, when American students wish to go abroad for higher European education and need expert advice, they can apply to the Foreign Department of the Bureau of Education for the needed help. The Bureau, in short, through its numerous publications, its local schools surveys, and its expert interpretation of significant educational movements, is providing a leadership of far-reaching consequence in the scientific study of education.

SOCIALIZATION OF EDUCATION.

Emerson declared long ago that "America is God's last opportunity to the human race." Making all possible allowance for the exuberant Emersonian patriotism, it must be admitted that relatively there is a greater equalization of opportunities in America than in most other countries. This is particularly manifest in the field of education. Primary schools throughout the United States are free to all rich and poor, high and low. Even the great State universities charge only a nominal fee. High tuition is disfavored as

undemocratic. As large fees can only be paid by the rich, they would tend to make college the exclusive preserve of the wealthy, and this would be contrary to the very democratic principles upon which the American Republic is founded. Compulsory education has generally been adopted as the corollary to free education. The age of compulsory attendance is usually from eight to fourteen. Since education has been adjudged as most vital to public well-being, the State is authorized not only to compel boys and girls to attend schools, but also to require parents under the pain of severe penalties to see that their children do go to a school for a minimum number of years.

Even though there is no tuition in schools, education involves an outlay of extra expenses which constitute a heavier burden upon the poor people than upon the rich. To remedy this social injustice many of the States furnish to pupils free text books and school materials such as paper, pencils, pens and chalk.

School lunches are also regarded as an important part in the process of democratization of education. Since many poorer pupils come to school in the morning without breakfast and with no provision for noonday meals, schools provide them with lunches at a very nominal price. A few weeks ago while I was enjoying an inexpensive but a very substantial lunch at a school cafeteria, it was explained to me by the attending teacher that the noonday meals have resulted in "a better attendance and a higher grade of individual work."

Sound physical health is the foundation of all social progress. Now, the American public schools seek particularly to improve the health of their students through school physicians who examine children frequently, and also through school nurses who cooperate with the physicians. Systematic medical inspection has done wonders to improve school hygiene and school procedure. Physicians have shown that pupils who were accounted hopelessly stupid were not so at all. The trouble with them was that they had defective vision and could not see the blackboard, or had a faulty hearing and could not get the drift of the lesson in the class, or else were suffering from bad teeth, causing acute indigestion. They were all handicapped by ailments which could be readily cured by the specialists.

In many city schools they employ a person

who is called "home and school visitor" to promote a closer relationship between home and school. Usually such a position is held by a woman with an unusual store of tact. She visits both the schools and the homes, and talks over the school work with parents. The "visitor" tells the kind of work the children are doing in the school, and keeps the home folks posted as to the progress their boys and girls are making in their studies.

Nor is this all. There are thousands of children who have lost their fathers and are dependent upon mothers for their support. These children for lack of funds are not likely to have as good educational opportunities as others. In view of this, about thirty of the forty-eight States grant what is known as mother's pensions. The laws in these States provide for some sort of relief for widows with children dependent upon them.

To sum up then, the whole trend of public sentiment in America is rapidly crystallizing toward complete socialization of education. And while there still remains much to be done, it cannot be gainsaid that the ideal of equalization of opportunities and privileges is being steadily realized.

EDUCATION IS THE WORD OF THE HOUR.

The fustian of the Sadler's Commission, which I am at times tempted to call Sadler's Folly, has deservedly failed to satisfy India. What is needed at this critical period of her transition is a well-rounded program of education. And as an aid to the making of such a program, I offer the following suggestions which are largely the outcome of my American experience :

1. Universal free elementary education.
2. Free text books.
3. A fund to provide poor children with lunches and needed clothing.
4. School physicians.
5. Teachers who have close personal touch with students and their parents.

6. More vocational education.
7. The doors of the college open to all.
8. A large number of free scholarships.
9. Aid to worthy students to complete their education abroad.
10. Academic freedom of discussion in schools and colleges.
11. The abolition of mischievous government control of education.
12. An educational system which shall be "of the people and for the people."

Mr. Average English Educationalist who comes out on a "civilizing mission" to India is not likely to fall in with my suggestions. I anticipate that much. He is one of those dangerous complacents who "knows not, and knows not that he knows not" much about India. It should, however, be the duty of her loyal sons and daughters to enlighten these benighted educators, these imported self-styled "merchants of light."

The Indian people are in advance of their government ; but unwisdom seems to have its way on the side of the Indian bureaucracy. While the public opinion of the country is putting in sane words of wisdom and courageous educational reforms, the amazing stupidity and the wilful shortsightedness of the bureaucracy are as wax in the ear—"Wisdom crieth aloud in the street and no man heareth her." Bureaucrats, as a class, are guilty of abominable disloyalty to India—a disloyalty sufficient to make the Indian dead in the fields of the last World War rise. But you, Mr. Average Indian, cannot afford to get discouraged. Make your bureaucrats realize that they are your servants not in theory only, but also in reality. The ukase, the ipse dixit, of the bureaucrats should no longer be allowed to stand as your law of life. Tell them determinedly what must be done. Say what you think, say it with courage, force, and moral fight behind it. Education should be your battle song, as it is of America. Educate. Educate. Educate.

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE IN SUKRA'S POLITICAL THEORY

SECTION 7. *The Problem of Labour.*

THE social economics of *Sukra-niti* tends thus to endow the agricultural soviets, industrial groups, and commercial companies

with the functions of the political organism. While in Sukra's state the economic institutions such as guilds virtually become miniature states in themselves with an administrative *sva-raj* of greater or less degree, we find, on

the other hand, indications in his theory which point to the functioning of the state itself in an economic capacity. This economic functioning of the *saptamga* is, however, to be more indirect than direct. We are not sure if the state is actually to undertake cultivation, industries or trade as proprietor or capitalist; but that it is to encourage, "protect" and by all means promote the creation of utilities in diverse ways follows, as we have seen, from the schedule of artisans and craftsmen whom Sukra recommends as deserving public employment (II, 390-411). State "intervention" in the material pursuits of the people is an unquestioned maxim of the economic teachings of *Sukra-niti*, a position which may indeed be regarded, notwithstanding the "theories" of *laissez faire* philosophers, as an almost universal attitude of practical statesmanship the world over from the earliest times. In the current shibboleths of to-day Sukra will have to be described as an exponent of German "state socialism," or what is the same thing; as Gide and Rist suggest in their *History of Economic Doctrines*, of the "solidarism" of French social engineering.

Nowhere is the solidarism of *Sukra-niti* more in evidence than in the manner in which it handles the labour question. Sukra attacks the very root of the social and political unrest in his analysis of the problem of wages. As a practical philosopher interested in the well-being of the *saptamga* his attention is; therefore, directed to the investigation of the conditions that are calculated to reconcile the employed to the employer classes. And, this social mutuality, co-operation, solidarity or interdependence of the wage earner and the employer, Sukra finds to have its foundations in justice, such, however, as only the humanitarian economist can conceive.

It is doubtful if the idea of the proportion between population and capital is to be detected in *Sukra-niti* even in a rudimentary form. In other words, scientifically speaking, Sukra does not seem to have caught a glimpse of the once popular "wages fund" theory first stated by Malthus, according to which wages or the remuneration of labor is absolutely conditioned by the demand for and supply of labour. But, the "labor-view" of history is interpreted by Sukra quite emphatically. According to him one of the most fundamental causes of revolution is "low wages," and that remuneration is said to be low wages

by which only one person can be maintained (II, 802). Such persons are bound to be "enemies by nature" (807). This is a phase of "economic determinism" for which Sukra may be cited even by the partisans of Sorel and other neo-Marxian advocates of "direct action." Labouring classes are forced by "low wages" to be aiders and abettors of the enemy. They are disposed to intriguing with any one who is likely to offer chances or hopes of economic uplift. "Direct action" will also lead the ill-paid working men to seek opportunities in legal insecurity and political turmoil. They will loot the Government treasury and rob the privileged classes of their wealth (808).

What, then, is to be done in order to avoid or mitigate this class struggle? Sukra suggests a "minimum wage." A contemporary radical will probably retort that even with this shift mankind will inevitably be driven down to what Belloc calls the "Servile State," but Sukra's economics is not deep or penetrating enough for that phase of the poverty problem. It is remarkable that he should be thoughtful enough to define minimum wage as consisting in that amount of remuneration by which "the worker may maintain those who are his compulsory charges" (805-806). It is in this idea of the compulsory charges that we are to seek Sukra's conception of the rights of man as an economic animal, and as a corollary, his theory of social justice.

This certainly is a large order. The compulsory charges of an earning man, according to *Sukra-niti*, are the wife, the stepmother, the mother, the daughter, the father, the widowed daughter, the childless sister, the aunt, the brother's wife, the father's or mother's sister, the grandfather, the childless teacher, the father-in-law, the uncle, the grandson who is parentless, the brother, and the sister's son. "Even under adverse circumstances" we are told that these members should be maintained (III, 243-248), and in times of prosperity one should maintain the families of both parents, friends, wife's family and, of course, the attendants, servants and maid servants (III, 249-250). Nay, one should maintain also the deformed, the stranger, the poor and the helpless (251). One wonders if Sukra is projecting the family budget for an Utopia! There is a limit to the size of a joint family even under the conditions of "pre-industrial" civilization. We need not

at any rate take the enumeration at its face-value, but may still believe that the "minimum family" to be maintained by Sukra's "minimum wage" is by all means larger than the "hypothetical" family of four or five recognized by modern theorists who construct workingman's budgets under the inspiration of Leplay and Engel.

The generally high standard of living recommended in *Sukra-niti* is to be guessed from another statement in the chapter on the *mores* common to the ruling classes and the people. That house shines, says Sukra, "which has many members, lamps, cows and young ones" (III, 481-482). The economic burdens of the master of an ideal household are thus heavy. Sukra's standard of life does not imply only food, clothing and shelter. Among the various conditions without which a "person is either one who has attained salvation or a rogue or a beast in the form of a man" there is mentioned the delight in learning, in gods, in fine arts, in music, and in literature (III, 495-496). These then are the cultural items in the "consumption" schedule of a family. In the same connection the following observation of Sukra acquires an important significance, "one should ever be prepared to undertake travels, attend royal courts, study the *sastras*, watch prostitutes and make friends with the learned" (III, 260-261). The educational influence of each item is discussed in succession (264-276). It is interesting to note from what angle *Sukra-niti* finds a place for the profession of the prostitute among the subjects of study. "The prostitute takes other people's money but does not become their slave, rather on the contrary she is clever enough to overpower them." Exactly in the same manner, advises Sukra, one should avoid falling under any person's authority but try by all means to have the world at one's command (272-274). The moral is typical of Sukra's philosophy of creative energism. It is clear that the wage which is not enough to pay for intellectual and social entertainments leaves an individual a brute and hence is unjust.

Altogether, then, the "personality" of the working man, or the development of his character as a "moral being" is the prime consideration in Sukra's discussion of the wages question. It remains to be observed that the economics of *Sukra-niti* takes hardly any

cognizance of "nominal" wages, i. e., wages in terms of money. All that we read in it about "minimum wage" has reference to the necessities, comforts or luxuries of life, i. e., to "real wage."

Leaving aside now the question of justice in the distribution of wealth, we have to notice that Sukra institutes a theoretical classification of the "revenues" of labor on a twofold basis; first, in regard to the "unit" of employment; secondly, in regard to the "amount" of payment.

The first classification, again, is threefold. Remuneration can be paid according to time or work or both. In each instance the payment is to be made as per contract (II, 791-792). "Every year, month or day, I shall pay you at such and such a rate." This is time-wages. "This weight is to be carried by you to that place, and I shall pay you so much for your work." This is "piece-wages." "This much work has been done by you in this period of time. I shall, therefore, pay you so much." Remuneration thus calculated is according to both time and work (II, 793-798).

Wages are likewise of three grades according to the amount received. Grade I is known to be "good-wages," as food and clothing can be "adequately" supplied by it. Grade II is that remuneration which is just enough to furnish the indispensable food and clothing. Probably this may be identified with what is likely to come to the laborer's "share" in the "distribution" of wealth according to the Richardian "iron law" of wages. Grades III is the low wages, Sukra's voice against which we have just discussed (800-802). Evidently, by "minimum wage" *Sukra-niti* would mean Grade I. It is curious that in regard to Sudras Grade II is recommended (809), although Sukra states the general principle that "the rates of wages should be fixed according to the qualifications of the working men" (803-804). The liberalism of *Sukra-niti* in regard to the "first postulates" has been noticed several times side by side with the specific injunctions against the Sudras,—a fundamental inconsistency which must not be overlooked.

There are some definite rules about the employment of domestic servants. An insight into the social conditions of labor in Sukra's state may be gained thereby. There are three grades of servants according as they are quick, ordinary or inactive. Their re-

muneration must vary accordingly (813-814). Not what it needs but what it contributes is to be the criterion of the payment of labor. Leaves of absence for recreation and holidays are clearly scheduled (815-818). A fortnight's absolute rest with full pay is guaranteed per annum (825). Sickness is provided for by several conditions. Even a slight portion should not be deducted from the wages of a servant who has been ill for half a fortnight (822). If he has worked for at least one year he must not be dismissed during sickness but should be relieved by a substitute (823). If the diseased servant happens to have been highly qualified he is to receive half the regular wages during sickness (824).

Sukra has certain rules of old age pension similar in spirit to these of sickness insurance. A man who has served for forty years is entitled to pension at half the rate of the salary (826-827). This pension is to be life-long. But, if he dies leaving a minor son, the same pension is to be enjoyed by the latter or by the wife and "well-behaved" daughters (828-829). In case the servant is killed in the discharge of his duties, his salary is to be enjoyed by the son as long as he is a minor (832). A reward of one-eighth of the salary is recommended to each domestic every year (830). Some sort of a "provident fund" is also suggested. One-sixth or one-fourth of the servant's wages may be deposited with the master, who is to return half of that amount or the whole in two or three years (834-835).

Although Sukra is so definite about the proportions he has not cared to furnish us with a scheduled tariff of wages that is to prevail in the state. We cannot guess to what extent he is prepared to leave the remuneration of labor to the competition of the open market. The trend of his economic thought is, however, towards setting a standard. In any event, his silence prevents us from trying to figure out, provided we had a price statistics, as to how many days' wages on the part of agricultural labor or of carpenters, smiths and masons is equivalent to the price of, say, a month's or week's requirements in wheat or rice (for an individual or a conventional family of five). In Rome, it is interesting to remark *en passant*, as modern calculations based on Cicero's figures tell, that five days' labor would have been needed in exchange for a bushel of wheat.

The earnings of the members of a trade-

union are referred to by Sukra in a very general way. The mastercraftsman in a company of architects, for instance, is to have twice the wage of the ordinary mason (IV, v, 606-607). The same principle of distribution is to be observed in a musical troupe (608-609). The jewellers' and smiths' rates are a little more definite. For first class work the goldsmiths' remuneration is to be one-thirtieth of the value worked upon, one-sixtieth if the work be mediocre, and half of that if inferior still (653-654). For first class work the silversmith is entitled to half the value, one-fourth if mediocre, and one-eighth if inferior (656-657). One-fourth the value is the rate of the workman's wages in copper and zinc, but in the case of iron the scale varies from half the value to eight times (658-659).

SECTION 8.

Prices and Profits.

The question of a minimum wage is only one aspect of the problem of equity in economic life. The interests of the proletariat demand, from the humane standpoint, an intervention of the state in two other items bearing on the adjustment of "value". These are prices and profits, which together with wages constitute the essential elements in the mechanism of society, based as it is on the institution of private property. Any economist who approaches the questions of distribution and exchange, i.e., the transfer of utilities and services, from the angle of justice is bound to set limits within which the normal or natural forces of competition may be allowed to operate without prejudice to the well-being of the weaker members of the community. The counterpart of a minimum wage, accordingly, is a maximum price and a maximum profit. These ideas of maxima and minima in the rates are none other than what the sense of "fairness" dictates in the interest of a social solidarity. Both as regards the prices of commodities and the profits of business (including interest on loan-capital) we find that the conception of an equitable or fair rate is well represented in *Sukra-niti*.

(a) Maximum Price.

By describing fair wage in terms of commodities and "compulsory charges" Sukra has in a sense avoided the problem of discussing the "purchasing power of wages" which all those who speak of nominal or money

wages are bound to do. It is regrettable, therefore, on its own merits that we do not get from him an idea as to the cost of living or a tariff of prices in regard to the articles of consumption which the agricultural laborer's or the artisan's family needs daily. An invaluable schedule for the purposes of an "index number" would have been one like that furnished in Diocletian's edict of A. C. 301 which specifies the highest prices for wheat, salt, butter, meat, boots, linen, etc.

As it is, *Sukra-niti* furnishes figures for the prices of metals, gems, and animals, all of which have been discussed in Vol. I. The unit of currency is supplied by the ratio that one gold *suvarna* coin is equivalent to sixteen silver *karsaka* coins (IV, ii, 138-139). The following price statistics are to be interpreted on this basis.

Gold = 16 silver, as bullion

Silver = 80 copper = 6 iron

Copper = $1\frac{1}{2}$ zinc

Zinc = 2 tin = 3 lead

(IV, ii, 181-184)

Diamond = 400 gold (IV, ii, 134-135 ;

Vide Vol. I, p. 116).

Pearls (Note the calculation in Vol. I, p. 119).

Cow = 1 *pala* silver = 8 *tolas* or modern rupees

She-goat = $\frac{1}{2}$ cow = 4 rupees

Ewe = $\frac{1}{3}$ goat = 2 rupees

Sheep = 1 *pala* silver = 8 rupees

Elephant or horse = 2,000, 3,000, or 4,000 rupees

Camel = Buffalo = 56 or 64 rupees

For Superior Quality,

Cow = 8 or 10 *palas* silver = 64 or 80 rupees

She-goat = 1 *pala* silver = 8 rupees

Ewe = 1 *pala* silver = 8 rupees

She-buffalo = Cow or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cow = 64, 80, 96, 120 rupees

Bull = 60 *palas* silver = 480 rupees

Best horse = 500 gold = 8,000 rupees

Best camel = 100 silver *palas* = 800 rupees

Elephant = 2000 gold *niskas* = 6,666 rupees

(IV, ii, 186-204).

Evidently figures like these are of no help in estimating the probable cost of living at a certain place and time or comparing it with that of others. Only the attempt at fixing certain rates is noticeable.

The same attempt is to be observed in regard to the rate of profit. The fair or equitable, nay, the maximum rate is declared to be that ranging between $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and $\frac{1}{4}$ th or $\frac{3}{8}$ th and $\frac{6}{8}$ th per cent. The items to be

considered by the merchant in fixing his rate are expenditure and the conditions of the place (IV, v, 628-629). The first refers to the actual cost of production, and the second refers most probably to the cost of transportation, marketing, etc., including also the excise duty on sale (IV, ii, 212-216). It appears, therefore, that the price is to approximate these "expenses" of production plus the $\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$ per cent profit. Sukra's maximum or equitable price will thus be almost equivalent to the "normal" price of modern economic theory.

The distinction between this normal price (which tends to equal the "supply price," i.e., the expenses which are necessary to produce the goods and make them available for the market) and the actual market price which is a variation from the normal is well realized in *Sukra-niti*. The cost of production does not, therefore, loom extraordinarily large in Sukra's theory of value. The demand side of the question has also been analyzed. One element, of course, is the ease or the difficulty with which the commodity may be acquired, but the no less important factor is the utility of the goods to the purchaser, i.e., whether it possesses or does not possess "attributes," uses or properties, implying its power of satisfying wants (II, 718-719). The *mulya*, or the price paid for acquiring a commodity (717) is thus understood to be in essence a question of the "balancing of final utilities," to use contemporary terminology.

This utility theory of value as determined by the demand-schedule of a commodity to the purchaser finds expression in three naive statements of *Sukra-niti*. First, it is stated that there is no price for worthless things, such, for instance, as cannot be used for any purposes (IV, ii, 209). Secondly, there is a high price, a low price, and a middling price in the valuation of all goods (IV, ii, 210-211). The appraisal depends, of course, on the "marginal utility" at the moment to the consumer. And thirdly, in the case of the rare or ultra-fine goods the sole determinant of value is *kāma*, desire or fancy (IV, ii, 164). The fancy-price of an article is really a monopoly price and as such is absolutely independent of its supply-price, i.e., the cost of production which may even be nil.

(b) Investment of Capital.

To return to profit or the earnings of capital. Sukra as an exponent of private

property cannot by any means think of putting a stop to the legal transfers which it is likely to undergo through freedom of contract, although he is solicitous for the interests of the submerged classes who are sure to suffer from open competition. He is prepared, however, to legislate against profiteering, but, on the other hand, he would also suggest a reasonable return for the investment of capital. Indeed, juridically speaking, the services of capital to the community are placed in *Sukra-niti* on a footing of equality with those of labor. The earnings of the man who invests capital in a transaction are, according to Sukra, as legitimate and lawful and morally justified as those of the individual who has only manual or intellectual labor to contribute to the creation of social values. Usury, money-lending, or interest, therefore, is not condemned by Sukra, but as a "solidarist" he would interfere in the credit transactions as much to protect the borrower as to protect the lender. Loan-capital, as a species of *dhana* (wealth), is an important item in the national wealth of the Sukra state. It is the subject of much attention in the field of private law.

In studying Sukra's laws of debt we come across a significant feature of the loan transactions among the people. Much of the money that is lent out is invested productively in some business or other, and the borrowers are really employers of labor or *entrepreneurs* who seek temporary credit for circulating capital in the process of the expansion of their undertaking. While drawing up a *rina-patra* (II, 623-624) or document indicating the loan and the rate of interest, the creditor is advised among other things to satisfy himself that the "debtor is capable of transacting business even on loans with interest" (III, 384-385). The loan must, in fact, be a prudential consideration and not a mere sentimental helping out of a personal friend in private distress. It is to be the banking transaction of a capitalistic society in which surplus capital is seeking good investment.

To a prospective business man capital may be advanced even without interest. It is suggested that the business organizer and the capitalist go into the undertaking as partners. The terms are that the organizer should divide all profits with the capitalist in equal proportions (IV, v, 630). As regards the amount of interest Sukra is aware that creditors are prone to fleece the debtor by the "compound

rate" unless the state comes to the rescue (633-634). The state is to legislate, therefore, that the debtor is not to pay to the creditor any amount *as interest* "after he has paid altogether double the principal." Subsequent to this his due is to be only the principal and nothing more than that (631-632). Another law of equity states that if the creditor has obtained from the debtor four times the principal, he is to receive no more (V, 192-193).

Sukra's laws of contract are not one-sided. If he is anxious to protect the debtor he is no less solicitous to see that justice be done to the creditor also. The state must interfere whenever someone does not return the money to the creditor even when he is in a position to do so (IV, v, 635-636). Of course, a regular law-suit has to be instituted by the aggrieved party, and in case the document indicating the loan is lost, the evidence of witnesses will be enough to substantiate the charge (637-638).

(c) *Safeguarding the Consumer.*

Not only in the recovery of debt is *Sukra-niti* so mindful of the interests of the citizens. The entire community as consumers is to be protected by the states from all sorts of fraud, breach of contract and so forth. Food adulteration, counterfeit coinage, unscientific medicines and drugs, false weights and measures, and the passing off of base metals and stones as genuine or high-class stuff are acknowledged to be some of the common practices. In order, therefore, to safeguard the market against such evils as are likely to affect the exchange relations, Sukra advises the legislator to enact that anyone who practises deceit and dishonesty in regard to the standard of weights and measurements, currency, extracts, metals, clarified butter, honey, milk, fats, oil, and ground substances will be punished (I, 590-592, 623-624).

In pursuance of the same object, Sukra enumerates some of the trades and professions which for public safety, social equilibrium and future interests of the parties concerned need to be endorsed by the state. Trade in cattle, elephants, horses, etc., in men, in immovable property, in metals and gems, in spirituous liquors, and in poisons, belongs to this category. All transactions relating to their sale and purchase must be registered or rather have their validity testified to by a government license, charter or patent. To the same class of licensable occupations belongs

the drawing up of deeds pertaining to a sale, gift or loan (I, 603-608). In all the instances the cognizance of the state is expected to be a guarantee against illicit practice.

SECTION 9.

The Consumption of Wealth.

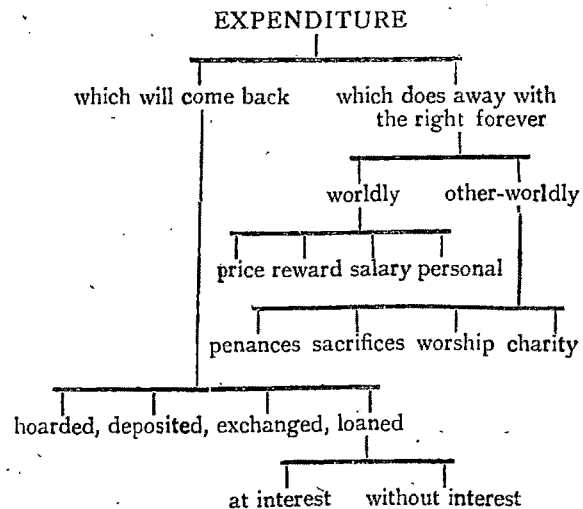
While investigating the economic categories of *Sukra-niti* one must not overlook the consideration that these are but subsidiary to its main theme which consists in the discussion of the *saptamga* organism. The treatment of wealth by Sukra is, therefore, primarily political. We see the discussion tinged with legal rather than economic ideas. It is not so much of *dhana* or wealth, e.g., cattle, grains, clothes and grass (II, 714) that we read as of *svatva* or property, i.e., of wealth in its relations to the state as the enforcer of laws. The same legal bias is to be noticed in Sukra's analysis of consumption. Whatever be the form in which the consumption manifests itself, whether it be "distributed" as wages, rent, profits and interests, or whether it be regarded in its "exchange" aspects as value and price, in the eye of law all this "use" of utilities is nothing but "transfer of property." It is, therefore, chiefly as the transference of the "right" to the utilities that Sukra deals with the phenomena in question.

To Sukra, the political theorist, the fundamental categories in regard to wealth are "income" and "expenditure," and not production and consumption. And if income implies a command over the utilities (II, 645-646), expenditure denotes the giving away of this command to others (647). The right to one's utilities may be given away, or what is the same thing in the language of economics, wealth may be consumed in two ways, says Sukra. It may have a direct objective, viz., in being used for one's own immediate needs, or it may involve an exchange and thus be the medium of a fresh series of production (649). This is the simplest analysis of expenditure.

A more detailed classification of expenses is furnished in the table printed in the next column.

Not all expenditure implies the parting with rights forever. There is a class of consumption called *ābritta* (circulating), the nature of which consists in returning or coming back. For instance, a person may temporarily be said to consume his wealth when he hides it underground as *nidhi*, or

deposits it with someone for safekeep as *upanidhi*. Likewise is consumption said to have an attribute of coming back when something is received in exchange for some price (i.e., *vinimayikrita*), and, of course, a loan is *ābritta* consumption by all means, no matter whether it be for some interest as *rīna* or without any such consideration as *yachita* (676-681).



In all these four or rather five forms of expenditure the proprietary right is still in tact. This right can be given away in altogether eight modes of consumption, according to Sukra. They are grouped under two main heads. One is *āhika* or worldly and the other is *pāralaukika* or other-worldly (682-684). The expenses incurred for penances, sacrifices, worship and charity are said to constitute the four species of other-worldly consumption.

Of the worldly disbursements the first mode is called *pratidāna*, i.e., a payment of price for value received. This is really identical with the *vinimayikrita* item in the *ābritta* count, for a consumption under this head does not do away with the proprietary right in the sense in which pure gifts of the *pāralaukika* group do. The second item is *pāritosika* which is paid as reward for service, valor, etc., and the third item is *vetana*, which consists in salary or wages (686-688). But both these items are forms of *vinimayikrita* consumption (i.e., exchange) and, hence, should logically belong, like the *pratidāna*, to the *ābritta* division of expenditure. The fourth and the last item is called *upabhogya*. It is that form of consumption which

consists in incurring expenditure on grains, clothing, building, gardens, possession of territory and on protection by government, *i.e.*, taxation (689-691). But strictly speaking, all these expenses are only prices and taxes, *i.e.*, payments in exchange for values received or services enjoyed. These should not, therefore, be regarded in the same light as those forms of consumption which are said to do away with the proprietary right.

Altogether we have to point out the fallacy in Sukra's classification as being due to an inadequate analysis of the phenomenon of exchange. His conception of "circulating" or *ābritta* consumption is a real contribution

to the study, but instead of being carried away by an over-simple dichotomy in regard to the worldly and the other-worldly, he should have treated all the four worldly modes of consumption as a subdivision of *vinimayikrita* in the *ābritta* group. He could then have formulated the correct principle, *viz.*, that with the possible exception of "pure gifts" all consumption or expenditure is really *ābritta*, circulating, reproductive. In other words, every transfer of property implies a creation of utilities.

(To be concluded.)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE POST-GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS OF THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By S. P. AGHARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S.,

"SIR RASH BEHARY GHOSH" PROFESSOR OF BOTANY, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

THE Scientific departments of the Government of India are perhaps the most important institutions for research in this country. They have to answer all inquiries of a scientific nature, addressed to them by Government from time to time. Their staff is accordingly kept at a high level of efficiency and they are supplied with the funds, laboratories and other accessories for their work. Their efficiency is reflected in the publications issued by them which form a large part of the original scientific literature published in this country. This being the case, it may very well be enquired if the postgraduate departments of the Universities may not in some way be associated with the work of these departments.

It is possible to do this in one of two ways, either by attaching some of the postgraduate students to these departments for training in methods of research, or by some of the work ordinarily done by these departments being allotted to such of the University Professors, as will be willing to do it. These latter will asso-

ciate their students with them and Government will subsidise these institutions.

The first method is at present being tried by the archaeological and zoological surveys and their example might be copied by the other departments. The results produced by this system upto now have been encouraging, but the number of men trained under this system, depending almost entirely on the number of vacancies actual or prospective in the department, will necessarily be small. This is partly due to the fact that the officers of the department have not often a desire to teach and partly because the men recruited are such as have completed their university career and cannot afford to depend any longer on their parents or guardians. On the other hand if research work is made compulsory for the M. A. and M. Sc. examinations of our Universities, the best results will be achieved by the second method. If all enquiries of a scientific nature are referred by the Governments concerned to the Professors of the University in their jurisdiction, these will be obliged to direct

their energies to the solution of practical problems. They will also have the inestimable advantage of a band of young enthusiastic and voluntary workers, who only want to be guided in the methods of research and whose combined efforts will yield the required results much sooner than those of any government department.

In this respect we have the excellent precedent of Germany where no special scientific departments, apart from the Universities, are maintained by the Government and where Government refer all their scientific enquiries to those professors who have specialised in them.* The "Ordinary" or principal Professors in German Universities are ex-officio directors or heads of the various museums, gardens and similar institutions. This leads to the Professor's entrusting a certain number of preliminary enquiries to the candidates for the Doctorate, thereby being able to devote his own energies to the solution of problems of a more wider and general scope. This is to my mind one of the most important causes why such an amount of original work is done in Germany. I am not in a position to be precise, owing to difficulties in securing the necessary data, but I estimate that all the theses for the doctorates in different departments in the close upon 30 German Universities make up a total of 20-25 per cent of the total number of original papers published in Germany in any one year.

When I was in France and England I was told by the authorities of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris and the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew that it was principally the association of students with the institutions of research in Germany that made it possible for them to produce such an amount of work, whereas both the above named institutions, in as much as they had no organic connection with the univer-

sities, found it difficult to find efficient recruits. The truth is that it will be very difficult to get an assistant so enthusiastic in his work as a young student however high you may pay him.

This being the case let us enquire whether any of the scientific departments of the Government of India are associated with the Universities and if not whether it is likely that they would ever be so associated.

With reference to the first part of our enquiry we find that excepting in a very few cases, none of the scientific departments are associated with the Universities. I find only the following instances where an officer of one of the scientific departments is also a professor. (1) The director of the Alipore observatory is a professor of physics in the Presidency College, Calcutta. (2) A member of the geological survey is a professor of geology in the same institution. (3) The economic botanists of the various provinces are also professors of botany in the agricultural colleges of the different provinces. I might add as a fourth instance, that the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History in the Calcutta University also used to hold charge of the archaeological section of the Indian Museum. One will at once note from the small number of cases above cited that Government have no great desire to utilise the Universities for research work. The causes for this may have been very various. So long as the Universities were mere examining bodies and the professors of colleges—better called Universities in miniature—were wholly absorbed in coaching under-graduates, it was perhaps not possible to expect much research work from the overburdened staff. Even here, however, one can say that it was the government, in as much as they were the authors of the existing University system, which was chiefly to be blamed and that it could have been easily possible for them to attach these specialists to some of the colleges and at once raised the efficiency of these institutions side by side with getting their work done. Be that as it may have been. With the growth of the post-graduate departments

* The existence of institutions like the Kaiser Wilhelm's Institutes need not be cited as an argument against the above statement. These institutes exist for the solution of very special problems and in as much as their directors are professors of the Universities and students are allowed to work in them, they are not so separated from the Universities as one might at first think.

of the Universities and the proposed re-organisation of the universities, by which classes upto the Intermediate will be relegated to separate institutions, this excuse no longer holds good. The time has arrived when it is necessary to consider whether these departments should be kept intact and separate, or whether they should be brought in close organic connection with the post-graduate departments of the Universities. To me the course seems clear. It is quite possible and very necessary to transfer an increasingly larger portion of the work of the present scientific departments to the respective post-graduate departments of the Universities, as these latter institutions grow. What is today necessary is a recognition of the principle by the authorities concerned and its gradual application. The proportion of the work transferred will naturally depend upon the strength of the staffs of the Universities. It may be that in a particular department this becomes possible much sooner than in the others. That cannot be avoided. The funds that would be saved by the gradual reduction in the staffs of the scientific departments can very well be allotted to the post-graduate departments of the Universities, thus increasing their efficiency. As a first step in this direction, some of the University Professors might be appointed honorary members of the scientific surveys. The students who would be trained under these, in as much as they will be familiar with the methods of research, will gradually take up an increasingly larger proportion of work of the present scientific departments, making it possible to disband these in course of time.

Turning now to the second part of our enquiry we are sorry to note that the tendency of late is in the direction of strengthening the staffs of these departments and

in some cases—e.g., the proposed Indian Chemical Service—towards the creation of altogether new ones. This in the face of the increase in the efficiency of University teaching and the starting of several centralised teaching Universities, seems to be a retrograde step. The Indian tax-payer will thus be subjected to a far larger burden than would otherwise be necessary. When we further remember that these departments are a "reserved" subject under the reforms, and as such their administration will not be under popular control, there is a danger that these departments will be the special preserve of the Europeans and the Indian element will be subordinated in them. We already see that the Geological Survey, the Survey of India and the Meteorological Survey are almost entirely manned by Europeans and it is feared that the new Chemical Service will be very much like these. The plans for the proposed re-organisation of the Botanical Survey not being public, one need not discuss these. Zoological Survey has an equal number of Europeans and Indians and only the Archaeological Survey shows a larger number of Indian officers. But even here the latest developments, such as the appointment of a European savant to hold charge of the archaeological section of the Indian Museum and the Ukase of the Director General of Archaeology forbidding officers of the survey from publishing anything without his know, show that the officialdom is making a bold effort to divorce teaching from research. We have seen above a stunting of the spirit of research takes place wherever such a separation of teaching from research obtains. And if the same thing is not to happen in India, our leaders and educationists should wake up and see that these eminently research organisations are brought in closer contact with the Universities.

A COMMON SCRIPT FOR INDIA

By JOSEPH TAYLOR.

AT the present time the population of India may be computed roughly as about 320 million, of whom probably some 20 million are able to read and

write in one or more languages. With the advent of provincial self-government, the question of the education of the 300 million illiterates is one that must claim

early attention; but whilst higher education is receiving a great deal of consideration, there are so far but few indications that Primary and Village instruction is having the thoughtful study it deserves.

What tools are to the artisan and mechanic and machinery is to the manufacturer, the script or written symbols of sound are to the student. Real ability is able to produce wonderful results, but at a great expenditure of time, with a common clasp-knife as the sole tool; but when saw and chisel are available, to rely on the clasp-knife alone is a waste of time and ingenuity. In some modern up-to-date factories, every two or three years sees the existing machinery scrapped in favour of newer time-saving appliances. For some years I personally spent a good deal of my leisure time in trying to induce in Indian village weavers to use the fly-shuttle instead of the old buffalo-horn hand shuttle; not infrequently I have seen their young sons doing twice the quantity of work of equal quality to that which was being turned out by their fathers by the old slow and cumbrous methods.

It is easy for the clever and the learned to pooh-pooh the question of Script, but it becomes a matter of the highest importance if considered as a tool by which learning is acquired and utilised. Unfortunately it is most difficult to approach the subject from a purely unbiassed point of view, as natural affection for the customs and traditions of our race, the conservatism inherent in human nature, and national aspirations, all combine to prejudice our minds and hinder us from giving the matter the consideration it deserves.

My object in writing is not so much to advocate any special system, but to urge scholars, patriots and business people in India to imitate the example of the Chinese, who have given this subject much attention during the last few years. They have introduced a new script, from which they are reaping great benefit, in supersession of the ancient and revered word characters, which have served them hitherto.

An Englishman is fully alive to the difficulties that beset any attempts to interfere with the machinery of an existing lan-

guage which possesses any reputable literature. How he wishes his ancestors had adopted phonetic spelling in that pliable period when Shakespeare wrote and the Bible was translated! All the eloquence of Sir Isaac Pitman and other reformers has hitherto failed to move the vast English-speaking public. Much time is wasted by every child over spelling, although few appreciate the troublesome arrangement by which almost every written syllable tells of its ancient history rather than represents a modern sound.

In the "Modern Review" for May 1919 appeared a most interesting criticism of the International Phonetic Script. Whilst in theory it may be well to possess a scientifically perfect system of representing human sounds, I do not think in considering the need of India we require so exact a system involving a large number of signs.

In all languages there are slight variations from the standard pronunciation in adjoining districts or areas. For India it seems to me an approximation rather than absolute minute exactness of vowel and consonant sounds is needed in any general script. This enables us to be content with a much smaller number of letters or sound signs, than the International Phonetic Script provides.

India is fortunate in already possessing in the Nagari characters (known to some extent in all her provinces) an alphabet requiring but few additional signs to render an almost complete phonetic chord. Extra symbols are needed for the short vowel sounds represented in English in "and", "end" and "on", and perhaps one or two extra consonants. With the addition of these we should have an admirable vehicle for all the languages spoken in India. But from the point of view of rapid learning, easy reading and writing, and commercial and social use, are the Nagari characters really the best? Apart from any question as to its adoption in Tamil or Telugu speaking districts or by the Mohammedan population, its compound letters are numerous and not very easily distinguished, which involves a larger type in printing and a larger expenditure of time in reading, and the printer requires

a very large assortment of special type to set it up.

Amongst the scripts already in use in India, the most formidable rival to the Nagari is the Roman. This has to be acquired by all who learn English or French or Portuguese in any case. It is already used by about half a million Indian vernacular readers (mainly in the Urdu speaking districts of North India, and in such districts as the Khāssi Hills where till lately no written language existed). One of the larger presses catering for these readers has lately found it needful to order a lino-type machine of accented Roman type, showing its increased use. So that, either for a vernacular language or for English, some two and a half million Indian readers already utilise it in some form or other. That is to say it is already employed by one eighth of the present literate population in India, and the majority of the literate population of the world.

If it were decided upon as a common script for India, not only all the vernaculars but phonetic English could be printed from the same types. This would enable the Indian schoolboy to have access at a much earlier age to the world's literature; as he could read and pronounce correctly in English whilst in the lower classes, passing on to literary English and the mysteries of English spelling (if still unreformed) in the High School. Considering the proposal by non-English nations to use English as world-tongue, and its present use by so great a proportion of mankind, I think this needs consideration. In using Roman type, capital letters would be discontinued as needless; also the vexed question of accents or quite new symbols would have to be settled. My own opinion is in favour of one or two simple accents as in French; such are also used in Nagari without causing noticeable inconvenience. If a committee of scientists, teachers, practical printers and business men were to go into the matter, they could soon produce a working Roman script, free from pedantic over-niceties and with a minimum of letter symbols, which could be more quickly learnt and read than existing vernacular scripts, would also

occupy less room on paper (and so economise money), and would prepare the student for the literary, scientific and commercial languages of the rest of the world in Europe, America, Australia and a large part of Africa.

But there is yet another alternative. Is it possible to produce an entirely fresh script that may supersede all others as a phonetic device by its simplicity and the ease with which it can be acquired and used? Where 300 million of prospective students are involved, this idea should not be lightly put aside. World phonetics and world language are already to some extent in use in the quite modern forms of Pitman's Shorthand and Esperanto. But is it likely that these more scientific forms of expression will ever become more than the heritage of a few? These considerations have become more than mere problematical questions to many of the missionaries working in the districts of South India. In their desire to put the Bible in reach of the poor and uneducated members of the Christian community, they have found one great difficulty is the long time required to learn to read the most elementary matter in the local scripts. Rev J. Knowles of Travancore has been a pioneer in this matter, and has suggested variations of Roman and the adapted Braille letters for the blind. Other missionaries have suggested other forms of alphabet in the Mysore "Harvest Field" and elsewhere. The "Harvest Field" in its August issue announces that a friend has placed £100 at its disposal for a practical experiment in all of the suggested scripts, or in any better one that may be invented, as a test of their utility. This experiment deserves the most close attention from all lovers of India. If an effective script can be found which shortens the school period by a year or two, and which possesses evident advantages over either Nagari or Roman, (the present chief Indian and world scripts), what is our duty towards it? Some clear responsibility exists on the part of the twenty million literate towards the three hundred million illiterate. The whole subject needs consideration free from prejudice or pedantry.

SOME RELICS OF SOUTH INDIAN DEMON WORSHIP

IT is a fact well known to students of history that India south of the Vindhya has always been the stronghold of the Dravidian races and they have been in enjoyment of a kind of civilization which differs in several respects from that of the northerners who essentially belong to the Aryan race. Though the Dekhan came under the influence of the Aryans long, long ago and bodies of Aryans migrated into

population has stuck on to some extent to its own crude forms of devil worship, a few of which will be found to be of immense interest to a foreign reader.



DRAUPADI.

The Aryan heroine of epic fame imported into the South-Indian demonology popularly believed to be an incarnation of Kali. During her worship walking over fire is the chief pastime, as Draupadi was believed to be born out of that element.

the south and settled among the natives of the soil, they have not been able to Aryanise the land completely. It is true that the Brahminical faith was accepted without a murmur by the more enlightened classes, but the bulk of the Dravidian

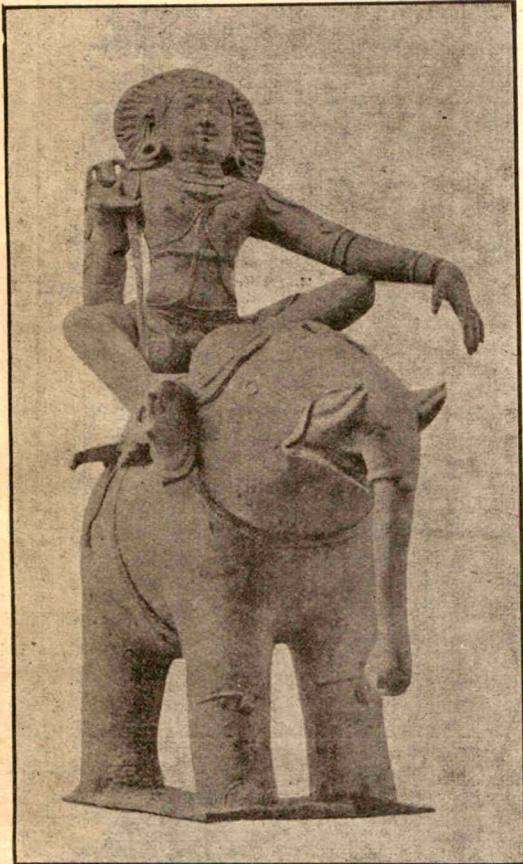


Kali—The Goddess of Cholera.

She is believed to walk from village to village with a pot of castor oil in her left hand and a trident in the other.

In the southern districts of the Madras Presidency there is, as a rule, no village or hamlet which does not boast of a local deity and a crude shrine dedicated to it. These local deities are more often represented as of the gentler sex, though the orgies and fetes held in their honour are often of a revolting character. The sacrifice of fowls and goats and the offering up of large quantities of cooked rice mixed up with their blood is a feature common to all kinds of festivities held in their honour. The outbreak of an epidemic, such as cholera, smallpox or plague, is set down as due to the wrath of these offended

deities and unless they are properly propitiated, it is believed that the evil will not cease to exist. Apart from these extraordinary occasions, when festivals are held in their honour, there is the usual annual *Utsavam* which must be held as a preventive measure.



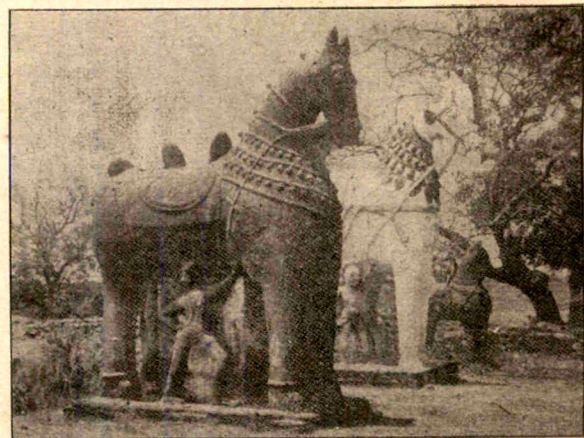
Sastha.

(Called Aiyandar in Tamil.)
The patron saint of villages.

The foremost of these popular deities is the Draupadi Goddess of epic fame. She is an Aryan heroine imported into the demonology of South India, as she is popularly believed to be an incarnation of *Kali*, who came down to earth with the declared object of easing the earth of her human burden. Animal sacrifices are rarely held in her honour and her chief pastime is to walk over fire as she was born out of the element. The *pusari* with the *Karakam* (a decorated pot placed on

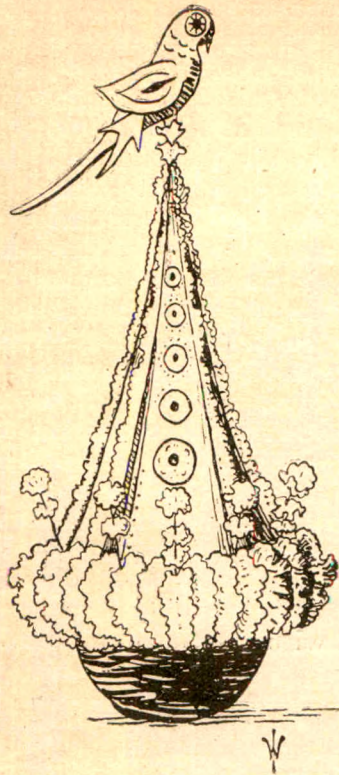
the head) gets into fire in the midst of wild music and excitement and comes out scatheless. A large band of devotees under a vow to that purpose also begin to walk over hot cinders prepared in front of the temple and declare that they felt least uncomfortable while walking over fire. Accidents are not uncommon and many a devotee is scorched to death, but such mishaps are set down to the want of proper faith in the victims concerned. Previous to the last day of the festival, when this fire walking ceremony is held, the stories of the Mahabharata are enacted or simply narrated by the temple *pusaris*. In times of drought and the failure of the seasonal rains, the pot fire procession is held in honour of this goddess and at the end of the festival the goddess is said never to fail to gratify her devotees by sending down a shower of rain.

There is also another method of invoking the grace of the rain god by dragging along the streets an uncouth figure of a woman sinner made of clay placed on a bier and surrounded by a band of pseudo-mourners, who beat their breasts and dance round the supposed corpse. The rain god is believed to be imposed upon at the sight of the dead sinner and he sends down a copious shower in the mistaken belief that sin has been driven out of the country. This ceremony of "dragging the



CLAY HORSES OF AIYANAR.

Offered by his devotees and placed in or before his shrine.

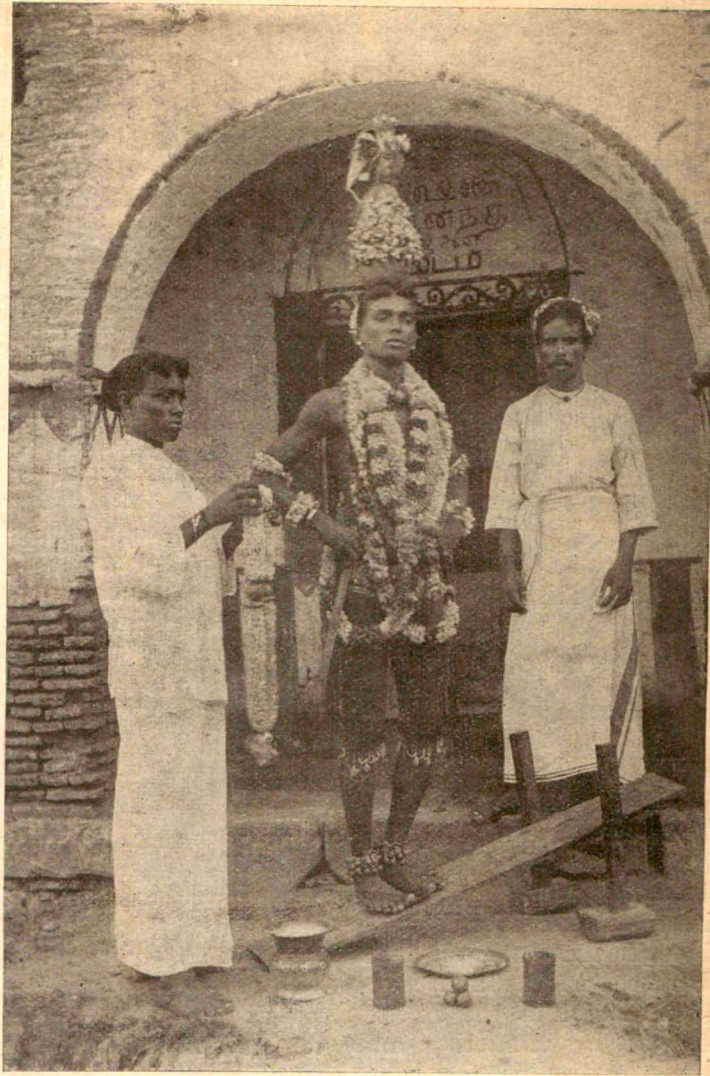


KARAKAM.

A decorated pot or basket carried on the head during fire-walking.

fell sinner," as it is called, is performed in the central Tamil districts, especially in Tanjore.

Perhaps the most dreaded of all South Indian demons and demonesses is the goddess of the small pox, who is known as *Mari Amman* in the Tamil districts and *Poleri Ammal* in the Telugu districts. She is believed to be a goddess of a deep revengeful spirit who gloats over her power to disfigure or deface many a human form. The story of her life is full of pathos, as she, a lady of Brahman origin, had to immolate herself in fire on coming to understand that she had been mated to a Panchama husband. She died swearing revenge on all humanity for the deeds of wrong wrought upon her. She is propitiated only with milk, honey and fruits; but her satellites, the



THE KARAKAM-DANCE.

grim perpetrators of her dreadful commands, should be propitiated with the sacrifice of goats, lambs and fowls. She is said to be peculiarly fond of the *Margosa* leaf and beggars parade along the streets dressed in saffron cloth and *Margosa* garlands like the Pandyan victors of old. This goddess is held in great veneration, and no man of any caste will dare offend this deity in thought, word or deed.

The next in order of might and fierceness comes *Kali*, the Goddess of Cholera. She

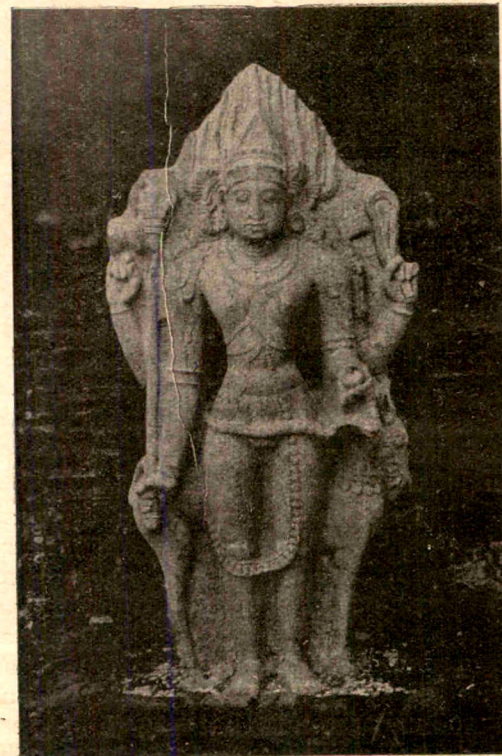


VIRAN.

The Dravidian Bacchus, the popular hero of Madura.

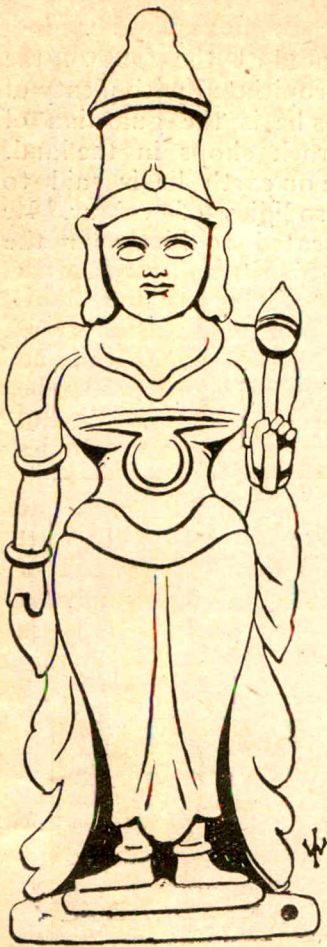
is believed to move from village to village with a pot of castor oil in one hand and a trident in the other. The victim is smitten with the trident and is given a dose of this castor oil in the spirit. It is at once followed by vomiting and purging and the victim dies in a few hours. Sometimes families and villages are swept away by this fell goddess, who is said to take upon herself this grim method of punishing the unrighteous in the world. But in this indiscriminate method of doling out punishment, it is often the innocent, the young and the weak that suffer, while the older crones hardened in sin go scot free. This goddess must be propitiated with plenty of animal life and a buffalo sacrifice is said to be of peculiar sanctity to her. She is worshipped everywhere in the Tamil districts in some form or other and it is only when cholera breaks out in a place, she is remembered with great awe and festivals are held in her honour.

Plague, influenza and all kinds of epidemic fevers are associated with a male god *Virabhadran*, who is supposed to be an incarnation of god Rudra, who came down to earth in this dreadful form to destroy the sacrifice held by his own father-in-law without doing proper honour to him. He is believed to be the very impersonation of all anger and must be propitiated with plenty of Abhishekams (baths) and dainties of fresh flavour and good taste. He is believed to be on a par with Kali and whatever is acceptable to her may also be dedicated to him. Statues of awful grandeur may be seen in all Siva temples and those in the front hall of the *Sunderasa* shrine in the Siva temple at *Madura* are masterpieces of Dravidian art and sculpture. He is an Aryan god of Dravidian adoption and has only a secondary place assigned to him, as he is rarely endowed with a shrine of his own.



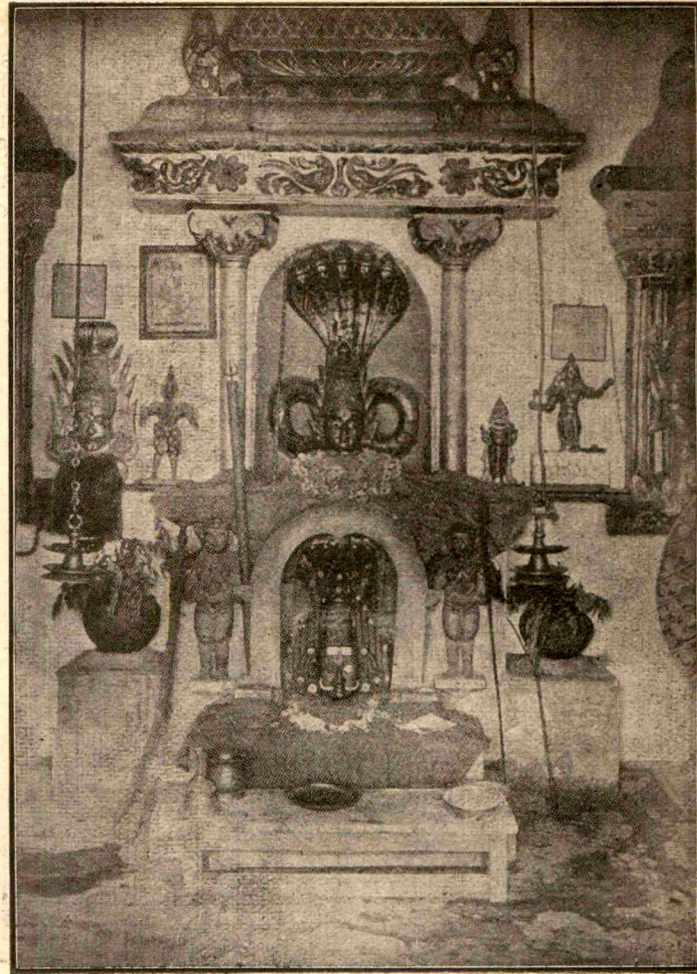
VIRABHADRAN.

Supposed to be an incarnation of God Rudra, and consort of Plague, Influenza and all other kinds of epidemic fevers.



KANNAKI.

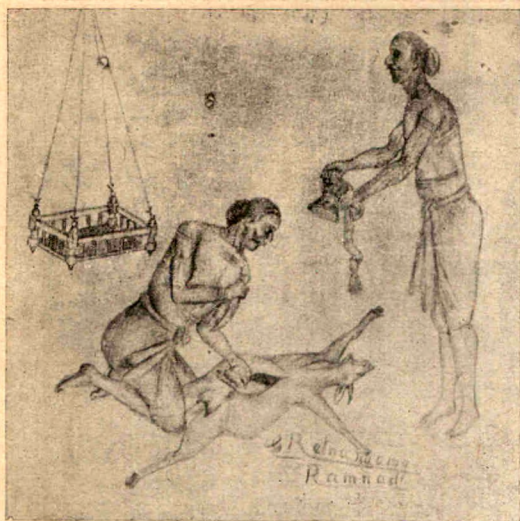
The Goddess of the Goldsmiths.



PLAGUE-AMMA. (i. e. The Plague-Mother or The Deity of Plague)

But his half brother *Sāsthā* (called *Aiyanar* in Tamil) is a more popular deity, as there is no town, village or hamlet, which does not boast of a shrine dedicated to him. He is looked upon as the patron saint of the whole village and, if properly worshipped in time, will keep the village from all harm, drought or famine. He is looked upon as a Brahman god, who requires no animal sacrifice, but his underlings must always have their gratification in animal food. The *Sāsthā* is said to be peculiarly pleased if a clay elephant or horse, made by the village potter is dedicated to him in front of his temple. He is believed to be an offspring of god Siva in unholy wedlock with a female incarnation of Vishnu who took this form to destroy

the enemy who sought to destroy Siva himself. The unholy nature of the alliance lost him his place in the Hindu pantheon, but as this god is of peculiar merit and grace he is worshipped fervently by all the lower orders of Hindu society in South India. At nights he is said to start out of his shrine on horseback with torchlight in his usual rounds of nightly perambulations. Woe, woe to the man who happens to fall in with this weird procession; but if he is a man of spirit or devotion, the whole scene disappears from his view leaving him unharmed. The gift of a cocoanut or a few plantain fruits is enough to gratify this complacent god. He is generally



SACRIFICE OF PREGNANT GOATS TO KALI.

It is believed that hearing of the bleating of the goat in its death agony when it is so sacrificed is the cure of barrenness of women.

believed to do more good than evil, though nobody can offer security in a court of law on behalf of his underlings.

The most popular deity of the Maravas of the Tinnevely district is the *Sudalai Madan*, who is the patron saint of the warlike Maravas. He acts also the part of St. Julian and is propitiated with plenty of toddy, meat, tobacco and rice. The cremation ground is his favourite haunt and his shrine is always built in its neighbourhood. He seems to be a deified Marava chieftain, whose martial exploits are celebrated in songs sung by a coterie of worshippers with the twang of a bowed instrument as an accompaniment to the music on the occasion of the festival held in his honour at midnight. He is held in great awe and is believed to be a revengeful spirit, if a vow made to him is not faithfully carried out. Even Brahmans and the other higher castes are afraid of him lest harm should befall themselves or their cattle, which are more likely to come to harm at the hands of his earthly devotees.

The Dravidian Bacchus is the popular hero of Madura who is known as *Viran*. His favourite haunt is an old Margosa tree

and he is content to have his abode in a brick or a stone placed at the foot of the tree. He must be propitiated with plenty of toddy and meat, as he is the guardian of all toddy and arrack shops in the land. During his life time on earth he is said to have performed prodigies of valour. He has a shrine dedicated to him near the eastern gate of the Siva temple at Madura, where he is said to have met with his tragic end. Fried rice, dried fish or live fowls are offered to him and he is said to have peculiar liking for tobacco in any shape. Rice mixed with blood is a favour-

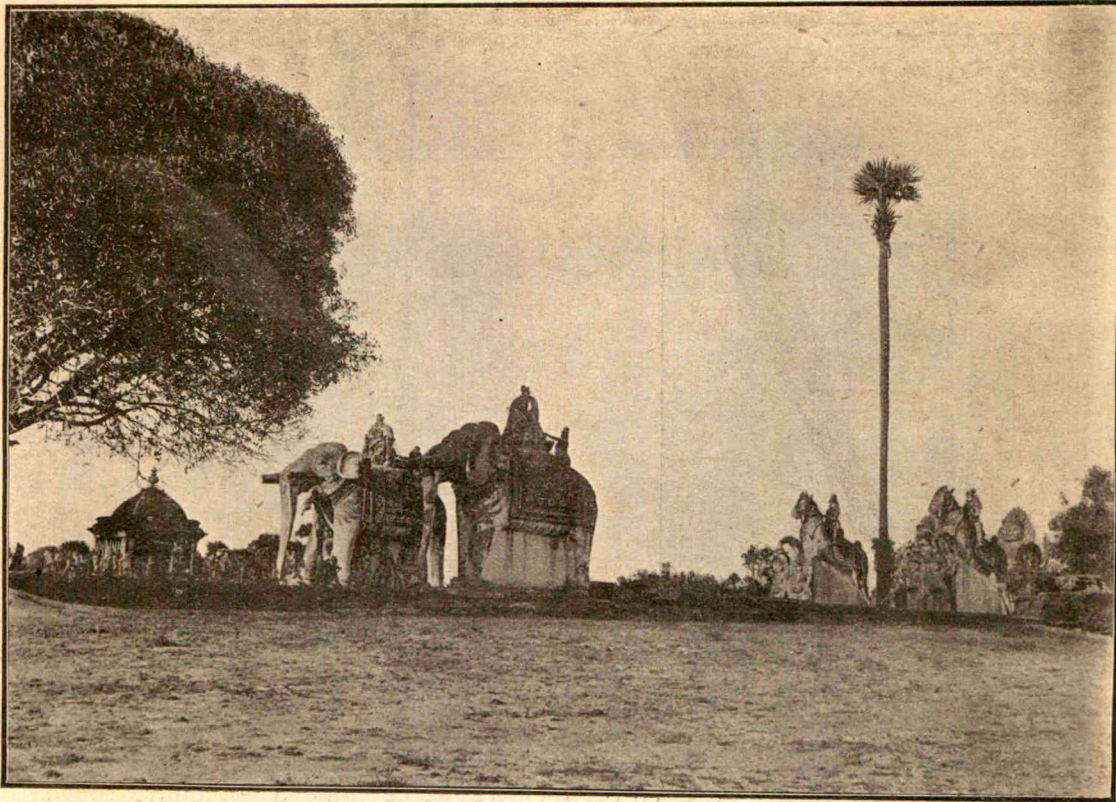


KARUPPAN.

The patron of thieves and dacoits, propitiated with meat and drink offerings; he is the popular God of the Kallars of Madura and Tanjore.

ite food of all these deities and our hero's partiality for this kind of food is proverbial.

The story of Kovilan and Kannaki is familiar to all students of Tamil literature and Kannaki who is believed to be an avatar of Kali, who came down to earth in this shape to destroy the then Pandya at Madura, has temples built for her in several places in the south of Trichinopoly.



SASTHA WITH HIS RETINUE.

The horses and elephants are made of clay or masonry work on which he is supposed to ride in his nightly rounds around the village in his good and benevolent duties.

As Kovilan met with his death at the hands of the Pandya king by the treachery of a goldsmith, Kannaki's anger is appeased every year by means of a buffalo, representing a goldsmith, being sacrificed in front of her shrine. An actual goldsmith is also asked to be at the shrine at the time. She is a local deity and is not generally worshipped in all Tamil districts. Her very story is not known in the northern districts.

The popular god of the Kallars of Madura and Tanjore is *Karuppan*, a fierce looking god of gigantic size. The spear is his favourite weapon and he is said to have an iron chain dragging at his waist. He is a patron of thieves and dacoits and is always propitiated with plenty of meat and drink before they start on their nocturnal expeditions. His favourite haunt is an old tree and his presence is always

marked by a long chain of iron hung between two branches. The *Karuppan* of Alagar Koil temple gate enjoys universal fame and is looked upon with peculiar dread and awe. Vows are made to him and goats and fowls are sacrificed to him in large numbers on festive occasions.

A ceremony of peculiar horror is performed in a few places in the district of Ramnad, especially at *Kidaram*, an obscure village within the territorial jurisdiction of the Zemindary of Ramnad. On the night of a new moon day at about midnight a pregnant goat is brought to a scaffold erected for the purpose. In the midst of a large concourse of people who assemble there to offer their worship to the goddess Kali, a band of *Pusaris* begin to sing in praise of the goddess. Just then the belly of the pregnant goat is torn open and the live kid is removed, put into



IRULAN.

a cradle and rocked to and fro. All the time the poor animal bleats in its death agony and any barren woman who hears the sound is said to be cured of her barrenness and conceives before the next new



SUDALAI-MADAN.

The patron saint of the warlike Maravas of the Tinnevely district.

moon day comes. As the whole festival is held at midnight with torchlight the entire scene has a peculiar touch of weirdness and horror. It is considered to be an evil omen if the kid does not live and bleat when it is rocked in the cradle.

T. R. R.

QUEEN TISSARAKSHITA'S JEALOUSY*

Asoka's loving queen was wroth in mind
And deep distressed to see her royal spouse
Had wrapped himself all day and night in
vows

Of pious worship ; sorely grieved to find
He sat for hours in contemplation, blind

To all the world. A Bodhi's tender boughs
Absorbed his care and kept their loves

Apart ; and fondling whispers, sweet and kind,
Had ceased to be. She nursed her silent grief ;

Resolved, a tree, though sacred, shall not
mar

A Woman's happiness,—and sought relief
One night, by rooting out the Bodhi-tree,

Saying, the claims of love were greater far
Than those of God and Immortality.

P. SESHADRI.

* Suggested by a painting of the episode by Abanindranath Tagore, c.i.e.

THE NEW WOMAN IN AMERICA AND EUROPE

THE women of the United States have achieved final, complete political enfranchisement. They now stand shoulder to shoulder with the emancipated women of Soviet Russia, Germany, Ireland, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland. This is in political life only; in social and economic life they are behind the women of the Scandinavian countries and of Soviet Russia.

The 19th amendment now added to the Constitution of the United States, is named the Susan B. Anthony amendment, after the first champion of woman suffrage, and reads:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The organization that forced the amendment through was the National Woman's Party, which came into being in 1913, and very largely displaced the older suffrage party, headed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, which had held the torch of woman's political emancipation before the country for half a century. When war was declared, and the politicians and munition makers of the country talked of "democracy" and the "rights of subject peoples", the women of the National Woman's Party replied, "Well, I guess they mean us."

The party refused to go to war for "democracy" outside the United States. It organized the fighting forces of American women right within the country. Month in and month out the women stood with their banners before the national capital and before the home of the President, quoting President Wilson's phrases about "democracy". They took his printed words and made bonfires of them before his home. They picketed government buildings. They went into the Senate and House of Representatives and presented their demands. They indexed every Senator's

and Representative's ideas on women, and published them broadcast, with the intention of defeating every man who did not support the amendment. This was particularly effective in the many western states where suffrage had been granted for many years. Miss Jeanette Rankin, Representative from Montana, one of the suffrage States of the West, championed the amendment from her seat in Congress, delivering her first speech on it.



MRS. JOSEPHINE B. BENNETT.

One of the leaders in the National Woman's Party in the U. S. A. Mrs. Bennett was a candidate for U. S. Senator on the Farmer-Labour Party ticket in the State of Connecticut.

She is one of the five members of the Central Executive Committee of the Friends of Freedom for India of America, and is a speaker for the right of India to complete national independence.

In other words, the women carried on a non-co-operation movement with the Government and with the War unless women were granted their political rights. They did not adopt the militant methods used at one time by Mrs.

Pankhurst in England, but their spirit was militant, and when they started to present a certain fact to the public, or to adopt a certain method, they went through with it even though it led to prison.

Their methods were passive. But they were arrested, attacked and dragged through the streets of Washington, much as were the pioneer men and women who first started the fight against Negro slavery in the South. Daughters and wives of Senators, along with factory women, school teachers and housemaids, went to prison hand in hand and then from inside their prison walls carried on mass hunger-strikes until released. More and more women took up the banners torn from their hands, and filled their places. A broach, modeled after a prison door, became the badge of honor. Senators and Representatives went home in the evening, to sit with their heads in their hands, thinking of their imprisoned wives and daughters who refused to abandon their principle.

But Europe was rocked with revolution, and the new Governments established thereby granted women full political and economic rights, placing them in charge of Government Departments, and using their great talents as occasion demanded, while the United States fought against women suffrage. When it appeared that the women would win any way, the two big political parties, the Republican and Democratic, both extremely reactionary, vied with each other in aiding the passage of the amendment, hoping thereby to deceive the women of the country and gain their votes. The Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties had long since declared themselves, and worked for the enfranchisement of women. To-day the amendment has passed, although the reactionaries have filed law suits to prevent its full enactment. They will not succeed, and women are voting at the election.

The question now is, "What will women do with their political power? What will they do with their great energy, formerly used in the struggle for the franchise?"

Well, they will perhaps use it as

have the women in the many suffrage states of the United States, and as have women in the Scandinavian countries—for improving the condition of women and children, and for social betterment. Yet there are women in the suffrage movement who are just as much opposed to economic change as are the men capitalists. There is more hope for them than for men, however, but they cannot be depended upon fully.

Suffrage is regarded among the progressive leaders in the woman movement as only a part of the feminist movement. And the feminist movement is international in vision. The feminist belongs to one of the three great suppressed groups which have been forced consciously or unconsciously into internationalism: women as a sex, the working class, and subject nations. Women, therefore, now that their energies are free, are more likely to turn their thoughts into one of these three channels—for the betterment of women and children as a class, for the emancipation of the working class, or for the freedom of subject peoples.

The older suffrage organization in the United States, has already amalgamated with the National League of Women Voters. This means their efforts will be directed more to the betterment of national conditions particularly as they affect women and children. Because this league's program calls for the enactment of special legislation benefiting women and children.

It is expected that the National Woman's Party, at its February, 1921, convention, will vote to continue as a great organization, affiliated with no political party, but holding a strategic balance of power which it will use for the introduction and enforcement of legislation affecting first women and children, and then social life in general. Many wish it to become a nucleus for an international woman's party to work for women in all countries.

Many of the members of this Party have already entered movements such as social hygiene, experimental education, while others have gone into the struggle for the emancipation of the working class; this means the ultimate ownership and

control of industry by the workers. Many of the members are labor organizers and were candidates for various offices on the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist Party tickets.

Three of these women have gone into the movement for the freedom of India. Mrs. Josephine B. Bennett, Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, and Mrs. Sara Bard Field. For years Mrs. Bennett was a prominent suffrage worker in her state of Connecticut, and then one of the most prominent organizers and speakers in the National Woman's Party. She has now joined the Executive Board of the Friends of Freedom for India, an organization working for the independence of India, with headquarters in New York city. Mrs. Bennett, who is the mother of three grown children, was candidate for U. S. Senator on the Farmer-Labor Party in her Home state at the last election.

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, whose husband is a Professor in John Hopkins University and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of California, a prominent author, are both known throughout the country for their suffrage work. Mrs. Field was one of the first members of the National Council of the Friends of Freedom for India, and contributed her time, money and influence, to prevent the deportation of Indian political prisoners from America. Both Mrs. Hooker and Mrs. Bennett are powerful speakers and organizers and, with fearlessness and determination, have taken the platform to present the case for India's national independence and existence as a nation, free from any foreign control or guidance.

Many other members of this Party are in the Irish movement, or in the movement for equal rights of the American Negro. Others are devoting themselves to the reorganization of the public school system, laws for the endowment of motherhood, equality between the sexes in all professions, the civil service and industry, for the improvement of health, for a single standard of morals, and for the end of the manufacture of all drugs and liquor except for medicinal purposes.

This may give some idea of the interest and activity of women in America, now

that they no longer are compelled to struggle for their political rights. They now have time to look about for new fields to conquer. Most of them are going to think as much about women of other countries as of their own problems at home.

Among Indian women who have aroused the deep interest of the new women of America have been Mrs. Parvatibai Arthavale, from the Woman's University at Poona, and Mrs. Sultan Singh who, in company with her husband, Sultan Singh of Delhi, toured the United States the past summer.



MISS ALICE PAUL.

National Chairman of the National Woman's Party of the U. S. A. The party which forced through Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution, granting full political rights to all women 21 years of age or over.

The new women of America are now comparing their position with women of Europe, and the position of the women of the world with their own. Although women of America are said to be the freest in the world, yet there are many social and legal discriminations against them which the members of the National Woman's Party is setting itself to change. In the suffrage states heretofore, the position of women and children has been bettered. In

California, for example, the eight hour labor law has been in force since women gained the vote. In that state no child under 16 can work. In the professions or in industry in America there are few restrictions upon women, and the taboos which have persisted as being destroyed. Women lawyers, physicians, magazine editors, labor organizers, authors, chemists, teachers, professors, newspaper reporters, research scholars, investigators and social workers are no longer picturesque exhibits, but real, live, active women. In a few of the states, however, married women cannot control their own property, such as land, or money, and they do not have equal rights with their husbands over their children. In some of the southern states, where conservatism has sat on the throne since the days of slavery, a woman may not divorce her husband, even if he should beat her, or be a morally or physically diseased man. In other states, the only condition for divorce is adultery. America is the most backward country in the world in regard to the rights and protection of the illegitimate child. The age of consent in some states is as low as twelve or fourteen. Maternity insurance or protection is very largely disregarded, and everywhere the disregard for human life and happiness is largely subordinated to the greed for wealth. This has occurred because of the high and rapid development of capitalism, with its disregard for human life. Women, together with the working class, alone can alter this situation.

Aside from the National Woman's Party, the women who have tried to change these conditions have not been recognized as anything but "agitators". This was because they had no political power in the past. One woman, Jane Addams, of international fame, is an exception. But Margaret Fuller, the founder of the woman's movement in this country in the middle of the 19th century; Susan B. Anthony, the pioneer of woman suffrage, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her associates, suffered all the calumny of the pioneer in new social movements of the West. The last three named women left the suffrage movement

to enter the struggle against Negro slavery, and their great ability went into this ideal struggle. Following the Civil War, they returned to the suffrage movement, and there met with much the same brutality and inhumanity from their opponents as they had met from the hands of the reactionaries who believed in human slavery.

Of more recent date, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt became known as among the great figures in the suffrage movement. But today, the women of the National Woman's Party are the uncertain quantity which give politicians many sleepless nights. Trained in battle, they are without fear. They have great organizing, executive and intellectual ability. Chief among them is Miss Alice Paul, National Chairman of the Party, recognized as one of the keenest organizers and executives in the country. Others are Miss Doris Stevens, of Nebraska, Miss Maud Younger of California, Mrs. Josephine Bennett of Connecticut, Miss Lucy Burns of New York, Miss Fola La Follete, daughter of Senator Robert M. La Follette, Miss Cristal Eastman of New York, an editor, Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, of New York, and others.

How does the position of American women compare with that of European women, is the question often asked. In Europe, it is admitted, women centered their attention more upon social change, while women of America concentrated more upon the political. The recent establishment of new governments in Europe following revolutions has placed the women of practically all the nations, excepting Belgium, France, Italy and Spain, within full political control of their destinies. In other countries, such as the Scandinavian, women have long enjoyed political rights. In nearly all such countries the feminist movement has been strong. In Norway and Finland the women have sat in Parliament since 1913; the Norwegian and Russian illegitimacy laws are the most advanced of any in existence. Sweden enjoys much the same status as Norway, and Denmark is not far behind.

While legislation and political enfran-

chisement of women in Germany was fought by the administration before the war, yet the German feminist movement was more advanced than any movement in Europe. All the brilliant propaganda for illegitimacy laws in Norway, and for social reform in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, was largely inspired by the German movement and emanated from that country. The Minister of Justice in Norway, Johann Castberg, was responsible for the passage of many ideal laws, and he received his inspiration—and arguments, from the German feminist movement, particularly the Mutterschutz (maternity protection) movement, headed by Dr. Gertrud Baumer. The German women published brilliant magazines and pamphlets which will always stand as the inspiration of women in Europe. The Russian movement was much the same.

Following the revolution in Germany, many women were returned in the new government, and are today eligible to any office. Dr. Gertrud Baumer, a liberal, turned her great organizing ability to good account, and is now head of the public school system in Berlin. She is credited with being one of the most imaginative, subtle and able women in Europe, ranking with many of the women who hold responsible positions in Soviet Russia.

In Russia, of course, there is complete equality of men and women in political, economic and social life. No women on earth have so far equalled the ideal position of women under the Soviet Government. The falsehoods about the position of women, propagated by the powers trying to destroy the Soviet Republic, have been discredited completely. The women of America today are realizing that they have much to learn from the new women emancipated by the Russian Revolution.

One of the most important positions in the Soviet Government is held by a woman. Aledandria Kollantai, formerly a noted revolutionist, is head of the Department of public welfare of Russia. This work includes the distribution of food to the troops as well as to the public, the care of all hospitals, including wounded soldiers,



SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

The world pioneer of women suffrage who started her activities in the United States of America in 1848. The 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. A. is named after her.

This bust of Miss Anthony was made by a famous sculptress Miss Adelaide Johnson, and will be placed in the Rotunda of the national capital at Washington, D. C., as a lasting memorial to one of America's greatest historic figures.

the care of children, the establishment and maintenance of maternity hospitals, and all social welfare work. The great "Motherhood Palace" in Petrograd is one of the greatest achievements of this woman leader of Russia.

Premier Lenin's wife, formerly Miss Krupski, is head of one of the Departments of Education, and Miss Fetieva, a young Russian woman of great ability, holds one of the most important positions in all Russia—that of Secretary to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

Throughout Russia, particularly in educational work, women hold directing positions, as well as the position of workers. Their genius is finding expression in every branch of Russia's national life.

Some of the most important facts concerning women and children of Russia, many of which are laws, may be briefly given :

1. No child under 16 years of age may work. The work day of women is the same as that of the men—it cannot exceed eight hours. Women may not work at night or in any dangerous process. Housework is accorded the same honorable position as law, medicine or social work. Since by law all must work who are between the ages of 16 and 60, women who are not employed within the home are expected to find employment elsewhere—in industry, the professions, or social work.

2. All children are fed in school, even on holidays and vacations. Kitchens for children have been erected everywhere. By law, children are given food first, always, ahead of older people. Such a law has been necessary because of the Russian blockage maintained by the great capitalistic nations.

3. Marriage is by mutual consent, the marriage being registered. Divorce is the same, or if objections are raised, hearings are held before courts on which women also sit.

4. No woman may be employed for 4 weeks before, or 4 weeks following, confinement. Full wages are paid her during this time.

5. There is no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. This is the same law as obtains in Norway. The father of an illegitimate child is required to support it and to exercise the same responsibilities toward it as toward a legitimate child.

6. The minimum age of marriage, for both men and women is the same.

Today the question is being asked by the reactionaries "Are not women going too far in their freedom?"

The same question have been asked by reactionaries at all periods of human his-

tory. They were used by those opposed to granting the franchise to men. They were used by those who held slaves. They were used by kings and emperors who considered themselves omnipotent and the sole charges of their subjects. They are used today by those opposed to the freedom of subject peoples such as India.

Abuses of freedom, or the clumsy handling of new responsibilities, may be expected of a few, or even of the many. But there is but one way to advancement and achievement, and that is by way of freedom, by the exercise of it and by meeting responsibilities which come with it. In America it is said that divorce is an evil. That is not the fault of freedom. It is the fault of a system of subjection and under-development which has bred evils. The evils of subjection are always greater than those of freedom. Because those of freedom are but temporary and if the channels of progress are left open, the evils will work themselves out. But under subjection the evils multiply by geometric proportion. There are greater evils than divorce and other social problems, and those are the denial of human rights—the full, free intellectual, political, economic and social advancement to any group of people.

The women of America, and women everywhere, undoubtedly realize that their position is very similar to that of the working class and of subject nations. The arguments used against one may be used against all; the arguments used for one may be used for all, and should be understood by all.

What will American women do with their new political power and their released energies? India can answer that question as well as can American women by telling how it would use its great power and energy were it today free to build a nation. As Sarojini Naidu said of India in one of her great poems:

"Lo, we would thrill the high stars with
thy story
And set thee again in the forefront of glory."

ALICE BIRD.

CALIPHATE AND THE SULTAN OF TURKEY

BY JATINDRANATH CHATTERJEE, M.A.

THE word 'Califate' is a household word and every Indian whether he be a Mahomedan or a Hindu, whether he be an old man or a mere boy, knows perfectly well the gigantic Califate movement. Here I will not dwell upon political motives of the movement, but I wish to lay before the numberless readers, many of whom hardly know the real thing, the origin of the Caliphate and its relation with the present Sultan of Turkey. I will try to show here whether the Sultan of Turkey is really the Caliph of the present Moslem world.

Before the advent of the Prophet Mahomet, Arabia was divided into petty tribal states without any unity of brotherhood and religion. The people were idolators and wild. It was the Prophet Mahomet who drew all the people around him and preached the religion of 'One God', i.e., the religion of Islam. The Prophet was looked upon by his followers as both the religious and temporal head. This position of the religious head and temporal head is called the Caliphate and he who holds this position is known as the Caliph of the Islamic people. At first the Caliphs were elected by the people among themselves and gradually it came to be established in some particular family. It will be clearly seen from the action of the Prophet that he did not like the line of the Caliphate to be in his family or in any particular family; but he wanted the Caliph to be chosen from among the people themselves.

Before his death Mahomet could easily have named a Caliph; he could have easily nominated Ali, who was the husband of his daughter Fatima, but he did not, and relied on the people. Abu Bekr, a most saintly man of the type of Mahomet, was elected as the First Caliph. After him there were three elected Caliphs, namely, pious Omar, Othman, Ali. But after Ali, the Caliphate was established in a family. These "*Elected Caliphs*" reigned from 632-661 A.C.

Muawiya, a member of the family of

Othman, cunningly got the Caliphate from Ali. He first saw the danger and difficulty of the election of Caliphs. The election of Caliph in each succession had been followed by serious peril to the peace of Islam. Influenced by such considerations and also no doubt by the desire of maintaining the Caliphate in his own line, Muawiya declared his son to be his heir-apparent. Thus the Caliphate was established in the line of the "*Omeyyads*". This family ruled from 661-750 A.C.

Then the Caliphate passed to the family of the "*Abbasides*" who traced their descent to the uncle of Mahomet. This family ruled from 750-1258 A.C. By this time many Mahomedan kingdoms flourished in different parts of the then world. There arose the mighty Saracen kingdom of Spain, the Muslim kingdoms of Africa, Egypt, and India. But strange to see that none of these mighty rulers adopted the title of 'Caliph'; they merely styled themselves as Sultans. Those who have read Indian history know that many of the Moslem rulers of India sent ambassadors to the Caliphs of Bagdad and were proud to receive presents and sanads, however trivial they may be, from the Caliph of the Islamic world. Though the temporal power of the Caliph was broken into pieces, the Caliph was still regarded as the sole head of religious affairs.

In 1257 a serious blow came upon the Caliphate at Bagdad. Hulugu, the Mongol chief, attacked Bagdad in 1257 and killed Al-Mustasim the last of the Abbaside Caliphs. The Caliphate long in hopeless decrepitude, had now disappeared and there remained no possibility of revival. But by some freak of fortune, the Caliphate found a place in Egypt.

Egypt was dependent on the Caliphate, but it asserted its independence and remained independent till the occupation by the Ottoman Turks. 'Beybars' the then ruling prince of Egypt seeing the hopeless condition of the Caliphate, conceived the design of setting up a scion of

the Abbaside descent as a Caliph in Egypt and of receiving at his hands a spiritual blessing and title to the Sultanate. Thus Beybars established Al-Mustansir as Caliph in Egypt. Henceforward the function of the Caliphs became merely religious. This line of Caliphs remained in Egypt till 1520 A.C., when the Caliphate passed to the hands of the Sultan of Turkey.

By this time there arose the mighty Ottoman Power. Selim, the Ottoman ruler, gradually increasing his territory came into conflict with the Sultan of Egypt. But Selim defeated 'Kunush-ul-Ghurri' the last Sultan of Egypt in the battle-field of Merj-Dabik in 1516 A.C. The nominal Caliph Al-Mustawakkil accompanied Kunush-ul-Ghurri in the battle-field. When the battle was over the Caliph went over to the side of the conqueror Selim who entered Cairo, the Capital of Egypt, with the Caliph in his train. Selim returned to Constantinople with the Caliph who was established there. But the Caliph was imprisoned on some political grounds, and was cast into confinement in the fortress

of Saba Kuli. But Selim's successor Saleiman released him and sent the Caliph to the capital. Shortly after the Caliph Al-Mustawakkil resigned his rights into the hands of the Osmanli monarch and retired to Egypt. Thus the Caliphate now passed into the Ottoman family. In virtue of Al-Mustawakkil's cession of his title, the Ottoman Sultan is legally entitled to the Caliphate—that is to the spiritual as well as the political power held by the successors of the Prophet. So long though the later Caliphs resided at Egypt they were then in possession of the Moslem holy lands which was governed on behalf of the Caliphs by the Sultanate of Egypt. After the extinction of the Sultanate of Egypt these holy places fell into the hands of the Ottoman Sultans, who kept them till now.

Thus I have shown you impartially as a student of history should do without any bias that the Sultan of Turkey as the successor of the Caliphs of Egypt and as the occupier of the Islamic holy lands, is the present real Caliph of the Islamic world.

THE PRINCE

Last night, before the wintry moon was up,
As I was walking the lonely avenue
Between the forest shrines, I met a man
In ancient armour, who said he had been

Long, long ago, but fled and lost his way,
Bewildered by the years. I stood and

Thinking him wandered from some festival
At which those gorgeous days return to life.
But his words were stately, and came into my

With strange authority, and from him breathed
A radiance that was more than light or

A spirit blending with the mystery
Around us in the silence of great trees,
Dark shade and frosty light of early stars.
There was a hollow in the upper boughs

Through which such glory gleamed that his
Grew wonderful to look upon, as though

He were an angel. Holding forth his spear,

He pointed upward to that awful scene
And spoke as though in song: "To-night I stand
On yonder icy peak, above those torrents
Of virgin snow, above the warring winds;
And there, by looking wrath, purchase I find
My lost dominion, for it seems to me

I have some memory of that heaving mountain
Far southward in my childhood." But I said,
As to a human friend: "No man this night
Could reach your splendour; winter closes in;
The paths are shattered. Tarry then with me,
For I have lodging, fire of cedar boughs
And wine to make the memories of old
Glow like new-woven arras." And he smiled,
And came with me, and happiness was mine
After long years. And he is in my house
Even this hour, and they who sit with me
Are filled with strong elation, though their

See not his secret presence. He and I
In brotherhood are waiting for the signal
To follow that mountain quest.

E. E. SPEIGHT

THE ORIGIN OF SUBJECTIVITY IN HINDU THOUGHT*

THE present brochure is an American study of Indian thought, from Vedic times downwards, viewed not only as a philosophical but also as a sociological movement. The central topic is 'subjectivity with its attendant pessimism and doctrine of illusion,' which is taken to be the essential characteristic of later Vedic thought. The sociological problem is to trace 'the sources and conditions which could produce such a peculiar type of experience.'

The material used by the author appears to be the writings of Western orientalist which present a certain amount of information and express certain 'opinions' about Indian thought and social history. There is not much evidence of a firsthand acquaintance with the Sanskrit literature of the subject. The labeling and valuation of Indian thought by Western names like subjectivity, pessimism and pantheism appear to be rather too facile and the social conditions of ancient India are depicted with a definiteness which is hardly warranted by the extant evidence. Western scholarship has not yet seriously tackled the systematic philosophical literature of India as distinct from her early religious literature. This systematic philosophy may be presumed to have been in touch with the atmosphere and tradition to a greater extent than any Western investigation to-day can claim to be and so an interpretation of Hindu religious thought, which does not attempt to meet this philosophy is bound to be risky, if not altogether imaginary. Early inchoate concepts in Indian religious literature can only be understood in the light of their philosophical development and a serious study of this alone can supply the criticism that is necessary of the Western philosophical labels before they can be usefully applied to Indian speculations.

It is not possible in this review to discuss the speculations about early social conditions of India that are accepted as historical data in this book. Even if they are admitted as facts, the deductions that are attempted here from philosophy to sociology and *vice versa* must be pronounced to be utterly insecure. One can at best imaginatively trace an aesthetic congruity between thought and historical life: the depths of a speculative concept are much too subtle and sociological science is much too imperfect yet to

allow of scientific deduction. The offhand way in which the place, for example, of the Brahman and the caste system in society and of pantheism and transmigration in thought is determined here would be amusing, were it not for the fact that such imaginative studies are actually utilised to-day for what is called the cultural conquest of the East by the West.

The central conception of subjectivity requires to be examined at some length. An arrest of the experience-process is said to cause a division of it into object and subject. Self-consciousness arises and is taken to express itself in two ways—either as a mediating opposition to object which resolves itself into action, a unity in difference where object and subject determine each other and jointly get socialised or as an unmediated opposition which cannot become action, where the subject turns back upon itself and with the arrest of the socialising process becomes a solitary individual controlling mere ideas and contracting away into nothingness. The latter type of self-consciousness is called subjectivity and is said to be 'due to a persistent thwarting of individual experience.' In India, the author believes, 'a fixed caste-system furnished the unyielding opposition against which the self was forced' and 'the result was the doctrine of illusion in the Vedanta system and the pessimism and negation of Buddhism. The trend of subjectivity was fatal and predetermined as long as the Brahmins were at the head of the caste and not aroused to self-consciousness.' This is practically the theme of the entire book.

The two forms of self-consciousness correspond to what are called concrete and abstract unities, to the two rival conceptions of identity-in-difference, viz., of identity as comprehending and as transcending difference. The transcendent identity is generally misunderstood, though influential types of the conception are not lacking in Western philosophy. The negation of the immanence is too often taken as an empty abstraction or as only a mystic feeling. The reality of a dissociating or inwardising will is ordinarily denied. The abstracting process is admitted but it is understood more as not attending to certain details than as a new direction of attention. The attention of the subject to itself—when it is not a preparation to spring upon the object again is regarded as only helpless or perverse suicide of concrete experience. In the moral sphere, the rejection of a desire is indeed taken as willed but is conceived as a positive suppression: rejection as dissociation, as a cutting of the root of desire

* The Origin of Subjectivity in Hindu Thought by Ethel May Kitch. Philosophical studies under the direction of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Chicago, Number 7. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

is hardly admitted to be voluntary. Obedience to the law as an attitude of the spirit and not a mere acting according to it is not allowed to be a real doing and terms like will-negation or transcendental activity used in this connexion are taken as only mystic metaphors. So all that is conceived as spiritual doing—like prayer, self-surrender in worship and wanting to forgive or to love—would be taken as no doing but unique feelings merely. Self-realisation as a moral formula is no prescription yet of a specific discipline: the activity it prescribes is but the creation of social or objective values—a sort of artistic activity at its best from ever new depths of spiritual insight, the energising of which however is left to accident, the luck of inspiration and is not believed to be controllable. There is in fact a general disbelief in a continuous inwardising activity towards one's subjective being, in a specific method of realising subjective depths, in the reality of what may be called a subjectively spiritual will.

The symbolism of a deepening or inwardising of the will has not been sufficiently investigated either in its psychological aspect or in its metaphysical significance. The problem is certainly there: some specific kind of spiritual activity is the postulate of the feeling of religious progress and it cannot be brushed aside as mere imagination. The faith in a will continuously efficient in this inwardising direction demands indeed verification in a systematic discipline that works in practice. But in any case it cannot be rejected before one has begun to practise and meantime all that can be demanded is the intelligibility of the psychological theory underlying the discipline. Such a theory is presented in all Indian systems, one form—the most systematic among them—appearing in Yoga philosophy. The psychological possibility of the voluntary control of the inwardising process has to be seriously investigated before the faith in the reality of a subjectively spiritual will can be definitely accepted or rejected.

The psychology of subjectivity as presented by the author is unacceptable on many grounds. The subject turns back on itself not merely when the experience-process is arrested but also when it prevails, though the success itself relaxing the stress of the will outward. Defeat and success alike may induce either an inwardising reversal or a reinforced objective effort according to temperament; and either movement may prepare for the other or accentuate itself. There is no ground for the ordinary assumption that the practical or objective tendency of the mind is the normal condition, that the recoil of subjectivity, when it comes, is normally a drawing backward to spring forward again, and that continued subjective deepening is only a pathological process. What we may call the aesthetic-contemplative process is just as primitive as the practical life-preserving process; in the child each may be as dominant

or as defective as the other, though temperaments vary. There is no special reason to assay reality in terms of the practical function rather than of the other function: there are contemplative attitudes that like practical attitudes either work or do not work, induce or do not induce continuous experience of satisfaction.

Not that the two attitudes are unrelated. The deepening of contemplative activity and the extension of the objective value-creating activity may—though they need not—be mutually helpful. Society as a spiritual essence gains in depth and cohesion with such inwardising of the individual as implies self-abnegation or relaxation of the combative stress; and the individual too gains in subjective depth and reality with such conquest of others as leads to the creation of abiding social value. Again, subjective self-realisation of the individual does not exclude the positive helping of others to achieve their salvation: teaching (*lokanugraha*) is one glorious function of God or seer or perfect spirit. Nor does objective life for society exclude the explicitly subjective activity of self-realisation.

To the present author, subjectivity is a pathological process and is in India due to the arrest of the natural creative will by the wicked or stolid social system of the Brahmins. The picture presented is of the princes and people representing what value-creating activity there was in the society and of the Brahmins ever blocking it by inertia or perverse priestcraft. The possibility has never occurred to the author's mind that 'the trend of subjectivity' might be only a healthy manifestation of the prevailingly contemplative temperament of the community, that the priest was only the articulate expression of this temperament, and that the social system came into being and derived its entire cohesive strength from religion, from its perpetual accommodation—conscious on the part of the much-maligned priest—to such divisions of the spirit as were inevitably caused, for good or for evil, by the natural or secular life of the community. The continued dominance of the priest is apparently the social side of the predominant religious mentality of the people: Indian thought, as the author admits, 'has almost nothing in it that could be classed as strictly secular,' though presumably the mentality is regarded as pathological. Here and there might be evidences of class selfishness and priestcraft: there must have been good individuals and bad individuals among all classes, and cycles of health and degeneration in society. It bespeaks however a lack of the historical sense, of the capacity of understanding society as a life or growth to put forward seriously that the Brahmin—admittedly without military power and material wealth—held the community in thrall through long centuries by stolid selfishness and deliberate priestcraft. How the diabolical resolve to block all progress could be efficient is hardly intelligible, unless

one resorts to some theory of an age-long collective hypnosis induced by the man of magic. A simpler hypothesis appears to be that as a class the Brahman stood for spirituality, and that his power lay not merely in the superstition but also in the reverence of the community.

The whole outlook of the author on religion, priestly class and caste system requires to be revised. Religion need not be primarily the creation of social values: contemplative inwardness may equally be a primary religion. The warrior need not be the social expression of religion, the warrior-priest need not be the normal institution of early societies, and in any case the priest need not take part in politics to regenerate religious and social ideas (p. 47). The predominance of the contemplative religion in India implied the non-political character of the priest whose power lay in his very detachment. The Dravidian intermingling, the increasing complexity of the sacrifice and the consequent institution of sacerdotal apprenticeship, the settling down of the nomadic Aryas in certain tracts and the consequent reduction of the king to a figure-head—conditions suggested by the author to explain the 'tremendous dominion of the priest'—would at best explain the increasing segregation of the priest-caste but not its comparative influence. The real quarrel apparently should be why the religious function was taken to be at all so important by the community.

Like subjectivity, objectivity also appears to have been misconceived. In the chapter on Vedism, occurs the remark, 'the Rig-veda hymns had in them very little of direct, warm, and vital experience: they were ritualistic, practical and wholly utilitarian' (p. 20). The warm experience here apparently means subjective feeling. That the religion was objective is readily admitted: spirituality was of the form of actual sacrifice. The epithets practical and utilitarian appear, however, to be utterly inappropriate. The division between natural and spiritual life had not yet emerged though life was none the less spiritual, its significance lying in the sacrifice. The sacrificer was not ashamed to ask for the good things of life but they were to be received as gifts from the gods. The efficacy of sacrifice was indeed unquestioningly accepted but it was in no sense a *means* or 'conscious tool' to be appropriated by the merely secular will. The practical or utilitarian attitude would imply the employment of means—natural or magical—with a worldly motive. But the idea of flattering the gods, of cheating them into making gifts is entirely foreign here. Sacrifice meant adoration and not flattery or clever mendicancy—a distinction wantonly ignored in modern 'scientific' studies of ancient religions—adoration of gods conceived in terms of sublime power or wisdom or goodness—all as objectively real and not as luxuries of subjective reflection. The gifts prayed for—strength or life or sinlessness—were themselves

conceived as sacred, not good things of the world in our sense but things which gods only could give.

Spirituality was of the form of objective sacrifice but this objectivity is perversely misjudged. 'The gods were to be appeased rather than revered. To give them food, drink, and flattery was better than to be good. In fact this was the only good that the Hindus knew; no recognition was granted to the spirit and intention of the act. The consequence alone was the conscious problem (p. 21). One might have expected at least a better appreciation of the ethical unity of the consequence and motive. Objective morality is not necessarily utilitarian: to pursue consequences is quite compatible with a spiritual motive, though it may be subjectively undistinguished. Experience in fact in which object and subject have not yet been distinguished is not merely objective in the practical sense: without being subjective, it may yet be spiritual in the contemplative sense. The division of the spirit is after all only a natural necessity, a human tragedy which is not in itself a merit. The degree of division is no measure of the depth of spirituality.

The contemplative experience of natural purity or defilement may be of all degrees of reality or depth without being subjective. The laying bare of subjectivity, of what is called 'spirit and intention' is only an accident of spirituality which may make alike for realisation or inanity. There is no particular merit in the feeling of sin in the subjective sense. The propitiation of the gods, it must be remembered, was a sacrifice and not merely an offering. It was a propitiation for sin in the objective spiritual sense. The element of self-surrender in sacrifice is apparently ignored by the author both in the chapter on the theory of sacrifice and elsewhere. Attention is drawn in that chapter more to the increase of communal or spiritual life achieved by sacrifice than to the other necessary element, viz., renunciation, the symbolic self-purification and self-killing. That sacrifice was a killing of the god to renovate the god is indeed recognised but the significance of the god killed is not brought out. The sacrificer purifies his defiled objective self and offers it as purified to the gods to have it renewed or sanctified. The depth or reality of the renunciation need not suffer because it is objective.

That the author's view of objectivity does not work appears in her own admission: 'While the Rig-Veda is thoroughly objective in its earlier portion, there is much that is mystical and unintelligible, portentous of undefined problems and half-conscious of the ineffectiveness of the Vedic religious system' (p. 21). The unintelligibility would be largely relieved if objective adoration and sacrifice be admitted to be throughout spiritual and not 'practical and utilitarian.' There is no question of 'ineffectiveness' of the system here: the same spirituality was

only passing from the objective to the subjective. The need was being felt to adapt the religion to a division of the spirit that was inevitably coming. There is no discontinuity in this inwardising movement: it was but an adaptation of the Vedic spirit to the natural emergence of subjectivity. One can trace this continuous adaptation of the spiritual to the natural or secular order down to what is called ritualistic and philosophical Brahmanism. The growth of the conception of *Brahman* and of the monistic tendency and the deification of the sacrifice itself are arbitrarily understood by the author as a degenerative process, as a shrivelling up of spiritual content; the emergence of the conception of *atman* is taken to mark a recoil of self-expression and the identification of *atman* and *Brahman* is supposed to have choked this nascent movement. The truth seems to be that with inevitable changes in the secular or historical life, there came a subjectivising abstraction, an 'undefining' transformation of nature on the one hand and the corresponding discipline for realisation of the subjectivity on the other. The emergence of the conceptions of the subjective *Brahman* and *atman* marks the operation of one and the same undefining activity directed to the cosmos and the body respectively; and the formula 'That art thou' indicates just the spiritual discipline adapted to this subjectivity. Subjectivity is here to be understood as at once a contemplative undefining of objective distinctions and the spiritual fixation or realisation of this indefinite. The spiritual fixation for the individual meant on the social side a reconstruction, understood in the Brahmanical sense, adaptation of the old spirit to new and it may be, fallen times—not creation of new institutions by iconoclasm but the re-investment of a naturally changed society with the eternal ancient spirit of religion.

The nature of the undefining abstraction requires to be cleared up. There is difference between contemplative or aesthetic abstraction and practical or scientific abstraction. The withdrawal from the concrete is in both an undefining movement and is conditioned by striking relations within the concrete. In scientific abstraction, the withdrawal is for the practical handling of a more extended objectivity: the analysis is for the construction of a comprehensive concept. In contemplative abstraction, the content is undefined to be envisaged as a deeper reality, not to be applied to a wider objective range. The undefining means *eo ipso* a

spread which is redefined either externally or internally, either by a comprehensive grasp of the distinct concretes as related or by an inwardising stabilisation of the abstraction-nucleus, whether as truth or value or reality. It is this latter movement that has led to the emergence of the pantheistic gods—Vedic and post-Vedic. The lack of individualisation in the Hindu gods means lack of external, not internal definition. With each perception of secular differentiation, there emerge a further internalisation of the nucleus and a wider pantheistic spread. Cosmic life, the sacrificial ceremonial, and the sacrificer thus get respectively internalised and spread out through continuous stages into *Brahman* as the one presence, the word as its pervading symbol, and the *atman* behind all grades of the body, which realises the identity.

The significance of the doctrine of *atman* is misunderstood by the author. There is no special reason for regarding it as a revolt against pantheism, as a hopeful reconstruction that was arrested by the Brahmanical doctrine of *Brahman* and sacrifice. In one sense, every deepening or inwardising is a revolt, an unsettling of the abstraction-nucleus for contemplation. At every stage of it there comes a conflict with those who would not push forward to the inner vision, adapt the old spirit to the new secular division. The conception of *atman* represents an undefining, not a reconstruction but an analysis or division; and the realisation of it as one with *Brahman* is the adaptive reconstruction. The new discipline is a continuation of the old spirit of sacrifice but is none the less opposed by those who cling to objective spirituality and would not recognise the demand of the times. It is thus that one understands the conflict between ceremonial religion and subjective realisation. The contempt for *yajna* sometimes expressed in the Upanisads, their emphasis on knowledge and subjective life, and the philosophical recognition of continuity and discontinuity alike between outer and inner life, between works ceremonial and moral on the one hand and *mukti* or absolute freedom of the subject on the other are all intelligible in this light. The continuity is in the efficacy of works to destroy the illusion that comes through the desiring identification with the object and the discontinuity is in the final lapsing of time for the individual which all *mukti* implies, freedom being in no Indian system taken as mere *result* continuously appropriated by the will before it.

KRISHNACHANDRA BHATTACHARYA.

CONFLICT OF ECONOMIC TYPES AND REGIONS

CASES OF CONFLICTING TYPES.

WE shall here trace the influence of one economic region or type over another when these are brought into contact and collision by the incidents of political history. Here we may suppose different conjunctures. There may be such a case of conflict when a type with a higher standard of productive efficiency or consumption breaks in upon another region with a relatively low standard, as in the political encroachments of the whites on the yellow, brown and black races in the Asiatic and African continents. Or again, there may be an economic friction and collision with a lower scale of wants and of productivity when an economic type is by reason of indentured or free labour emigration, imported into an economic world with higher standards in these respects. In the early stage of a plantation for example, where arid wastes inhospitable for reasons of heat, moisture and miasma to white labour have to be converted into smiling pastures and agricultural settlements, or where forms of labour such as work in mines, sugar-cane and tobacco plantations, do not suit the white settlers, coloured labour, more adapted for climatic and social reasons, is employed and sometimes forcibly, for the economic development of the region, very often by political and international action. Later, as the settlement grows, the descendants of the early white settlers are compelled by economic pressure to take to the forms of labour, agricultural, mining or industrial, which gradually spring up while succeeding generations of coloured labour also gradually and naturally overflow its old limits.

ECONOMIC DISTURBANCE RESULTING FROM CONFLICT.

When, in either of these ways, two economic types are made to face each other, the conflict arising out of the difference in their economic levels may be twofold. In the first case, where the more complex economic type invades the less complex one, there is among the people so invaded an artificial raising of the standard of consumption which is incommensurate with the lower producti-

vity of the indigenous economic type, resulting in widespread economic disturbance, as expressed in the pressure on the subsistence limit, declining vitality and population.

THE CASE OF INDIA.

Higher productivity, with its accompaniment of more efficient business organisation, enables the foreign type to exploit agricultural and mineral resources, to disorganise if not to kill the indigenous forms of industry, and more and more of the land and labour of the country, more and more of its assets come to be mortgaged, as it were, to meet the claims of the foreign capitalist, entrepreneur or trader. The crucial test for a people in such an economic situation is to find out a new level of consumption and productivity, which with the help of its natural adaptation to the region will enable it to hold its own and overcome the intrusion, and thus to reach an economic equilibrium. Such is the economic struggle for existence which by the conflict of different levels, and the disturbance of the customary adaptation of old economic habits and institutions, is well calculated to secure the economic evolution of a people if it has sufficient vitality and resisting power to meet the situation. India with the natural advantages of her people in respect of calories, low nitrogenous subsistence and climatic adaptation, her cheap and multiplied labour, the fertility of soil, and the continental variety of her natural resources, as well as the strong endowment of co-operative and communal instincts of her people, may be expected to attain this equilibrium in the end even under conditions of free and open competition. In this process India in contact with the economic organisation of the West will gain in a freer and fuller sense of the individual's right to live, to grow and to get the best out of his own life, as well as in a free and consciously organised ethical custom by which the individual, freed from a regime of mechanical routine, will find himself a new and in ever fuller measure in the life of the group and the community. India will also gain in material efficiency by evolving more

and more complex forms of economic organisation on a co-operative basis in the conquest and utilisation of her vast resources in prime movers as well as the soil. But while the Indian communalism may gain in these ways in moral as well as material values, it will go counter to the fundamental principles of economic regionalism if she were to lose her temperament, her soul, by forsaking the economic type or order which she has evolved through the ages in adaptation to the genius of her stocks and races and her moral and physical environment. The characteristic features of the Indian communalism, her emphasis on communal as against individual property in the family as well as the village, her attachment to the land and homestead, her co-operative or communal distribution of a share of the income, her co-operative organisation of village life and village economy, her emphasis on co-operative consumption and "social utility," her preference of man to the machine in crafts and workmanship, and, lastly, her strong predilections for human and social values in the scheme of social ethics and ideals,—these are the original and indelible lineaments of India's economic physiognomy. The true theory of comparative economics and of regional evolution demands that the economic type or order should progress along its own lines, preserving its specific organism, though no doubt moving in convergence to the general trend of the world movement in economics.

CONFLICT DUE TO EMIGRANT LABOUR.

In the second case we have supposed the conflict of economic types when, through emigration of labour, stocks and races such as the brown and the yellow are introduced into an environment of a disparate character. Our first supposition related to a case in which the stock of the lower level was adapted to the natural conditions of the environment, and the higher level of efficiency was an intruder more or less unsuited to those conditions. In such a case, ordinarily, the crisis would not arise if it were not for the incidents of political history. We have seen how the economic crisis must be met in such a situation. But where any emigrant labour population of politically weaker stock with less scale of economic consumption and economic productivity finds itself in more highly developed foreign surroundings, it may so happen that the so-called lower scale of efficiency is better

adapted to certain forms of labour, and succeeds in ousting the so-called efficient labour from these fields. The question therefore arises in what sense one stock is more efficient than the other. For example, it may be asked, if the Chinese and the Japanese immigrants in the United States or the Hindu immigrants in Natal, the Transvaal and other South African regions are found to be more successful in agriculture, dairying, fruit-growing, and in certain kinds of shopping, hawking and other varieties of retail trade, why the so-called infallible test of competition in conventional economics should not be applied to these cases, or why, in subversion of the accepted economic creed, the door should be slammed in the face of the emigrant stocks, or the engine of political or municipal power should be so worked as to degrade in civic, social as well as economic status those who have been inveigled into the situation, and used as instruments of the country's advance, but now are discarded as having served their day? The policy of shutting the door in certain latitudes and longitudes and forcing or breaking it open in others can have no justification in economic science. The plea of disturbance of the living standard is available on both sides, there being an unsettlement or maladjustment of the economic standard for each of the parties concerned; and, as to the efficiency of any body of workmen, it has to be judged not in a general reference but in particular forms of labour, provided these are essential to the economic organisation of the country. And if the test of such efficiency be success in competition, any labour corps, white or coloured, which passes this test has or should have an indisputable right to work under equal civic or political conditions according to the received economic doctrine.

THE CASE OF CHINESE LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

After the South African War there was a shortage of unskilled labour all over South Africa, and the work of political and economic reconstruction of the new colonies under Lord Milner, as well as the financial condition of South Africa, were threatened with disaster. Under these circumstances Lord Milner saved South Africa from an economic crisis by the importation of Chinese labour from 1904 to 1906, the average number of indentured Chinese labourers increased from 9,668 to 51,427. In

1907 the Transvaal government, under pressure from the Home government, decided on political grounds to put an end gradually to the employment of Chinese labour. This enforced withdrawal of the 50,000 Chinese labourers inflicted great economic injury. That the gold industry was adversely affected by the repatriation of the Chinese has been generally admitted. In the first place the 50,000 Chinese were more valuable industrially as being more efficient than a corresponding number of African natives, and in the second the labour requirements of the industry were so great that it needed for its unfettered development the Chinese as well as any additional African labour which it could secure. This is the testimony of an English editor of the *Johannesburg Star*, and well brings out the racial bias and colour prejudice that stand in the way of an unarrested economic prosperity in the colonies by disregarding considerations of the efficiency of the labour corps; when it is black or yellow. A similar story can be told about Indian labour in the colonies. We quote here, from the report of the Lord Sanderson Committee on Emigration from India :—

INDIAN INDENTURED LABOUR.

"There can be no doubt that Indian indentured emigration has rendered invaluable service to those of her colonies in which on the emancipation of the Negro race the sugar industry was threatened—with ruin, or in which a supply of steady labour has been required for the development of the colony by methods of work to which the native population is averse. The Indian emigration has had a twofold effect. It has admittedly supplied labour which could not be obtained in sufficient quantities from other sources. But we were also told by some competent witnesses that according to their observation in British Guiana and the West Indies at all events the thrifty and perseverant habits of the Indian immigrant have had an educative effect, perceptible though gradual, on those among whom he has come to live, and that his example and his competition have introduced new habits of industry, and improved methods of agriculture." Thus Sir H. H. Johnston has witnessed that the Indian would do a great deal towards improving African agriculture, for the African as a race has no idea for the use of manure; the Indian is the reverse. He is extraordinarily economical

about land, and will teach the native a good deal in that way. Rice cultivation, for instance, was introduced in British Guiana by the Indians; and the instance can be repeated all over Africa. The report continues: "It is, moreover, generally admitted that the majority of the Indians who remained in the colony after expiration of their indentures, either as small proprietors or as free labourers, prove a valuable addition to the population, and that in the second and third generations many inhabitants of Indian extraction become men of considerable property and attainments. Those who turn to other forms of employment, whether with greater or less success, are also recognised as useful in supplying various needs rendering services from which the other elements of population are more or less averse. In Fiji a certain amount of jealousy of the remarkable success of Indian traders appears to be felt among the European population, and the same feeling no doubt exists in the East Africa Protectorate." The subsequent history of the gradual adoption of unworthy and degrading subterfuges to discourage Indian emigration need not be recounted. About this Lord Curzon said in course of a speech in the House of Lords, February 4, 1908:—"We send him (i. e., the *coolie*) to a colony which he enriches by his labour, and then society here appears to turn round on him as if he were a pariah dog. He is penalised there, not for his vices but for his virtues. It is because he is a sober, industrious, frugal and saving man that he is such a formidable economic danger in the situation. And then the Indian remembers that at any rate in a large number of cases he has fought for the British Empire in South Africa and that it was largely owing to his efforts that Natal was saved."

UNSETTLED PROBLEMS OF IMPORTED LABOUR.

The principle of competition, indeed, breaks down in such a tangle of political and economic interests. The argument that is usually advanced is that the higher standard of consumption must be maintained at any cost in the interests of stock improvement for social and moral reasons. These non-economic considerations are no doubt legitimate and fundamental. But a community of larger consumption and greater quantitative production is not necessarily a desirable community, for it may mean wasteful

consumers and joyless mechanical producers. What is essential is: (1) in an economic sense the surplus productivity and not the scale of productivity or of consumption as such and (2) in a more comprehensive point of view including economic as well as ethical considerations, the surplus production of value in terms of happiness, qualitative as well as quantitative. In considering the economic surplus, any natural advantages of a tropical or semi-tropical people in store of calories, in the dark pigmentation of the skin and iris regarded as a protection against heat, light, and actinic rays, or in continuous discharges of cell energy though at a slower rate, in the adaptative distribution of sebaceous or other secretive glands, in lower level of proteid metabolism for the maintenance of health and efficiency, or it may be other forms of adaptation to the soil and climate, must be counted in its favour no less than there must be reckoned, on the other side, the advantages of inhabitants of temperate or cold climates in respect of physical hardihood and length of life, a toned up constitution, with capacity for spurts and explosive cell-discharges often due to a higher nitrogenous diet, resulting in high-pressure short-time work of a concentrated and strenuous character. A credit and debit account is not so very easy if we proceed to judge by whole circles of latitude and longitude, the more so as different stocks vary in powers of acclimatisation (including immunisation from disease), natural as well as acquired. For example, as a rule tropical and semi-tropical people stand cold climates better than inhabitants of the latter bear the tropical heat, and this for physiological reasons. But the whole subject of acclimatisation has to be scientifically investigated from the economist's point of view and it will be the business of comparative economics to apply the conclusions that may be established by such an investigation. The proneness to certain diseases has been well known to be a serious obstacle to the white man's expansion in tropical and semi-tropical regions. Sometimes it is brain-trouble as in Uganda, sometimes enteric as in India and brain-trouble too or sometimes dysentery as in Ceylon. And geophagy in its civilised form is as great a scourge as the Negro's trypanosome. The capacity for resisting specific climatic changes should be investigated for each of the migrating and colonising races. Comparative economics must then apply the conclusions which

rest upon the more fundamental basis of ethnological and geographical fact rather than upon political status or stages of economic development. Broadly speaking, the unsuitability of climate or the presence of a large and settled population ought to mark the limits of an economic exploitation by the white population, while the exploitation of sparsely populated and entirely undeveloped countries, such as vast areas in Mesopotamia, Natal, Central and East Africa, Central Australia, the interior of British Guiana, and of Borneo and New Guinea, should be left to those Asiatics or Polynesians that are migratory and colonising and are well-adapted to a permanent establishment for climatic and other reasons.

DIFFERENTIAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING WAGES.

A cognate consideration of even greater significance is that there are, as we have seen, different levels of efficient metabolism in different regions and among different ethnic stocks, and that consequently the physiological condition of wages involved in recuperation and efficient subsistence which thus varies in different stocks must be regarded as giving rise to differential natural advantages as between stock and stock, which are governing factors of the economic conflict between the economic types and economic regions. An artificial raising of the standard of wages in the torrid zone due to a fancied physiological demand of the white labourer is as much a case of wasteful and unproductive consumptions as an artificial depression of the standard in cold climates by tropical immigrants is an instance of inefficient subsistence.

SHORT-SIGHTED COLONIAL POLICIES.

The key to the solution of this vexed inter-racial and inter-regional economic conflict is to be found only in comparative economics. Appealing to the gospel of free and open competition for purposes of exploitation and wielding a two-handed engine which by the right hand forces the door open for the Westerner in the East and by the left hand shuts it forcibly against the Easterner in the West is not quite worthy of those who claim to be in the vanguard of civilisation. The gospel of the Super-man and the Super-race to inherit the earth and enjoy the fruits thereof, which would alone justify this course would bring

the world to a greater crisis than the recent Armageddon.

Ring-fences have been put round Australia, and Canada, South Africa and New Zealand; the discrimination has already proved to be a source of great irritation: and, in the case of South and East Africa, even the most level-headed men hold the strongest opinion as to the unwisdom of the displacement of local indigenous labour under the circumstances of the case and the inequity of the regulations that have been passed imposing a colour bar against Indians. About "the white Australia" I cite an American witness: "Australia is following a policy that ignores to some extent natural and economic laws. The government would redeem a virgin and tropical wilderness by Saxon labour and domicile within the torrid zone a race of workers whose physiological adjustments have fitted them for colder climates. But Australia must meet the facts that tropical industries are at present conducted by processes requiring cheap labour and that world-wide competition, from which no country can escape, has fixed the wage of the labourer in the torrid zone far below that required by Caucasian workers. The fringe of continent which the Commonwealth possesses, bending far north toward the equator, still awaits the pioneer. As its capacities are tested and its resources advertised, the demand for its development will become more insistent." Indeed, the growing demand that the modern world makes on the special products of the tropics—sugar, tea, cocoa, tobacco, caoutchouc, cotton, etc.—is so exigent, that international economy and justice would insist, as comparative economics seeks to do, that no nation can lock up in perpetual reserve large tracts of productive territory.

THE IMPOLICY OF COLONIAL COLOUR PREJUDICE.

To neglect material resources is to forfeit them. A very large part of the island continent is not even explored, but recent exploration seems to show that the interior of the continent is not such a desert waste as it has often been described to be. Exploration on a great scale is urgently needed. The whole island must be opened up by transcontinental railways and the rainless districts be supplied with water under all conditions. But the population of Australia is yet small. It is settled only upon the outer rim. Indeed, even

the outer rim is not settled, as, for example, is shown by the condition of the northern territory. The total population of Australia was only 4½ millions, against the 312 millions of India, which does not very greatly exceed Australia in size. These figures will explain the reason why the West Australian premier stated that Australia must either settle her unoccupied territories or she will be deprived of them.* Again, the distribution of population is not equable at all, and the evils have gone far of congested town life and deserted rural districts.

A comprehensive transcontinental scheme of railways and irrigation, however, cannot be undertaken until population has grown considerably and much more wealth than now exists accumulates. But the "White Australia" policy checks the settlement and cultivation of Australia, which would be immensely expedited if the people were willing to admit coloured labourers. The sugar industry in Queensland was founded and carried to prosperity by the employment of indentured coloured labourers, and at one time it seemed probable that the extremely hot parts—that is the northern portion—where there are exceedingly few whites and very probably always will be very few whites, would be largely populated by coloured people. Opinion, however, has now entirely declared against that, and the labourers on the sugar estates are being gradually got rid of. Indeed, the decision goes very much farther. It is that the coloured people of all races, and all stages of civilisation are to be excluded. The decision, in fact, excludes both Indians and Japanese.

For the present Japan is busily engaged in Japanising Korea and in colonising Hokkaido; yet she is feeling very much the need of new outlets for her surplus population. Japan with her meagre territorial extent and rapidly growing trade and population regards as an insult the exclusion of her people from a British territory. Will the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, then, be able to continue if this policy is maintained? Nay more, is it not possible that Japanese feeling may become anti-British if the Japanese, in spite of their active co-operation in the great war, are branded as undesirable settlers with many other Asian peoples and must be excluded altogether from Australia, New

* Lloyd—*Theory of Distribution and Consumption*, Chapter XLII.

Zealand, Canada and from the United States? In India also there is strong feeling because of the exclusion of Indians from the self-governing portions of the British Empire, and from the United States of America. At present the feeling is especially against exclusion from South and East Africa; because Africa has been a land of settlement for Indians from time immemorial, and because, owing to the gold mines and the recruitment of *coolis* from India, there had grown up a very considerable Indian settlement. The co-operation of Japan and India and of the component parts of the British Empire in the battlefields of Europe and Asia has spelt the death of an exclusive policy which has hitherto been regarded as an insult as well as a grievance. In the South African war it was decided that no coloured man of any kind was to take part in it—even Indian soldiers of the Crown were to be excluded. This policy was abandoned in the European war, and thus it will be altogether wrong and inconsistent to allow the colour prejudice to stand against the equitable settlement of the post-war problems of emigration and tropical reconstruction, apart from the fact that the colour prejudice cannot commend itself to the moral sense of civilised humanity and is incompatible with the lasting peace of the world and the harmonious development of its resources in men and raw materials. India could send her troops to the front at the time of the Empire's greatest need, when South Africa, where Indians have received a singularly ignoble treatment, not only could not send any aid but was causing grave anxiety as the centre of a formidable rebellion. It is inevitable that the policy of South Africa and the wrongs done to Indians who are immigrants and who have already settled must go. Similarly, the services rendered by Japan in the war must imply the definite abandonment of the attitude of suspicion towards and distrust of Japan manifest in Canada and Australasia. The great response made by India and Japan to the necessities of the war situation renders it obvious that the claims of the Indian and Japanese labourer, capitalist or trader within the limits at least of the British Empire must be recognised in return; and unless the right of free and undisputed entry is acceded to them, one great advantage of the war in facilitating the progress towards the consolidation of the smaller federation called the British Empire will be lost. Of

course, the introduction of aliens, whose wages must be lower owing to their temperate habits and their abstention from beef and beer, must not be allowed to bring about economic suicide; thus, protective measures should be adopted, but not of the unworthy type which have hitherto received the sanction or even encouragement of the Imperial government.

BEGINNING OF IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY.

The Imperial Conference accepted in 1917 the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recognised the right of the Government of India to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit the mother country. In the League of Nations, of which the British Empire is said to be but a precursor, many an old colonial interest and prejudice will have to give way to a more liberal conception of the rights and interests of the component parts of the Empire.

UNITED STATES EXCLUSION POLICY.

As regards other powers in the West, the United States have excluded the Chinese from their shores by special enactments of Congress. The Japanese labourers since 1907 have also been kept at arm's length by an informal agreement between Washington and Tokyo popularly called the "gentleman's agreement." The circle of exclusion has been deepened and widened by an arbitrary geographical boundary line fixed by the Immigration Law of the United States, 1917, which prohibits from entrance into United States the people of India, Indo-China, Siam, New Guinea, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, but which leaves untouched the people of Africa, the greater part of Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Northern Asian regions as well as the Philippine Islands. To include or exclude peoples by means of a line on the map is at once arbitrary and unreasonable. Japan has all along vigorously protested against the exclusion law of 1917 and secured changes to suit her. Both in America and the British Colonies the few Japanese that are permitted to live have to submit to vexatious restrictions in regard to land and therefore are deprived of full liberty in regard to natural development and prosperity. At the Peace Conference her demand was pressed more vigor-

ously than ever that racial discriminations and restrictions should not be practised any more and be dropped forthwith. The time has indeed certainly come when race or colour prejudice should not stand in the way of an equitable, scientific and consistent arrangement regarding the inter-national and inter-regional distribution of labour and industry for the efficient utilisation of the world's resources in labour and raw materials. Scientific humanitarianism ought to forestall in every field the operation of force and the might of arms in the solution of the vexed problem of oriental migration.* Enlarging the markets and spheres of influence by every possible means in the Far East, and denying economic opportunities and legitimate rights to the Asians in the West, are at once harmful and invidious and have raised difficult issues which should be solved sooner or later. So long as racial discriminatory treatment in international intercourse persists, all peace conferences, leagues and federations will be as houses built on sands and no true peace can be hoped for.

TOWARDS ECONOMIC FEDERATION.

The economic federation, of which we shall presently speak, will govern the distribution of labour and the utilisation of natural resources on the surface of the globe so as to yield the maximum service for mankind at large while affording opportunities of vital development to every particular people or region in and through that service. Such a federal

* Even among the Japanese themselves, writes a Japanese publicist, there is a good deal of divergence between popular and official opinion on such questions. What the ruling classes would like is to have Japan given a free hand in East Asia in return for her withdrawal of all demand for unrestricted emigration in English-speaking lands, which is possibly the real meaning of the request for a Monroe doctrine for Asia. But the masses of Japanese, whose poverty looks out on the high wages of British and American labour with envy, do not want to be turned towards China, Korea and Siberia as prospective emigration fields. Obviously it will take the Japanese centuries to become inured to the northern winter. They naturally prefer the warmer and richer labour regions of the Pacific; they yearn for a semi-tropical clime like California or North Australia and the islands of the Pacific. Consequently if fate drove them northwards, their progress might indefinitely be stayed, as witness the effect on the yellow races of Russia and North America. But official policy pays little heed to science or anthropology. It has to work in the direction of least resistance, and is convinced that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

policy will make the Australian void and the African wilderness as much of an economic impossibility as a vacuum in nature. Nature abhors a vacuum in every sense. And the federal distribution of industries, labour and capital among different peoples and regions for the maximum utilisation of material human resources has been brought to our very doors as a pressing practical problem requiring solution immediately after the war, and though at first such an understanding may be confined to imperial economic unions and zollvereins separated from one another, this cannot be final but must lead on to an economic federation of the world which may come even earlier than the League of Nations or the World-State.

RACE RECONCILIATION THROUGH FEDERATION.

But racial antagonisms die hard. These exclusive tendencies have erected tariff walls and propose to build up close commercial leagues and zollvereins in the near future. The herd instinct, as we have seen, has been the mother of many an experiment in social grouping and solidarity, but one of its more early manifestations—the animal instinct of preying in packs and herds—has died hard, and is now apt to be resuscitated as a ghost that stalks abroad in the highways of commercial exploitation and international tariff warfare. The reconciliation of the conflicting inter-racial claims must be sought, as the new science of comparative economics goes to show, in an economic federation of humanity based on the claims of each economic type or region which has evolved by mutual adaptation of its stock and clime, and will so continue to evolve along its own lines. Such a natural adaptation can alone secure to every progressive type or race,—given only free opportunities for economic growth, self-expression and the pursuit of its own scheme of life values,—the highest surplus productivity in an economic sense and the highest surplus production of human and social values in terms of happiness, qualitative as well as quantitative. Comparative economics, however, furnishes no foundation for the exclusive and mutually hostile delimitation of economic regions or for economic self-sufficiency or self-centeredness, because, more than any other economic system or method, comparative economics emphasises the mutual interdependence and

complementariness of the various divisions and zones of the world, which but represent and embody the physical and psychical phases of one great order.

UNFOLDING OF WORLD ECONOMICS.

The physical and biological unity of the earth as embracing different geological, botanical and zoological regions and zones, and the psychical unity of man as embracing different racial temperaments and ethnic values, have made human history one, though it is a web of diverse threads and diverse colours; and, similarly, the history of man's economic activity, both in the utilisation of natural resources and the construction of economic structures and organisations, shows the same phenomenon of one broad dynamic movement comprehending diverse or multilinear series in diverse economic regions and zones. There has been an iron and steel age, for example, followed throughout the world by team and now by electricity. There has also been an age of guilds and factories followed by an age of trade-unions and combines, of co-operative and communalistic experiments. Consumption is following the same general trend amongst thriving peoples throughout the world. From material and sensuous to intellectual and social wants, the progressive expansion and deepening of wants show the unfolding of a common pattern. In exchange also there has been the regime of barter and industrial economy, followed by money and exchange economy with developments of banking and credit, and similar other forms and structures throughout the world. In relation to land, there has been an evolution from communal to individual ownership, and then from peasant proprietorship to the feudal system or other type of landlordism; or again from the village to the city,—an evolution which is now turning its course towards experiments in state or communalistic ownership and towards the garden city, implying the ruralisation of the city and the urbanisation of the village. And yet it is only through specific adaptation and regional differentiation, based upon the special and distinctive natural resources as well as human gifts of different regions and stocks, that the general course of economic evolution can accomplish itself. It is for this reason that the loss or suppression of any particular thoroughbred economic type, which has been the historic expression of the needs

and instincts, of the physiognomy of any great people or culture, must mean a disruption or a solution of continuity in the body economic of man and inflict loss on humanity as a whole. The recuperative processes of economic evolution would slowly re-evolve, with proper modifications, the economic type which the particular geographical and cultural environment requires for progressive adaptation, and thus painfully heal the wound in the centuries to come. Every such region or type has a place of its own which none other can fill in the human economy, and it must utilise to the full its natural products and human potentialities for its own maintenance and development as well as for the service of the world at large. A world scheme of the distribution of the products necessitates an international division of labour and distribution of occupations. The economic conflict can never be solved by trusting to narrow protectionism or to blind competition for a sound scientific geographical distribution of industries and manufactures. With an economic federation of the world when the various states and regions will be organised in the pursuit of the common good of humanity as a particular national economy is now organised for the fulness and enrichment of the national life, the delimitation of production and consumption by tariff walls and exclusive monopolies of commercial rights and privileges will come to be regarded as a blind, haphazard and wasteful method which destroys the patrimony of the race and reduces the fund of enjoyment for each and for all. As we have seen in discussing social utility and social consumption the fundamental principle of such utility and consumption is that the enjoyment is multiplied in the sharing of it. And this will apply not merely to social utility in the sphere of congregate individual life but also to social utility in the congregate life of nations, or in international life and consumption. It is thus an imperative demand of social consumption that different peoples and nations help one another in the creation and increase of common values for common disinterested enjoyment. This is the verdict of the science of economics building on the bed-rock of physical and physiological fact, and the statification and distribution of human instincts and social values worked up in multiform regional types and orders in the economic evolution of the race. Neither the abstract doctrinarianism

of an *a priori* deductive economics, from Ricardo and Mill to Marshall and Pigou nor the equally abstract classifications of a self-styled historical school, from the empiricism of Vico and Montesquieu to the nationalism of List and Roscher; neither the law of nature, nor the law of nations; neither the arbitrary conventions of international jurists, nor the pacific gospel of an international credit or commerce; neither the feverish hope of a hunger-born socialism, nor the siren lure of commercial leagues or zollvereins, will make for a permanent settlement of a world distracted by the conflicting claims of armed hostile camps into which the nations stand divided to-day. The problems of a scientific civilisation cannot be solved without a recourse

to the methods of science. It is only the new vision of a cosmic humanism re-reading the story of man's life and of man's history on earth and building on a scientific study of the biological and sociological forces which have been the originating conditions of the great historical types and regional cultures that can hope to grapple successfully with the vexed problems of inter-racial and inter-regional conflict, and direct and control the course of inter-racial co-operation and conscious organised selection in the evolution of a universal humanity.

This is a chapter from the author's forthcoming work, "Principles of Comparative Economics" to be published by P. S. King & Son.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

I. CASHMERE: THREE WEEKS IN A HOUSE-BOAT.
By A. Petrocockino, F. R. G. S., (Longmans Green & Co., 6s. net).

Even the restless spirit of Shelley's Alastor found some peace in the beautiful valley of Cashmere:

Till in the vale of Cashmere, far within
Its loneliest dell, where odorous plants entwine
Beneath the hollow rocks a natural power,
Beside a sparkling rivulet he stretched
His languid limbs.

It is no wonder that this beauty-spot of the earth of which India may well be proud, has attracted through the centuries, the attention of the poet and the Romance writer and the tourist and the holiday maker. Within the last few decades numerous descriptive sketches and guide-books have appeared on this part of our land and Mr. Petrocockino adds a very useful contribution to this mass of literature. The book is just what its title indicates and no more, *Three Weeks in a Houseboat*, giving a detailed description of life in the house-boat in the course of the writer's holiday in that haven of peace, away from the turmoil of life on the plains. He does not cater to the student of aesthetics and go into raptures over its beautiful natural scenery or burst into poetry with Moore:

Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave.

His is the humbler role of a guide to the traveller, giving him such information as will help him to make his journey in comfort and such warnings as may prove useful to him in avoiding some of the experiences he himself has had. As for beauties of natural scenery, and memorials of antiquity scattered over the land, he

does make mention of them in brief, but without obtruding himself on your attention, especially as he expects you to see them with your own eyes, when you make up your mind to visit the country and not be content with looking through the spectacles of books. There is no attempt at writing in the manner of Ruskin's glowing descriptions of Alpine scenery, the volume is nearer an ampler model of the guide books of Baedeker and Murray. The august royal personages of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* are not paraded on its stage, nor do we behold the shadow of the Moghul Emperors who revelled there in summer with the dark-eyed beauties of their harem, but who will say that the book is not useful? In fact, it is of much greater use to the traveller than many a literary appreciation of Kashmir we have had, one or two of them appearing this very season. You are told exactly where to engage your boat and servants; how to deal with the pedlars and hawkers who will swarm round you; what it will cost per month on the average to live in Cashmere and so on. You are warned that when you write or telegraph to Srinagar you must add 'Cashmere,' as there are other Srinagars in India and that you must carry a supply of the most essential medicines with you, as chemists are available only at Srinagar and possibly at Gulmarg but not up country. These may appear trifles, but the neglect of any one of such precautions might easily spoil the most pleasant of holidays. A number of beautiful illustrations enhance the value of the book and the book must be considered a marvel of cheapness in these days of costly publications. We have no doubt that the volume will, as the writer hopes, induce at least some of its readers to take a trip they will never regret.

II. SONGS OF THE SEA. By C. R. Das and Aurobindo Ghose (Ganesh & Co., Madras, Re. 1.)

A hundred strains of soundless music lie awake
And the eternal silence of a thousand songs ;

FLOAT.

Asamayama lifts a quivering lip
And breathes his heart's wild hell in heaven's face ;

Old angers round his mouth have left their trace,
Chained passion shakes him like a labouring whip
And scars his flesh, that falls from humble grace,
Vexed that his unrepentant pride's red mace
Calls ash and cinders only to his scrip.

IV. MY RECOLLECTIONS OF BOMBAY, 1860-1875.
By Sir D. E. Wacha (*The India Newspaper Co., Ltd.*,
Rs. 3/-)

Rudyard Kipling does not suffer from any excess of fondness for things Indian, but he is proud of his birth in the city of Bombay and has in his dedicatory lines to his *Seven Seas*:

Surely in toil or fray
Under an alien sky,
Comfort it is to say
Of no mean city am I;
Neither by service nor fee
Come I to mine estate,—
Mother of cities to me,
For I was born in her gate,
Between the palms and the sea,
Where the world-end steamers wait.

How much more should be the fascination exercised by the city on a veteran Indian born and brought up in its surroundings and having to his credit distinguished civic work in the place extending over nearly half a century. Sir Dinshaw narrates the story of the development of the great city from the times he began to know it well, when the mail came from England once in two months and there was no time fixed even for inland postal clearances and deliveries, the streets were lighted with dim oil-lamps and *bhisties* drew water from wells on the way-side for all the needs of the city. The account will be read with interest not only by the residents of Bombay and those associated with the city, but even by the general reader as a vivid account of the development of a great modern centre of urban life. Every little parish in England has got its history explored by the diligent student and here is yet another branch of patriotic research in which very little has been done as yet in this country. We hope Sir Dinshaw will continue the account in later volumes and do for the city what Col. Love's magnificent series of volumes on the *Vestiges of Old Madras* have done for the Southern Capital and in a smaller measure Mr. Busteed and others for Calcutta. Here is work well-worthy of emulation by the younger generation of our educated countrymen.

P. SESHADRI.

THE MORAL DRAMA OF THE WORLD. By Ambica Charan Mitra, M. A., Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University. Published by J. C. Ghose for S. K. Lahiri & Co. Calcutta. Pp. 101. Price Re. 1-8.

The author has "tried to present before the reader a perspective of the world from the moral standpoint as distinguished from other perspectives from other standpoints."

The book is divided into three parts, each part being subdivided into three chapters. The first part which is called 'Introduction' discusses the following subjects:—(i) The world as a systematic whole; (ii) Fact and Fiction; and (iii) Place of man in the Universe.

The name of the second part is "Conditions of Human Life," and it contains three parts under the

following heads:—(iv) Physical conditions, (v) Mental conditions and (vi) Moral conditions.

The name of the third part is "The Moral Administration of the World" which is the principal topic of the book. In this book the author discusses the following subjects:—The Moral Constitution of Man (chap. vii); The Environment (chap. viii); and Metaphysical Implication of Moral Administration (e. g., Faith in the Super-sensuous, Theism and Pantheism, Future Life, etc.).

The book is meant for the general reader and is written in a simple non-technical language. The book is well written and well illustrated by apt poetical quotations. It is recommended to the general reader.

THE ORGANISATION AND CURRICULA OF SCHOOLS. By W. G. Sleight, M.A., D. Litt. Published by Edward Arnold (Agents Longmans, Green & Co.). Pp. 264. Price 6 s.

This volume belongs to the Modern Educator's Library edited by Prof. A. A. Cock.

The book contains an introduction and 13 chapters under the following headings:—(i) Elementary Education. (ii) Higher Education. (iii) Buildings, Furniture and Equipment. (iv) Principles of the Curriculum—Elementary Schools. (v) The Curriculum—Elementary. (vi) The Flexible Curriculum. (vii) & (viii) Curricula of Secondary Schools. (ix) The Elementary School-Time-Tables. (x) Other Elements of School Organisation. (xi) School Government. (xii) Other Systems and Types of Schools. (xiii) Organisation and Curricula under the Act of 1918. These are followed by Bibliography and Index.

The book is intended mainly for the teachers of England but it will prove useful to the teachers of our country also. The chapters on the curricula and time-tables are very important and should be studied by our teachers and time-table constructors.

A NEW GEOGRAPHY OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, MYSORE STATE AND COORG. By C. Morrison, LL. B. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. London. Pp. 82. Demy quarto. Price One Rupee.

There are 12 full page maps (not coloured) of the Presidency showing (1) physical features (twice). (2) average rainfall, (3) irrigated areas and the rivers that water them, (4) chief crops and forested areas; (5) distribution of population, (6) chief languages, (7) the districts of the Presidency, (8) Railways, (9) the position of Mysore State and Coorg, their physical features, towns and railways (twice) (10) a bird's eye view of Southern India; two blank maps and three smaller maps of India.

A very good Geography; fit to be introduced into the secondary schools of the Madras Presidency. Strongly recommended. We want similar Geographies of other provinces of India.

THE STUDENT'S ATLAS OF INDIAN HISTORY. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Demy quarto pp. 16. Price annas 12.

Contains 32 maps of India (from Aryavarta in the Vedic age to India in 1920).

A useful publication.

BOOK OF THE GREAT WAR. By Emilie Fewster (with 4 coloured plates and 29 illustrations in the text). Published by Messrs. Longmans Green & Co. Pp. 105.

A brief and popular account of the Great War written in simple English.

THE ETHICS OF MARTINEAU AND IDEALISM. By N. C. Mukerjee, M.A., Professor, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. Pp. 95.

For private circulation only.

The booklet contains five chapters, viz.—(i) Martineau on the Object and Mode of Moral Judgment. (ii) Idealism and the Conception of Law. (iii) Is Martineau's Ethics Individualistic? (iv) Martineau's View of Moral Freedom and Idealism. (v) Idealism and the Validity of the Moral Ideal: the good as self-contradictory. In these chapters the author has tried to synthesise Idealism and Intuitionism.

INTRODUCTION TO THE MESSAGE OF THE XXTH CENTURY. By Panyam Narayan Goud, M.A., B.Sc. (Edin). Printed at the Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore city. Pp. 295.

According to our author the Vedas are treatises on exact sciences. Agni—oxygen; Vayu—hydrogen; Indra—electricity; Rudras—radiations from the radio-active matter; Aswins—the Cathode and Anode rays and so on. "The *Aśwamedha Yajna* misinterpreted as the 'Horse sacrifice' is no other than a grand experiment in which X-ray bulb plays an important part" (page 107).

What has been discovered up to date, was, according to our author, discovered long long ago by the Vedic Rishis.

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF INDIA UNDER THE CROWN (1858—1918). By Professor A.D. Dhopeswarker, M.A., LL. B. Published by Mr. B. J. Vaswani, Luxmi Lodge, Garrihatta, Karachi.

A useful handbook for students; compiled from standard authors.

THE VEDIC PHILOSOPHY OR AN EXPOSITION OF THE SACRED AND MYSTERIOUS MONOSYLLABLE "OM" (A U M). By Haranarayan (Late Home Minister, Kashmir State). Published by the author, Omkara Cottage, Simla. Pp. XLIII + 21. (Second edition, revised and enlarged). Price not known.

The book contains a long introduction (pp. I—XLIII). The remaining part of the book is divided into two parts. In part I, there are 14 chapters. The second part contains: (i) The Mandukya Upanishad with a translation and a commentary in English, and (ii) extracts from other Upanishads bearing on the subject.

Our author finds traces of "A U M" even in the Koran and the Old Testament.

THE HEART OF THE BHAGAVAT-GITA (THE GAEKWAD SERIES IN RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY: III). By Pandit Lingesh Mahabagavat of Kurthoti, Ph. D. (now His Holiness Sri Vidya Sankar Bharati Swami, Jagadguru Sankaracharya of Karvir and Sankeshwar). Published by Professor A. G. Widgery, The College, Baroda. Pp. LIII + 230. Price Rupees two and annas four.

The book contains: (i) Foreword by (Sir) Dr. S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, LL. D. (ii) Preface by Professor A. G. Widgery. (iii) The Heart of the Bhagavat Gita which contains the following Sections: (1) Introductory remarks. (2) The title "Bhagavat Gita". (3)

What is the Bhagavat Gita. (4) Yogasāstra. (5) The Ideal of the Gita. (6) Karma Yoga. (7) Dhyana Yoga. (8) Jnana Yoga. (9) Bhakti Yoga, followed by concluding remarks, Corrigenda and an Index of names.

The Heart of the Bhagavat Gita was accepted by the Oriental University of Washington, U. S. A., as a thesis for the Doctorate of Ph. D.

The main question discussed is—"What is the value of the Gita as a guide to practical life?" The author says:—"According to the Gita there are not two worlds—one of practical life and another of religious life—but there is one undivided life and the truths of philosophy and religion are to be felt and realised here or nowhere." According to the author the Gita is a treatise on Brahma-Vidya and Yoga; and Yoga is an indispensable condition of attaining Brahma-Vidya. The Yoga of Gita is nothing but 'equanimity' and "this definition applies equally to Karma, Dhyana, Jnana and Bhakti."

"This Yoga of equanimity is not to be attained by taking refuge in a jungle from the vicissitudes of life and doing nothing useful. It needs, no doubt, speaking from the standpoint of Dhyana Yoga retirement into solitude not with an aimless discontent but with the express object of investigating the most important problems of life. Then again after the realization, the ideal wise man is described (in the Gita) as spending his life in the very midst of the world."

This pronouncement is very significant specially because it comes from the mouth of Jagadguru Sankaracharya of Karvir and Sankeshwar.

The book is worth reading.

GOODS AND BADS (OUTLINES OF A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE). By Alban G. Widgery, M. A., Cambridge, Professor of Philosophy and of Comparative Study of Religions. The College, Baroda. (The Gaekwad Studies in Religion and Philosophy, XVI.) Published by the author. Pp. XXIV + 318. Price Rs. 5.

The book contains a preface (an open letter to His Highness Maharajah Sayaji Rao Gaekwad), an introduction and six chapters under the following heads: (i) Physical Values, (ii) Intellectual Values, (iii) Aesthetic Values, (iv) Moral Values, (v) Religious Values, (vi) The Good Life: its unity and its attainment.

This book contains the substance of a series of talks and discussions with the Maharajah of Baroda. It formed also the substance of a series of public lectures delivered at the College, Baroda, in August and September, 1919.

The subtitle of the book is "Outlines of a Philosophy of Life." To general readers, the very word "Philosophy" is a bugbear, but they need not be afraid. The book is written in a clear non-technical language. The book is confidently recommended even to non-philosophic readers who will find the book interesting and edifying.

The table of contents will be found very useful as it contains the summary of the principal sections of the book.

THE MEANING AND THE PROBLEM OF PHILOSOPHY (ADVAITIC SERIES No. 1). By G. R. Malkani, M. A. Published by the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, E. Khandesh. Pp. 25. Price As. 6.

According to the author there is no disinterested

knowledge. "Our search after truth is always interested and the greatest interest of man is his own Self.... The end of all philosophy is to seek to know this self." "Advaitism rests upon the solid foundation—the Thing-in-itself which Kant posited in the world outside, but which Advaitism finds in the supreme Self of man, the Atman." The path of knowledge cannot be replaced by devotion or action. "All doing is in ignorance and all seeking and searching is mere folly." "Man becomes truly divine when he knows that he is the Self that is pure knowledge itself, the very form of wholeness, completeness, myself-ness, blissfulness; for there is no 'other' there, no 'not-self' existing by its side. Activity and non-activity are idle terms here, there is no coming, no going, no doing, no non-doing. The Self always remains where It is, pure and always Itself, doing does not draw It away nor non-doing brings It back."

This is the doctrine of Sankara who based his philosophy on the Upanishads.

A BOOK OF PRAYERS WRITTEN FOR USE IN AN INDIAN COLLEGE. Published for private circulation by Messrs. Das Gupta & Co., 54-3 College Street, Calcutta. Pp. 118.

Prayer is a mental attitude of the 'Prayer' towards his God and this attitude may be translated into spoken or written language. But the attitude is the principal thing. The prayer which can be made to order like earthly goods, cannot be that attitude of the 'Prayer.' Even secular poems, if they are to be soulful, cannot be written for others. The Poet writes, because he must write, because he cannot suppress his feelings, because he must give vent to his feelings. His Poem is an outward expression of his inner feelings. His Poem is primarily for his own self and secondarily for others. So with prayer. Your prayer is your attitude. But it may be useful to others. Some may assume your attitude and some may really attain that state.

Most probably our author wrote those prayers for his own self and afterwards they were found to be useful to others also.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS: Volume XXIV, Part i. The *Brahma-vaivarta Puranam—Brahma and Prakriti Khandas* (Nos. 121-126; July to December, 1919). Translated by Rajendranath Sen, M. A., LL. B., Published by Sudhindranath Basu, at the Panini Office, Bhubaneswari Asram, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. vi+269. Price Rs. 6.

Regarding the age and authorship of the Puranas the translator writes:—

"In the concluding portion of the first chapter of the *Brahma Khanda*, it is distinctly stated that the *Brahma Vaivarta Purana* contains 18000 verses composed by Vyasa. Besides there is a preponderance of weight in favor of opinion attributing the authorship of the 18 volumes of the Puranas to Vyasa; and to this view, I am prepared to subscribe with all my heart in consideration of the towering personality of the revered saint and versatility of his genius which is admitted on all hands and tells its own tale. It is therefore, clear that the Puranas must have been written about the same time as the *Mahabharata* and the *Brahma-Sutras*."

But this opinion has been rejected by all competent authorities of modern times. The Puranas could not

have been written by the author of the *Brahma Sutras* or of the *Mahabharata*; nor could one man have written the eighteen Puranas holding divergent and contradictory opinions.

The translation of the book is readable.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH.

A BOOK OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION COMPRISING EXTRACTS FROM THE GITA, THE GOSPEL AND THE QURAN. Printed and published by Messrs. Das Gupta & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 128.

For the better understanding among the followers of the different religious persuasions, it is necessary that they should drink at the fountain-heads of each other's religion. The book under review gives without comment or criticism extracts from the three of the great religious books of the world, from which some idea can be formed of the religions promulgated by them. While we are decidedly against the compulsory teaching of a particular religion in schools and colleges and hence cannot approve of the inclusion of the extracts from the Bible in the list of Text Books for the I. A., I. Sc., and B. A. Examinations of the Calcutta University, we feel no hesitation to recommend such a book for being prescribed a Text Book for schools and colleges. It would have enhanced the value of the book, if it contained some extracts from the Jewish and Buddhist scriptures as well, say some portions of the Genesis, the Book of Job and the Psalms from the Old Testament and some portions of the Dhammapada. However the book as it stands is a useful handbook for all who are interested in Comparative Religion. As the extracts from the Gita, the Gospel and the Quran have been all taken from authentic translations it can be used without any hesitation by Hindus, Christians and Muhammadans alike. Paper and printing are excellent. We only wish that the book had not the few typographical errors that have crept in. The book has been very moderately priced at As. 10 per copy.

MUSHA.

NOT FOR FOOLS. By H. Dennis Bradley, London, Grant Richards Ltd. 1920.

The author is a big London merchant, who has done his bit, by pecuniary contributions and otherwise, to bring the war to a successful issue. The book is a collection of articles which were originally published in the London press as advertisements, for the Press was so censor-ridden that it dare not print his vigorous denunciations in any other shape. The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) comes in for the most frequent criticism. 'Freedom of Speech had been long dead; freedom of thought had been penalised.' The censorship, food profiteering, 'the extravagance and stupidity of autocratic bureaucracy' also get their due meed of censure. In fact the few years of bureaucratic control, which was almost necessary to organise the entire nation for production and prosecution of the war, were too much for the Britisher chafing under the galling restrictions imposed on his liberties. "The Bureaucracy controls everything, except its own obsession to control, which is uncontrollable.....the Bureaucracy has now grown into a colossal army, unproductive, inefficient, uncreative, incompetent, destructive, and a stupendous charge on the country. They are never constructive and always destructive..... What we really need is a Bureaucrat Controller..... If

we do not smash the unlimited power of the Bureaucracy, it will smash us." But because the East is East and West is West, the same Englishman, when he hears that India is growing restive under the all-pervading control of the vastest and most highly organised Bureaucracy that the world has ever known, breaks out into loud praise of the finest Civil Service in the world, and fancies that the Indians must be very peculiar indeed not to appreciate its virtues. The writer wields a trenchant pen and he is very bitter against the old men, 'the valiant tongue-fighters' who talked bravely of fighting to the last man and were grimly determined to pursue the struggle to the deaths of others, and feels keenly for the flower of the nation's youth sacrificed at their bidding. The book is illustrated with many designs treating rather freely of youth and love, which, now that the war is over, have come by their own.

POLITICUS.

DIABETES MELLITUS AND ITS DIETETIC TREATMENT. By Dr. B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired). Eleventh Edition. 1920. Panini office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 80.

The very fact of a medical book allowed no place in the *sanctum sanctorum* of a Text Book Committee, having gone through eleven editions in eleven years, shows its worth and popularity. The importance of the subject-matter under discourse may be gauged by the declaration of certain Indian writers that the total mortality from diabetes in Calcutta is about 10 per cent. of the total mortality and that what gout is to the nobility of England, diabetes is to the aristocracy of India. At a discussion on "Diabetes in the Tropics" Sir Havelock Charles observed: "The lazy and indolent rich suffer—the overworked medical and legal practitioners are taxed with the scourge. What is there in common between these classes? Simply indigestion and its consequences. The Calcutta climate and hustle even overthrow the Chinaman, here furnishing the exception to his so-called immunity from diabetes. Worry of official life, lack of time for proper digestion and assimilation of food—these slowly but surely lead to the establishment of diabetes, when there exists a predisposition to it especially in those whose family history points to it." Diabetes in India, according to Dr. Basu, is sometimes caused by malaria, the affected spleen, a ductless gland, being chiefly responsible. He is also of opinion that the disease is due to the poisoning of the digestive system brought about chiefly by errors in diet. He traces the toxic symptoms to the bad quality of wheat and rice which form the staple articles of food in India. Wheat suffers in quality owing to its export in large quantity. Sir George Watt, whom Dr. Basu quotes, observed: "For greed of the means to satisfy exotic desires of modern civilization, the people were being induced to part with their ordinary food, and were, in consequences taking to the use of inferior and unwholesome grains. The Englishman has now nothing to say against the export of 40 million tons of wheat while as far back as 1891 the following appeared in that paper: "People do not realise the fact that all the wheat India produces is required for home consumption, and that this fact is not likely to be realised until a serious disaster occurs, and that even now less than 9 per cent. is exported. This is a self-evident fact that a slight extension of consumption, or

partial failure of crops and of other food grains, will be sufficient to absorb the small proportion now exported. Besides, we have a steady increase of consumption, in consequence of the natural growth of the population, I believe that, comparatively speaking, India will, in a few years, cease to export wheat, and soon thereafter become an importing country." (*A Leading Indian Economist*). After an increase of at least 30 per cent of the population in these thirty years, our rulers have thought it wise to snatch 40 million tons of wheat from the hungry mouths of the starving peoples to satisfy the greed of the means to satisfy exotic desires of modern civilization in their own country." The book bristles with interesting quotations and facts.

The author has distinctly shattered the old idea that Indians suffer from diabetes owing to their vegetarian diet. "It is a fact," Dr. Basu observes, "that diabetic patients who are vegetarians, live longer than those who are meat-eaters." "The Kidneys are not so disorganised amongst vegetarians as they are amongst meat-eaters." "Kidney disease is not so common amongst Indians as amongst Europeans. This is due to Indians being accustomed to the vegetarian diet, which is non-stimulating, and also to their eschewing alcoholic beverages. Alcohol consumers pay the penalty in diseased Kidneys." We have lost several distinguished countrymen such as the late Keshabchandra Sen, Pratapchandra Majumdar, Kistodas Pal, and others from this fell disease and therefore we make no apology for quoting Dr. Basu's diabetic dietary:

I. Breakfast: Milk, cocoanut cakes and preparations of *besan*; cocoanut meal either raw, fried or roasted; groundnut meal, made into *chapatis* or cakes; almond, akhrot, &c.

II. The principal meal of the day at about 2 or 3 p.m.—rice, *chapatis*, *dal* and vegetable curries; fruits; *ghol*, &c.

III. Supper—Milk, cocoanut preparations, fruit and green vegetables.

As a supplementary treatment the doctor recommends physical exercise and *yoga* which facilitates washing of the stomach and bowels, cleansing of the lungs and development of the voluntary muscles. The book is a product of vast experience and deep thinking and repays perusal.

M. B.

GUJARATI.

VIR SHIVAJI. By the late Mukundram Nityaram Mehta, B.A., printed at the Jagruti Press, Baroda, and published by M. C. Kothari: Cloth bound, with pictures. Pages 126, price Re. 1-0-0 (1920).

This is an official publication by the Education Department of H. H. the Gaekwad. It is a translation of Principal H. G. Rawlinson's "Shivaji, the Maratha." The translator having served for a long time in the Deccan, and being familiar with the ground and the peoples in respect of which the original has been written has been able to impart a living touch to his work. He has further not followed the text slavishly. As to the murder of Afzul Khan, it is well known that historical scholars like

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur Parasnis differ from the partisan version of that fanatic writer, Khafi Khan, and Mr. Mehta has been at pains to present that side of the question too. Altogether, we find it an excellent, readable book.

JNAN GAMATNAN GOWHARO (ज्ञान गमतनां गौहरो),
PART II. By Manek Shah D. Mistri, printed at
the Navrang Printing Press, Bombay. Thick card
board. Pages 220. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1920).

The first part of these "Gems of Knowledge and Amusement" was noticed in these columns. The second part also keeps up the same standard of utility and pleasure in the selection of excerpts from the different literatures of this world. The book would be found most useful for the purpose of whiling away an idle quarter of an hour.

K. M. J.

BENGALI.

MANAVA-TATTWA. By Mahendra Chandra
Roy. Calcutta. 1925 B. S. Rs. 1-8-0.

This is a miscellaneous compilation contain-

ing discourses on the origin of the universe, of gods and man according to Hindu scriptures, the ancient geography of the Hindus, physiology, Brahmacharya or discipline and self-control, and the history of the Aryans and the caste system of the Hindus, with special reference to the social history of the Kayasthas. The chapters on history and sociology contain some useful hints. The object of the writer is to prove that the Kayasthas are of Kshatriya origin and incidentally the author suggests that the Vaidyas and Kayasthas of Bengal are derived from the same stock. Copious references to Sanskrit texts are a useful feature of the book. But the book, like most books of this type, is written from a sectarian standpoint and the uncritical attitude of the author both in secular and religious matters, proceeding from an inner conviction that the last word on every conceivable subject including even science and medicine, was said by the Indo-Aryans and can be rediscovered by diligent search, would be amusing if it were not so sad a feature of the Hindu revival, sounding as it does, the death-knell to all progress.

Q.

CORRESPONDENCE

To,

The Editor,

The Modern Review.

Sir,

I will be highly obliged if you will be pleased to give place to the following in your esteemed Review:—

There has been a good deal of discussion about a Common Script for India in your esteemed journal. Some have advocated the Roman Script. Evidently an overwhelming opinion is in favour of adopting the Devanagari Script. Now, Sir, if any Script in use in India has to be adopted the Gujarati Script, I venture to think, is better fitted for the purpose than the Devanagari. I am no scholar and it is only as a common lay reader that I give the following common-sense considerations—

(1) The Gujarati Script is far simpler. You have only to behead the Devanagari and make slight alterations in a few letters and you get the Gujarati Script.

(2) The Gujarati Script can be written more swiftly than the Devanagari. No letter has to be headed with a line and the slight variations to be found in a few letters in the Gujarati Script materially aid the writer in writing it more swiftly.

(3) For printing purposes, without impairing legibility, the Gujarati Script like the Roman Script can be printed in smaller types than the Devanagari.

(4) Any one knowing the Devanagari Script can learn the Gujarati Script in a day. The Hindi, Marathi and even Bengali speaking people can easily adopt the Gujarati Script.

(5) In relation to all other Indian Scripts the Gujarati retains all the best points of the Devanagari without its defects. There is nothing in it jarring to the eyes. In my humble opinion it is more elegant than the Devanagari.

(6) The Punctuation in the Gujarati Script is the same as we use in writing English.

I hope your learned readers will discuss this aspect of the problem and give some cogent reasons, utilitarian, scientific or national—why the simpler, elegant and more swiftly written daughter of the Devanagari Script should not be preferred to the parent one.

I remain,

Yours most faithfully,

Jhaverilal C. Desai.

(B.A. LL. B.)

Ankleswar
21. 12. 20.

DELHI DURING THE ANARCHY, 1749-1788, AS TOLD IN CONTEMPORARY RECORDS

BY PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR.

§ 1.

THE last Emperor of Delhi who in any way deserved that high title was Muhammad Shah. But, from his death in 1748 to the final establishment of Sindhiya's authority at the Mughal capital in 1788, the city of Delhi was without a master. True, for the whole of this period there was someone or other calling himself Padishah; but he was never his own master, and still less the master of the provinces of the Empire. Even the city of Delhi, during his residence in it, was not under his control, but under that of his keeper, or divided between rivals fighting for the position of his keeper. In fact, so far as Delhi and its immediate neighbourhood were concerned, it was a period of *anarchy* or kinglessness,—the direct negation of government, because a government implies an orderly State and habitual obedience paid by the people to the orders of a sovereign.

These forty years form the saddest period in our history. It was a period marked by frequent bloody fights between rival nobles claiming the supreme control over the State, street brawls by soldiers mutinying for arrears of pay, or between soldiers of different races who had quarrelled in the bazar. The Emperor was timid and imbecile, defeating the efforts of his best friends to free him by listening to base flatterers and corrupt ministers of his pleasure, and vainly trying to recover his power by means of low and cowardly intrigue, such as creating a new *wazir* for an old one or setting up his commander-in-chief (*Bakhshi*) against his chancellor (*wazir*) in the control of the imperial Court and the nominal army of the Empire. The heir of the mighty Timur had fallen very low indeed, when he could not think of achieving his own emancipa-

tion by manly exertion or a manlier death. Delhi history during these forty years is a sickening and monotonous tale of sack by Marathas and Afghans, Sikhs and Jats, and even Gujars and Pindharis; frequent panic among the citizens whenever any such attack was expected; the flight of the rich, the closing of the shops, the looting of the unprotected houses by the ruffians of the city population, who took advantage of the public alarm and confusion; the utter spoliation of the peasantry and ruin of the surrounding villages by organised bodies of brigands or soldiers out foraging, and consequent famine prices in the capital; the incurable intrigue inefficiency and moral decay of the imperial Court, culminating in the crowning agony of Ghulam Qadir's capture of the palace, outrage on the princes and princesses, and blinding of the old Emperor Shah Alam II. The peasantry were so exasperated by their sufferings and the failure of the State to protect their life and property that they naturally regarded all strangers and even the forces of the Crown as their enemies.

The history of Delhi during this period is known to us in broad outline, but not in detail. English readers will find it in Francklin's *History of Shah Alam*, Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, and, more briefly, in Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*. But a modern student of history cannot rest satisfied unless he comes to the original and contemporary sources of information for his period. In our search for these sources we may soon dismiss Francklin's authorities, viz., Sayyid Razi Khan's history of the transactions of the last nine years of Shah Alam's reign, Munna Lal's history of the first 13 years, and Ghulam Ali Khan's *Shah Alam-namah*, because the first two are brief summaries and the last is the work

of a man who wrote from a distance (the city of Lucknow) and without contemporary notes, diaries or official records of the Court and city of Delhi.

Fakir Khairuddin's *Ibratnamah* is a voluminous history written by an influential official of Shah Alam's son and an eye-witness of many of the occurrences described in the work. The Imperial Record Office, at Calcutta, contains a number of Persian news-letters sent by the E. I. Co's agents and professional news-writers from Delhi and Lucknow, describing the occurrences of Upper India from time to time. These have been calendared up to 1772 only. But they do not supply a continuous record nor full details. The despatches of the Maratha envoy at Delhi to his master at Puna, published by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, contain 616 letters, but commencing from January 1780 only. Moreover, their writer was the representative of the dominant Power, and as such he was incapable of looking at events from the standpoint of the toad under the harrow-stone, I mean the unhappy people of Delhi. Similarly, the Marathi letters contained in Rajwade's *Sadhamen*, vols. 3 and 6, and the *Nagpurkar Bhonsle-yanchi Kagad-patren* (part of the *Kavyetihas Sangraha*), deal with war and diplomacy only.

There has also survived in a Persian MS. the daily news-letters of the Court of Shah Alam and the camp of Mahadji Sindhia for three month only (9 July to 8 October 1787). The French military adventurers, so many of whom figured in Delhi politics in that age, have left no detailed memoirs of the history which they helped to make. M. Jean Law's *Memoire*, ably edited by M. Alfred Martineau, deals with Bengal, Bihar and Bundelkhand only, and stops in January 1761. Benoit De Boigne's *Memoire*, published at his home at Chambéry in Switzerland (second edition, 1830), is a very small and disappointing book, absolutely wanting in accurate information of the kind that we seek. No other French commander in Upper India has given us his autobiography, though the French race excels most in this branch of composition.

§ 2.

Happily, among the papers of an old aristocratic family of Patna I have discovered a unique copy of a Persian manuscript which may be styled the *Delhi Chronicle during the anarchy*. After the fall of Mir Qasim and the defeat of the Nawab of Oudh at Buxar (1763), had finally established British peace over Bengal and Bihar, many noble families began to flee from the horrors of the anarchy at Delhi and settle in Bihar, where they could find the same language, climate, manner of life and social system as at Delhi, but infinitely greater security of life and property. One of these families had kept a diary, giving the dates in the Hindu, Hijera and Old Persian (or Ilahi) eras, with brief records of the occurrences. Many leaves of the MS. have been lost, but what remains covers the years 1739 to 1799, i.e., from Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi to the eve of the British entry into the imperial city under Lord Lake. There are many gaps in the work as it now stands, but it is of unique value and constitutes a record of supreme importance to the critical historian of this period. Here we have an absolutely contemporary chronicle of the events and rumours of Delhi, written down immediately afterwards by an inhabitant of the city, without any embellishment, garbling or artificial arrangement of a later day.

While studying it, I have often been tempted to liken it to the old *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* during the Danish incursions. The artless truthfulness, the plain terse statement of fact, the exclusion of emotion or comment, and the accuracy of record are the same in both works. A few typical extracts will give you an idea of its contents.

§ 3

We frequently read of envoys being sent by the Delhi Court or nobles to raiders in their neighbourhood, or by the defenders of an invested fort to their enemies, to negotiate for ransom. The word used on these occasions is *sawāl jawāb*, which is corrupted into *sāl zāb* in Marāthi, and literally means 'question and answer,' or higgling for terms. These embassies sometimes ended in aggravation of the quarrel and even blows.

The *Ibratnamah* gives a harrowing description of the sack of the village of *Mitraul* by the Shahzada after it had defied him. The author was an eye-witness of the scene. In the city of Delhi the situation was hardly better. The fort or walled city suffered less often, but the Old City (*Shahar-i-kuhna*) was as much plundered as the villages around. From the ramparts of the Delhi of Shah Jahan and the sandy beach of the Jamuna, the citizens some times beheld the spectacle of battles going on between rivals for the position of their master on the other bank. The *tamasha* was not always a safe one, as cannon balls sometimes crossed the river and fell inside the walls.

Then we have entries like this: Today the floor of such a noble man's mansion was dug up, and next day that of another noble man. (This was done in search of buried treasure.)

Among the forces maintained by the imperial government and nobles, there were different races, such as North Indian Musalmans, Rajputs, Ruhelas, Badakhshis (or men of Central Asia), Mughals (meaning Persians), and Telingas or European-drilled sepoys; and this diversity of races did not contribute to the city's tranquillity or protection of property.

On 13th February 1754, "the soldiers who were sitting in the Qudsia mosque for arrears of pay, created a tumult, prevented people from going to the fort, and snatched away the turbans of the wayfarers and visitors to the mosque, thus closing the public roads. The wazir promised to pay them on Saturday next."

"April 1754. The Badakhshis rose in violence, demanding their pay. Lighting the fuses of their matchlocks, they advanced to arrest the Emperor..... The wazir encountered them, the fort-guns also played on them. At last the wazir triumphed, but the *Khās Bazar* and *Khāri Baoli* were burnt".

"June 1754. The artillery men mutiny for arrears and close the fort-gates. The wazir expels them."

Another year. "The gunners of the wazir fight for arrears of pay. The shops near the Lahori gate are looted and burnt." Again, "soldiers stop the burial of the Mir Bakhshi (Paymaster-General, i.e., Commander-in-chief) Khan-i-Dauran, demanding payment of their arrears."

1776. "Majd-ud-daula (the Emperor's favourite minister) is seized by the Telingas of the *paltan* of Bhavani Singh and Gangaram, on the road near the Delhi gate and kept confined in mosque of Raushan-ud-daula. He is released next day at night, on giving security for the payment of their outstanding salaries."

1787. "Telingas mutiny for arrears of pay. Tumult rages for two days in Deshmukh's camp. Three hours before sunset, the noise of muskets and artillery firing begins to be heard. One hundred men are slain and wounded on the two sides taken together."

1753. "A tumult breaks out in the fort at

night, on 14th March," and "in the day-time on 17th March." "6th May. The Jats, at the instigation of Safdar Jang, plunder the people of the Old City near the Lal Darwaza." "12th June. The robe of wazir was conferred on Intizam-ud-daula vice Safdar Jang dismissed. For one and a half prahar a tumult rages [in consequence.] The Jats and other people loot the Old City...Fight between Safdar Jang and the Bakhshi-ul-mulk; Faridabad looted."

1754, 4th June. "Rumour that the Emperor was being deposed by the wazir. Tumult; the people of Old Delhi flee from their houses in panic; their property looted."

1758-59. "The Ruhelas loot Jaswantpura and some other wards...The Marathas loot Nizamuddin Auliya and seize the men of the city for ransom."

1770. "The Marathas burn the villages near Sikandarabad, from which the inhabitants had fled in panic. At midnight the Gujars burn Sarang and Shahdera."

1773. "The Sikhs loot Shahdera till midnight and carry off 50 boys. They leave four hours before dawn. Thereafter in that very night the Gujars loot it."

1782. "Sikhs from Kol encamp at Barari... set fire to Malkaganj and Sabzi Mandi, and slay the men of Mughalpura. The men of the city flee into the fort in terror."

Another year. "No lamp lighted in any house up to Faridabad. The Jats loot the caravans of fugitives. Near Faridabad, 2000 corpses lie exposed; and the Persian followers of the Abdali dig up the floors of the houses in that city."

1757. "The Emperor walks from the harem to the mosque on foot, to say his Ramzan prayers, for want of a horse or conveyance."

1765. "As a Sikh raid was expected, it was proclaimed that none should leave the city of Delhi to make a pilgrimage to Kalika Devi, [near the Qutb minar.]"

Another year. "A proclamation was made that as Ahmad Shah Abdali would enter the city, no one should sit on the roof of any house to behold the procession, that none should appear in arms in any street, and that the shops should remain closed."... "The Abdali's followers standing on the sand-bank loot the people who went to the wells for water...The Mughals (i.e., Persian retainers of the Abdali) who went out to forage, attacked the houses in many of the lanes, broke the doors open and looted the property. The shops and bazars remained closed on account of their oppression."

"For one month the citizens of Delhi lay in a protracted death-agony at the rumours of the coming of the Abdali, who was fighting the Marathas at Kunjapura."... "The Afghans leave Delhi, and the joy of a second life appears in the city."

It is interesting to note that when wheat sold at 8 seers, dals coarser than *mung* at 10

seers and oil at 2 seers a Rupee, famine was considered to be raging.

§ 4.

I have called this diary the *Delhi Chronicle* from its likeness to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. But there is one great difference between the two: the suffering Englishmen during the Danish raids had the consolation of knowing that their oppressors were not their own countrymen, but aliens in race language and religion, while their grandsons found ample compensation when they saw a free united and greater England than ever before created by the political sagacity, public spirit and manly exertions of their own kings of the house of Alfred. These consolations were denied to the people of Delhi during the anarchy.

The historian will fail in his duty if he remains content with recording events without trying to draw from our past instruction for our future. The agony of Delhi during these forty years of anarchy is not without a lesson for us to-day. India was then parcelled out into a number of autonomous provinces, each living its own life in selfish isolation, taking no thought of the interests of the country as a whole, robbing and devastating its neighbours in this common *Bharatbarsha* of ours as remorselessly as foreigners from beyond the frontiers. Our leaders and

chieftains were without foresight or the larger patriotism, and sought only the aggrandisement of their families or clans. The central government was paralysed and extinct except as a tradition and a theory, like the Holy Roman Empire in mediæval Germany. There was no federal army or treasury for India as a whole, capable of repelling foreign invasion and maintaining internal order. Personal selfishness and parochial patriotism (where any patriotism existed) divided India. The result was the weakness of the country as a whole, anarchy, the agony of forty years, and finally foreign conquest,—which last came as a relief to the long-suffering masses, and may become, in the fulness of time, the dawn of a stronger happier and wiser India, if we only utilise our present opportunities and learn wisdom from the rise and fall of nations as truthfully and dispassionately recorded by history.

Order is the beginning of all good things. National efficiency is the result of a long process of steady uninterrupted and ever-progressing endeavour, directed by the wisest brains and the purest hearts of the nation, of which anarchy is the greatest enemy. And, national efficiency is necessary, if for nothing else, at least for national existence in the hard modern world.

JOURNALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

JOURNALISM in the United States, as in every other country, is a comparatively new art. Yet in no other country has the development of the art been so marvellous. With lightning speed the American Newspaper has been transformed from a crudely printed, uninteresting sheet to a living record of the moving world about it. The modern newspaper, with its large staff of writers, printers, illustrators, advertising and business managers, is a product of the last fifty years. Before that time the newspaper consisted of

numerous reprints and sermon-editorials, printed on poor paper, with still poorer ink. But with the advent of the penny paper in 1830, the art of journalism began to take on its present characteristics; new machinery was invented; the editorial staff was increased; the business end of the trade was put on an efficiency basis, and the modern newspaper—a vital force in the progress of the country—ensued.

ORGANIZATION.

The lay reader's conception of the newspaper office is that of enternal confu-

sion. In actuality the newspaper office is run as systematically as any other business. Each brand of news has its department, each worker has his task, and each product of the newspaper writer has its critics and its final touches before it is put on the market. The holiest of holies is the editor's room. Here the bulk of the news that goes into the paper is prepared.

The supervision of all articles which are not technical in nature is the work of the editor. He is a man of sound literary judgment, with wide acquaintance and broad education. The editor writes little but thinks much. He rarely keeps close to any political faction, but is the impersonal medium for the transmission of all news.

Most responsible of all workers on the staff is the *City Editor*. He controls the group of reporters who hunt for the news, combing the city within a 75-mile radius for all available news "copy". The *City Editor* must judge the values of these news items, and must place limits on the importance to be given each. Upon him rests the entire responsibility of getting and fixing up all the local news of the day. He must be well informed on everything from politics to free verse. He must know everybody and everything about them.

The court of last resort for news and telegraph items, when difficult questions arise, is the *Managing Editor*. He superintends the make-up of the pages, altering, touching up, cutting out, and making his paper the best looking as well as the best informed. Although nominally free and independent in the management of their several departments, the various editors are all subject to the authority of the *Managing Editor*. His position differs from that of the *Editor-in-Chief* in that the latter can display more originality in his comments and editorials than can the *Managing Editor*, in his superintendence of the news. The duty of constantly devising new features and new ways and means of filling the columns of the newspaper is also the work of the *managing Editor*.

Under the *Managing Editor* are the heads of the various departments. One

of the most important of these is the *Telegraph Editor*. He usually has a room for himself and takes care of news which comes over special lines from every corner of the globe. The *Telegraph Editor* in his sanctum, with the many machines ticking away the latest scandal or news about a new war, has his hand upon the pulse of the world. Every heart-beat he records, and from this gigantic mass he chooses the most sensational, the most interesting throb for the delight of his readers.

The *Exchange Editor* occupies an equally busy corner of the office. He is the gleaner of news, who, from the stray corners of the newspaper world, picks here and there a worthy grain. He literally writes with his shears.

In addition to these departments are the *Financial Editors*, who follow the destinies of stocks and bonds; the *Marine Editor*, who attends to the shipping news, and knows of every steamer that arrives at or leaves port; the *Sporting Editor*, who fills a page with feats and defeats; the *Real-Estate Editor*, whose duty it is to obtain all news of sales and re-sales in the real estate field; the *School Editor*, who secures the co-operation of teachers and pupils alike in the publication of school news; the *Fashion Editor*, who supplies news of the latest dress changes to the women readers of the newspaper; the *Literary Editor*, who reviews the latest publications and condemns or praises, as his mood dictates, and last, but not least, the *Dramatic Editor*, whose pleasant duty it is to guide into right channels the stream on theatre goers who fill the streets of every large city at night.

Invested with less responsibility, but more work than is done in any other department are the reporters, who get the material that goes into the paper. They are the most active workers on the staff. They must know news when they see it, and next to knowing it, they must know how to put it into readable form—how to state the facts as clearly and attractively as possible. Their duties are most pleasant, and most tedious. Being a reporter is a young man's job. He is always on the alert, thriving on calamity.

The reporter covers "local" news; the correspondent covers special news. A strike in some city outside of the one in which the paper is issued means that a man must immediately be sent to cover the story. Many newspapers maintain offices in the larger cities, thus making provision for whatever special news develops in these centers.

THE MECHANICAL DEPARTMENT.

The iron and steel machinery for the production of news is varied. In this department, as in the editorial, there are a multitude of tasks to be performed and a large staff to attend to the composing, the setting of type, the printing and cutting of the newspaper, the folding and posting of the finished product. The printing business stands sixth among the industries of the United States. It supports numerous underlying industries—the print-paper industry, the manufacture of machinery, the engraving industry, etc. The press room is arranged with a view to the greatest efficiency. In one of the large printing offices of New York the presses are so placed that printed papers can be thrown directly through windows opening on to the counter in the delivery room. This room, occupying the street front, enables the circulation department to deliver printed papers fresh from the press, to the waiting automobile at the curb.

In the invention of the printing press gigantic progress has been made. To give a record of the numerous inventions would be equivalent to giving a history of inventions in the world, for the last century has been filled with printing press inventions and devices. Printing presses of all sorts and devices are put on the market and rapidly bought up. For the daily of small circulation there is a press which issues 4, 6 or 8 pages and cuts and folds them at from 3,000 to 3,500 per hour. From these small presses to the Double Octuple, which turns out 288,000 four-page or eight-page papers an hour, one meets types of every possible construction.

One of the most recent equipments of the printing room is the monotype, a combina-

tion of composing machine with a veritable type foundry. The machine composes type, sets it up in lines and columns, and makes display type for headlines and hand-set advertisements, as well. With this machine all processes are done so economically that it is less expensive to remelt the pages after use and make new type than to distribute old type. Such a machine with keyboard and casting attachment, costs about \$4,000.

In the matter of print paper great economic advance has been made only recently. In 1910 a movement was begun for the standardization of the size of newspapers. Where formerly special paper makers were required for each newspaper, the new movement brought about a standard size for all newspapers, thus enabling the paper manufacturers to make paper in bigger quantities and also enabling the newspaper offices to interchange in the event of shortage.

The complexity of the printing trade is further illustrated in the evolution in the field of illustrations. By pen and inking silver prints it was found that the work of the camera would be reproduced with tolerable accuracy. As white paper improved in quality it became possible to print with reasonable clearness from half-tone plates. The latest improvements were made in the multi-color press and the machine photogravure press. These have given rise to a new and conspicuous department of the daily newspaper—the comic section. The art department of a newspaper office is now one of the most expensive and one of the most important. Photo engravers, the snap-shot squad, the color artists, the "comics" man—all are workers in the new department. The camera man must be the most active. He must, at a minute's notice, be ready to snap his victim; he must be able to develop his films in a hurry; he must carry his camera into all imaginable corners and must secure his victim, despite all rebuffs and assaults. For this he must necessarily employ the greatest diplomacy as well as courage.

ADVERTISING.

The art of advertising has sprung up

with mushroom-like growth. Courses are being given at Universities, men of talent and ability are devoting all their time and attention to it, and the newspaper, with its customary agility, is exploiting its virtues in every possible way. Advertising is the art of attracting and holding attention—and what better medium can there be for the creation of this attention than through such a universal medium as the newspaper? Next to getting news, the paper directs its greatest activities to getting advertisements. Advertising matter now pays a greater portion of the publishing expenses. Were there no advertisements inserted in the newspapers, they would all have to be run at a loss. Putting advertising matter into the newspaper is the elixir of youth, for the paper. To keep the advertising department on an efficiency basis is the aim of every good advertising manager. For this reason he has his carefully reckoned rate cards, which are so fixed as to yield cost plus a considerable profit. The successful advertising manager keeps on increasing rates as circulation increases. Such an aggressive policy, however, involves many sharp conflicts with the editorial departments. The progressive advertising man, always trying to get more and choicer space in the paper, encounters an equally aggressive editor who is after more and better space for his news. Besides there is always pressure from the advertisers themselves. The good advertising manager must, therefore, placate both editor and advertiser and at the same time secure the best available space. The advertising manager is not the moving spirit in the department. To make the "copy" attractive "advertising smiths" are employed. They prepare the material for popular consumption.

CIRCULATION.

Next to getting the news and the advertisements is the all-important function of getting the people to buy the finished product. The newspaper is the cheapest commodity on the market and the most short-lived. To secure circulation, and having once secured it, to keep it going, is the dual problem of the circulation

manager. What he first considers is, what the public wants and how much of this the newspaper he is working with can give. It has been found that greater success has come to those newspapers which stress the editorial side. This does not mean they cram the paper full of news, to the exclusion of everything else, but, rather, that they have given the choicest news, and have introduced special features in the news. From the circulation standpoint, then, it is more satisfactory to devote as much space for features and news as there is material. To stimulate circulation many newspapers have resorted to gift and premium offers in connection with subscriptions. In some cases this has meant the successful increase in circulation. But many publishers, after trying out the premium scheme, have come to the conclusion that their product (the newspaper) should be sold on its face value, and not as an adjunct to a set of books or a collection of dishes. These newspapers have endeavored to secure circulation, not through premium offers, but through advertising their wares. Sample copies of special editions, of good articles, or interesting feature stories, and the like, are sent to prospective readers and the quality of the paper is expected to do the rest. The most successful circulation managers have found that the best way of securing new subscribers is to

- (1) Publish the best paper possible,
- (2) Publish most popular feature stories,
- (3) Render genuine service to the community.

An important consideration has been the giving away of free copies of the newspaper to prominent or wealthy citizens of the city. It has been found here that the less copies given away the more subscribers. One newspaper, in a house-leaning campaign, cut down the number of its free copies from 3000 to 1800 a year and found at the end of the year that many of the former complimentary readers had become subscribers. Such a policy means considerable saving, and the criterion of successful journalism is the production of the best newspaper at the

least expense. To facilitate the rapid daily sale of newspapers, distribution schemes galore have been propounded. Rural free delivery by the government has meant a great increase in circulation, from unexpected quarters.

COSTS AND EXPENSES.

To make the newspaper business as efficient as any other, budget systems of expenditure have been adapted by the large newspapers of the country. These, while providing for every "must" item, do not leave room for extra expenditures. To keep daily record of increased costs and expenditures has been proved a profitable and advisable course, since such a record is useful for future guidance as well as for computations concerning diminished expenses. Such items as increase in the print bill, or increase in salaries of employees, necessitate an increase in advertising rates and the alert business manager increases the latter as soon as there is evidence of increased cost.

CONCLUSION.

Thus, from the editor who puts his best judgment and material into the paper to

make it a finished product, to the business manager who uses all the powers of his ingenious mind to make it a cheap product, every member of the American newspaper staff has helped to build up and perfect the art of journalism as it has been perfected in no other country on earth. To be sure, there are faults and imperfections, as in any other profession, but nowhere is the spirit of progress more manifest—nowhere the desire for social service more earnest—nowhere the effects so significant. As in every other profession, the greatest efficiency has been realised where there are the best trained men. More and more men and women are coming to the newspaper office with a solid educational foundation and well defined ideas of the problems which confront the professions. In ever-increasing numbers the universities of the countries are opening their doors to eager aspirants for the profession of journalism, and students are constantly availing themselves of their opportunity for training for the hardest, the most inspiring, the most satisfying trade of all—the newspaper trade.

MINNIE MILLER.

GLEANINGS

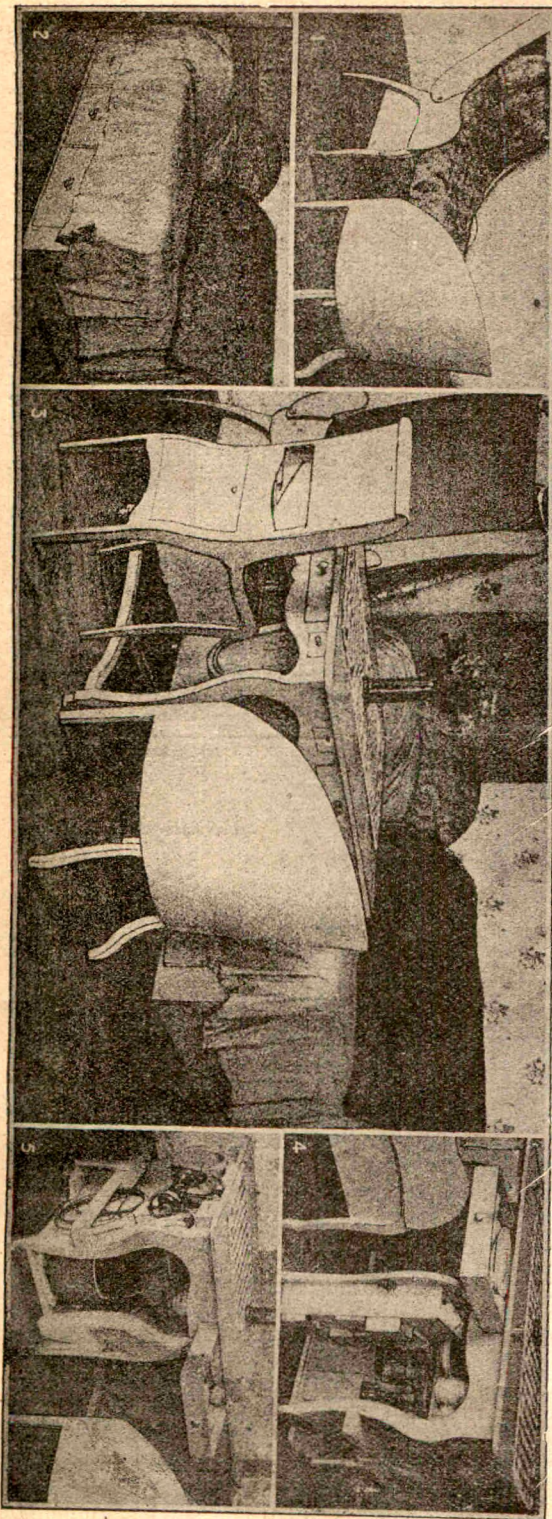
The Household That Packs Into a Trunk.

A young French inventor, Mr. Louvet, has devised a wonderfully condensed household. It contains the entire house-furnitures and when completely packed measures 49 by 54 by 33 inches, thus permitting it to be packed in the large trunk or to pass through any door without difficulty of any kind. Yet the five pieces of furniture contained in the case cover a floor space of 78 by 103 inches when spread out. In these pieces are contained all the other combinations and accessories for the household.

An inventory of the Louvet compact households reveals the following items: A bed for two persons; metal bed spring, mattress and necessary sheets and other bedding; a child's cot, with springs and bedding; a table 49 by 30 inches; a side board with dishes for three persons; a

pedal-operated sewing machine; a linen closet containing all the linens necessary for the household and a child; a chaise longue; two chairs for adults; a child's chair; a folding stool for adult and another one for a child; a children's bench; piece of furniture serving as desk and dressing table; revolving stool with a shaving glass attached; a lady's mirror; a lady's sewing table with all accessories; a carpenter's and metal worker's tool box; a stove for heating; a clothes-washing outfit with large tub that can hold as much as 130 quarts of water; and all accessories for a home such as lamps, pictures, clothes, hangers, etc.

The table, which is shown in the accompanying illustration, contains all the kitchen accessories. There is also a sewing machine which folds up on one side of the table, as shown. There are several drawers for odds and



The Compact Household Which Packs into a Trunk,

ends. Each object has its special place in a compact form, so that nothing rattles or falls out.

With two of the chairs a chaise longue is easily made. All the chairs contain compartments which hold all the necessities for a bedroom. The double bed of the bottom has drawers and cupboards containing other accessories.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATION :

- (1) A Chaise longue made up from two of the Chairs.
- (2) The Bed for two persons.
- (3) Table, Chairs and bed arranged to form an attractive living room and dining room combined.
- (4) Cupboard of the table opened to reveal the kitchen equipment.
- (5) Another Cupboard of the table opened to show additional cooking utensils, as well as the sewing machine on the side.

Man's Origin.

Our ancestor, according to a new discovery of science, is the tarsier, also called the tarsius, a strange, little snub-nosed, saucer-eyed, fur-coated, long-fingered, tree-dwelling, monkey-like animal, found only in parts of South-Eastern Asia. It is really a kind of lemur.

The tarsius is known in native language as "the spectre," on account of the unearthly appearance of its great eyes. It still haunts the forests of Borneo, Java and the neighbouring islands of south-eastern Asia and awakens in the peoples of those lands a superstitious dread—a sort of instructive horror at the sight of the ghost-like representative of their first ancestor.

Professor, Elliot Smith, of Manchester University, recently declared that the tarsius marked the beginning of the human line of human evolution. Still more recently the president of the Hunterian Society, expressed the opinion that Prof. Smith's view was the correct one.

Millions of years ago, in the eocene or "Dawn" period of creation, when reptiles still dominated the earth, this queer little tarsius started on the long and painful journey that ended in nature's greatest achievement—man. The tarsius has a very flat nose, scarcely any at all in fact, so that there is no projection to interfere with perfect stereoscopic vision by both eyes. The eyes, moreover, are situated on a flat surface and reasonably near together, thus completing the condition necessary for human type of vision. This short nose was the one piece of evidence needed to decide the tarsius' claims to be our ancestor.

In the case of a solid object, each eye of man sees to some extent the sides, the depth and form of the object. The brain then combines the two images received into one and through this combined image it is aware of the relief, modelling and general form of the thing seen. That is stereoscopic vision. The animal's two



The Missing Link—the Tarsius.

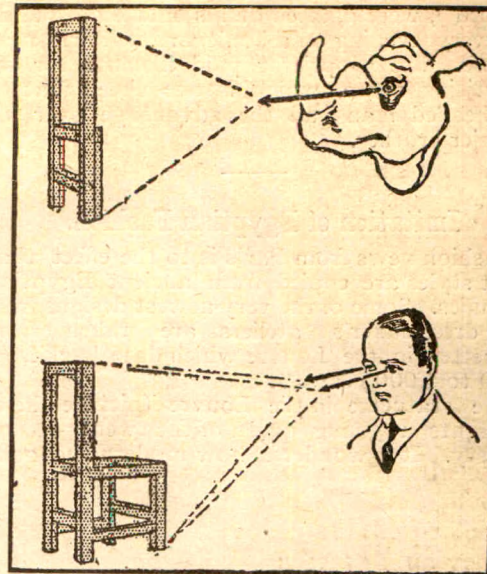
eyes are nearly always separated by a large nose or snout so that combined vision is impossible. The animal must see a perfectly flat image without any relief. We know that the horse, the dog and most other animals turn their heads to look at an object, and it is evident that they are looking with one eye only at the thing which interests them. The flat-faced apes apparently enjoy stereoscopic vision, and this is one reason why they rank higher than other animals.

It will be clear to everybody that the power to see an object perfectly, and to judge its size would lead to greater brain development—greater intelligence.

Professor Elliot Smith traces the ancestry of man even beyond the tarsius. This animal is an insectivore or insect-eater, and is related to jumping shrews. The tree shrew of Asia represents the stage immediately behind the tarsius.

A super-intelligent tree shrew gave birth to the flat-nosed tarsius, which for its taking to tree-life, became no longer mainly dependent on the sense of smell for its living as were the animals living on the ground. This arboreal life of tarsius helped the development of its senses and organs of vision and hearing and other characteristics which made it the starting point of the human line of human evolution.

From the tarsius there evolved arboreal animals of the inferior, long-tailed monkey type



A Chair—as seen by a man and a rhinoceros.

and from these one branch evolved into man and the other branch into true apes, such as the Chimpanzee, the gorilla and the orang-outang.

Bald Head for Advertisement !

"I scent which pays the best, an' then go into it bald-headed." So saith the poet, James Russell Lowell.

The same sentiment was held by the bald-headed man in the picture ; he scented advertising. Whereupon the words, "*Venez ce soir au*



Novel Space for Advertisement.

Cafe du Nord" (come this evening to the cafe du Nord), were painted on his bald head and he sat every evening on a boulevard in Paris near the cafe. The proprietor paid him well for his advertising space, which is one time that a bald-headed man had the advantage over his shaggier brother.

Imitation of Egyptian Fashion.

Fashion news from Paris is to the effect that latest styles are copied from ancient Egyptian mummies. Some of the very newest designs from the dressmaker's ateliers are taken from statuettes in the Louvre which date back from 3,000 to 4,000 years.

One statuette in the Louvre (pictured here) represents a young queen of the twenty-second dynasty. It is wonderful how modern she looks.



Egyptian Statuette (back view) of an Egyptian Queen kept in the Louvre, with sheath skirt and short sleeves and low cut corsage similar to up-to-date fashions of Paris.

Her short sleeves are of the latest twentieth century style, her sheath skirt is almost of the form which fashion now demands and so tight as to suggest difficulty in walking. The corsage cut low in front, is distinctly up to date. The only thing not modern about the ancient lady of the statuette, is her remarkable head-dress.

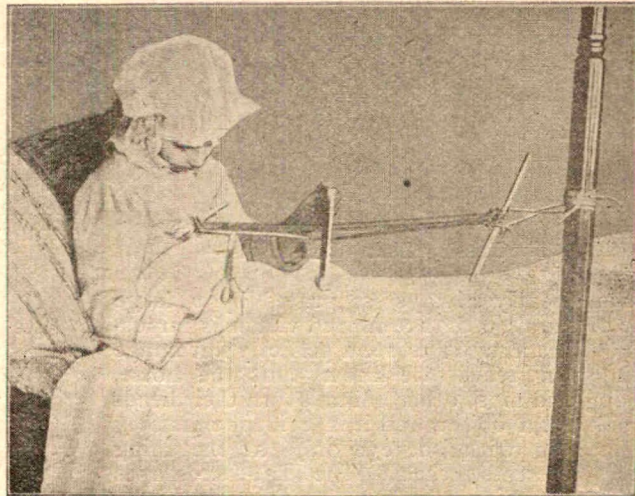
The fashion report from Paris states that a fad newly introduced is the wearing of gold bands on the legs. This again is reminiscent of Egypt, where legs were commonly unclad

and adorned with gold hoops, sometimes set with jewels.

Ancient sculptures and frescoes show the Egyptian women wearing kimono sleeves, exactly like these now in style; also frocks made perfectly straight from neck to hem, corresponding to a present fashion and loose, dangling belts, which are newest things in the way of belts to-day.

Women Back to the Loom.

The war and the high cost of living, plus the exit of the maid of all work, have taken the Europeans and the Americans to back generations. The great middle class which so long avoided the useful manual works, such as farming, gardening, and bottling of fruits and vegetables are no longer doing so. The same story is also repeated in the case of the



Even Convalescent Girls in bed are taking to Weaving in a light small hand-loom in America and Europe.

women. The housewife took to the wash tub and the broom being unable to pay the high wages of a maid and the women went back to their knitting needles for the adequate supply of stockings and sweaters for the boys in the army. Now is the turn of the loom. Is weaving in the home practical?

A hand loom could be set up in any moderate-sized room. While it is not possible to make the very thin materials, like chiffon, or crepe, on a hand-loom, cotton, wool and silk can be woven with ease after the craft has been learnt. A little loom in the corner of the living room offers untold possibilities to the housewife. In the first place, the work need not be continuous, but can be taken up and dropped as time and opportunity permit. The loom which occupied an honoured place in the ancestral kitchen, in

former days, was worked by all members of the family. As soon as a child, boy or girl was old enough, it was taught to weave. In the education of the child the art of weaving was considered more essential than knowledge of numbers or letters. The passing of the craft and the home industries have left a void in the lives of most of us. When inventions took the essential industries from the home to the factories the workman lost the pride and spirit in his labour.

In the days of the loom, neurasthena was unknown. To-day, under the title of "occupation therapeutics," the old crafts are being taught to heal both the mind and the body.



A Hand-loom re-introduced into the households of the Europeans and the Americans.

The Persian wove his religion in his prayer rug, the Swede the folk-lore of his country, the American Indian the forces of nature. Design in the weave affords a form of individual self-expression that for the practical mind is most gratifying. The revival of the hand-loom means more individuality in women's dress and in the decoration of the home.

Teeth Sharpened for Raw-Meat-Eating.

The Wakamba dentist does not look for cavities—he makes them. He chisels and then files his patients' teeth until each tooth ends in a sharp point. Why? So that his patients can tear raw meat with neatness and despatch.

The Wakamba tribe is one of the least civilised tribes of Africa. The men will sell their wives for a few cows. Everybody eats raw meat; in fact, very little cooking of any kind is done.



Sharpened Teeth for Raw-Meat-Eating.



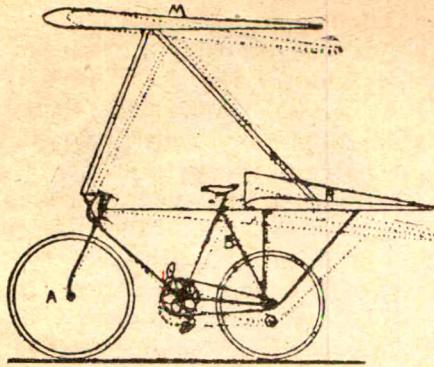
Wakamba Dentist Filing and Sharpening the Teeth of his patient.

The idea of having one's teeth chiseled and filed is not attractive, but the Wakamba men do not mind it at all. One of them is shown above reclining in his dentist's arms.

Flying Bicycles.

A £250 prize has been offered by the Aerial League of America for a competition of aviettes or flying bicycles.

The first attempt in this direction was made a few years ago, before the war. The Peugeot Motor Company of Paris offered a prize of 10,000 francs for the first person who should make a flight of 32 feet entirely by muscular energy. A competition was held with a large number of entries. But the competition was one of the funniest in the history of sport, and not one of the con-



The Flying Bicycle with which Poulain the French Cyclist made record flight.

traptions succeeded in getting an inch off the ground.

With this inauspicious beginning the art of avietting progressed rapidly. Professional bicycle racers succeeded in devising aviettes and getting off the ground. In 1912, Laveladoi managed to skim for a distance of forty inches at a height of eight inches. And finally, in 1914, the champion cyclist, Poulain, soared for a distance of forty at a height of about four feet. His flying bicycle is shown in the illustration.

When the war came the art of avietting died, and now it has been revived. The Aerial League of Italy has announced a prize of 100,000 lire for a competition, the Peugeot Company of France again offers 10,000 francs, and now the Aerial League of America establishes a £250 (thousand-dollar) trophy to be competed for annually.

INCREASE IN LITIGATION

By KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B.,
CHIEF JUDGE, SMALL CAUSE COURT, BOMBAY.

THE War has left a red trail behind it of many sinister things: its aftermath is still like it, blood-red. On all sides we hear the talk of the establishment of Arbitration Courts and the stopping of practice by lawyers. But if the root cause of a mischief is not removed, it need not be said that the mischief itself cannot be removed. If people indulged less in litigation, there would be fewer opportunities to resort to Courts, and fewer occasions to engage lawyers. But it has unfortunately been the experience of those who have got anything to do with the administration of justice in commercial cities like Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and others, that the stimulus that the war gave in its second or third year to litigation has not yet exhausted itself, and it looks as if for some time to come it would not exhaust itself. The war compelled India to cease trading with belligerent countries: articles imported from those countries as well as from Great Britain had to be replaced, and thus Japan and America stepped in. Difficulties of transport

and the consequent non-performance of contracts or inability to perform them owing to enemy action and allied causes as well as the scant attention paid by Japanese and American exporters to the specific conditions of the contract, was a fruitful source of litigation. New forms of contract and new clauses in old forms, come into being to meet the exigencies of the situation. The well known failing of merchants to use inexact or "scrappy" language in their contracts added to the uncertainty of their meaning, and Courts were called upon to decide what was the exact meaning of such contracts. Besides this, the enormous profits that were expected to be derived if the contracts were fulfilled and the import or export of the articles under the contract safely made, brought into the market an immense number of dealers with no other object in view, than to reap profits, merely as middlemen. These dealers, at last a very large majority of them, were men of no means, men who had never in their life seen or handled the subject matter of their

contract. They were the jetsam and flotsam of society, having come to the surface merely with a view to take advantage of the tide, that had then set in, of the so-called war prosperity. Prostitutes, Panvalas and Gheevalas have been known in Bombay to have purchased and sold bales of Japanese piece goods. Each bale if taken delivery of, would at least have cost Rs. 500 while the *soi disant* purchaser or seller could not have at a stretch scraped together fifty rupees, and still he would not deal with less than five bales. The result was that such goods formally passed on paper from hand to hand, sometimes through twelve to fifteen hands, in which series the first seller or purchaser became the ultimate buyer or seller, or even an intermediate party, no one having the slightest desire to take delivery and sell them, and hence when the crash came, and these self-constituted merchants were called upon in terms of their contract either to give or take delivery, they were aghast, as they had never contemplated such a situation, and began to cast about to find means to put off the day of reckoning. This they found, they could do through a law court; they relied upon its proverbial delay, they knew that it would be a toss up there, it being uncertain as to who would win, and thus it is that courts in these commercial places have been working at white heat for the last three or four years. This kind of non-genuine dealing was not confined to piece goods merely. Every conceivable article of commerce, seeds, foodstuffs, hessians, dyes, colors, camphor, chemicals, mill stores, sugar, oil, ghee, sovereigns, roubles, gold, silver, even scrap iron and refuse (raddi) paper, were dealt with in the same way, and with the inevitable resort to courts. Stocks and shares furnished an additional item of temptation. The process is still going on, and the courts therefore have witnessed an extraordinary expansion of their work. For instance the number of suits on the original side of the High Court of Bombay in a year was in normal times twelve to fifteen hundred at the most. The culminating point was reached last year, when it went up into the neighbourhood

of four thousand. The Presidency Small Cause Court ordinarily in pre-War days registered about eight hundred suits for claims above Rs. 1000. Last year it saw its maximum number, nearly two thousand one hundred, and the cry is still they come. It is expected that this year perhaps will beat its predecessors. Increase in the population of these cities, into which laborers and dealers like those described above have swarmed, together with suits under such restrictive acts as the Rent Act have also helped to swell the number, but the fact remains that a large part of the litigation is due to these "from-the-first-never-meant-to-be-performed" contracts. The mischief is rooted there, and unless the axe is laid there, the root would flourish, and the tree grow. Indian Chambers of Commerce and various Associations of merchants have laudably tried to minimise the evil by setting up their own arbitration Courts and Committees, and wherever members choose to resort to them and abide by their decisions, they do an amount of useful work and indirectly check litigation. But in many cases the regulations are loosely framed and leave escape doors open to those who are not inclined to bow to the spirit of the rules, and in any case they cannot control the actions of those who are not members of those respective Associations. Interprovincial litigation has increased also for the same reason: Bombay dealers for instance, would enter into contracts with Madras or Bangalore dealers and in cases of breach would be sued there. There are signs of international litigation also having increased. On an average two or three summonses are every month being received by the Bombay Courts from those at Alexandria or Cairo to be served on local dealers. The increase is certainly not due to any real prosperity or genuine trade expansion. The latter forms but a very small part of it. It is not due to any honest difference of opinion between the (contracting) parties. They, i.e., these litigating parties are not any well known or old commercial houses, firms or individuals. They are the small fry caught in

the meshes of their own creation and trying to escape. They do not mind the waste of money and time in having to resort to Courts, provided that they can thereby put off having to disgorge their illgotten profits. If it is possible for those who can sway the masses to approach this tribe of litigants, if it is possible for such leaders to prevail upon them, through those pleaders and attorneys, who have fattened and are still fattening upon fees received from the pockets of such dealers, not to incur the heavy costs of a protracted litigation, then indeed would they be doing commendable service; otherwise, as long as this demoralisation, this dishonesty of motive, holds sway over them, as long as their hearts are not touched, this pernicious tendency will go unchecked. Lawyers can help a great deal but even they individually find it difficult to resist

the temptation of earning their fees which they can get only by launching into litigation, when they see that in case their advice is not relished by the clients, there is every likelihood of their going to another lawyer, and transferring the contents of their pockets to his. Besides this demoralising aspect of the situation and the waste of money and energy, there is the other aspect of increased strain on the revenues of the country. Almost every High Court and other Courts having to do with commercial causes are asking for and getting additional Judges to cope with this increase—and even then they cannot cope with it—and their salaries and those of their establishments are a further charge on the revenues of our country. Steady work by the leaders therefore in the direction of reducing this increase would make many of us grateful.

"NON-CO-OPERATION" IN EDUCATION

THERE was a time when the modern period of Indian history used to be called the Age of Ram Mohun, after Ram Mohun Roy, the pioneer of Indian reform. It is probable that it would not be old-fashioned to continue to use the same name at the present day when "Non-co-operation" seems to have driven away every other idea and method from the field of politics. For the idea of "Non-co-operating" with England in a particular manner in certain circumstances had occurred to him independently long before it struck any one else in Europe or Asia. When in 1832, the British Reform Bill was passed into law, he was in England. On that occasion, he wrote a letter to his friend, Mr. William Rathbone, dated July 31, from which we quote the following sentences:

"I am now happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the complete success of the Reform Bill, notwithstanding the violent opposition

and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats.....

"As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country, I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result....."

The British Reform Act enfranchised numbers of Britishers, but it did not, as it was not meant to, enfranchise a single countryman of Ram Mohun. But he felt so keenly and so much for the cause of liberty all over the world, that he had publicly declared that he would renounce his connection with England, if her ruling class failed to broaden the basis of popular liberty. We have cited what Ram Mohun wanted to do about ninety years ago, in order to show that under certain circumstances he was ready to "non-co-operate" with England to the extent of cutting off all political connection with that country. That is to say, he who was neither a Moderate nor an Extremist was ready to be a "non-co-

operator" in principle and practice under certain circumstances. The question as to what he would have done had he lived in our days, may not have any practical bearing on our attitude towards the Non-co-operation movement. But his intention shows that "non-co-operation" was not fundamentally opposed to the principles of one who believed in the essential truths of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. It stands to reason that one who felt so much for foreigners could not but have felt more strongly and keenly for his own countrymen if he found them oppressed and insulted and if he considered the Indian Reform Act inadequate (as it has been considered, to a lesser or a greater extent, by Moderates and Extremists alike). And it cannot be dogmatically asserted that his feelings and reason would not have led him to resort to some kind of non-co-operation. We seek humbly to follow in the footsteps of Ram Mohun, not merely because he was a great man and the founder of the religious body to which we belong, but because his principles appeal to our reason and conscience. And so we believe that, in order to gain freedom, should it be necessary for Indians to "non-co-operate" with the British Government even to the extent of not paying taxes to it or of not serving it in the humblest as well as the highest capacity, it would be a perfectly legitimate and spiritual or religious step. Such being our belief, if we criticise the Congress resolution on non-co-operation, it is not because we do not accept the principle or because we question the legitimacy of each and every item in the programme of non-co-operation, but because we do not approve of the resolution in all its details.

Some of the effective steps which the Resolution recommends to be taken for preparing the country for the enforcement of the Congress scheme of non-violent non-co-operation are described in the following extract :—

(a) By calling upon the parents and guardians of school-children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training

in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools.

(b) By calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special services in connection with the non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions.

(c) By calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government, affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local boards to help to nationalise them.

(d) By calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to the national service, including boycott of law courts, by litigants and fellow-lawyers, and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration.

(e) In order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee.

(f) And, generally, in as much as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement.

It will be observed that in each clause where the appeal is to grown-up persons, the resolution is quite anxious to suit their worldly convenience, as in (a), (c), (d), (e), and (f). They are "to make greater efforts," "to help to nationalise" schools, "to make greater efforts to suspend their practice," "to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations," &c. But students of the age of 16 (the age limit is too low for self-determination) and over are called upon "to *withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences*, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government," the only proviso being, "if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of Government

which the Nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end." But the force of this proviso, too, has been sought to be nullified by exhorting the boys not to take shelter behind any conscientious objection. It may be incidentally noted here that the proviso, "if they feel that it is against their conscience," &c., does not occur in any clause except (b), obviously because it is rightly taken for granted from the Congress view-point that practising in Government law-courts, having foreign trade relations, &c., must be against the conscience of all adherents of the principle and programme of non-violent non-co-operation.

We are not against any class of persons, young or old, voluntarily making the utmost possible sacrifice for a cause which they hold dear and sacred. But when the entire population of a country is called upon to make some kind of sacrifice or other, those who make the appeal for sacrifice—and in the present case they included all who voted for the Congress non-co-operation resolution—are in honour and common fairness and decency bound to impose upon themselves at least as high, insistent and immediate a duty of sacrifice as they call upon others to discharge. The delegates to the Congress were all adults—lawyers, doctors, merchants, &c., none of them were "students of the age of 16 and over." But they called upon these students to do *without delay, irrespective of consequences*, something the like of which, or equivalent to which, in their own cases, they were not prepared to do. Why? Presumably and obviously because if they were to do so they would be involved in pecuniary loss, or would be guilty of breach of promise or breach of contract, &c. Not being leaders, we do not call upon any one either to incur pecuniary loss or to break promises or contracts, and certainly no honourable man ought to back out of a contract or fail to keep a promise without the willing consent of the other party. What we do say is, that an appeal for sacrifice should be equally exacting in all cases, and that, particularly, those who make the

appeal should not be more tender towards themselves than towards others. Association with a "Satanic Government" through its law courts is certainly not better, from the Congress point of view, than association with it through schools and colleges. If lawyers can be purged of the guilt of such association merely by suspension of such association, why could not students be asked only to suspend their studies in non-national institutions for as long a period as propaganda and other public work required their services?

It is perhaps assumed that it is only promises or contracts in which money is concerned that are binding. But we hope that it is not thought that where there is no legal contract, no consideration need be shown. For instance, parents have been maintaining and paying the educational expenses of their children on the tacit expectation that they would go on with their studies according to the wishes of their parents. But we do not find that either the students or their leaders have taken any pains to consider the convenience or ascertain the wishes of the parents, in the meanwhile *suspending* their studies. On the other hand, lawyers are allowed by the resolution to consult the convenience of themselves and litigants, merchants the convenience of their customers, manufacturers and other suppliers; and of themselves. What we urge is not that the promises and contracts of lawyers and merchants are not to be fulfilled, but that the same sort of consideration should be shown in the case of students and their guardians as in that of lawyers, merchants, &c. If that be impossible, would it be considered a greater sacrifice than students have been asked to make, would it be a quixotic demand, to suggest that lawyers, &c., should free themselves from contracts by payment of money, or other means, or, when that would not serve the purpose, even by going to jail, if need be?

We respect those lawyers who have already done more than the resolution demands, that is to say, who have given

up their practice altogether, and also those who will give it up altogether afterwards, having actually suspended it for the present, in order that they may devote themselves entirely to the service of the country.

It may be thought that we are rather hard upon lawyers, merchants, &c. Let us, therefore, consider the extent and nature of the sacrifices which different classes of men have been asked to make. And let us, to prevent misconstruction, say at once that a splendid compliment has been paid to the students by calling upon them to make the utmost sacrifice, and that we honour the students for the magnificent response (unapproached by any other class of men) they have made, however much we may criticise their judgment and some of their actions in detail.

Lawyers, dealers in foreign goods, &c., have been asked to sacrifice the prospective acquisition of wealth by their present methods of earning, and the advantages which it implies. But as lawyers have been asked only to suspend their practice, it means that they may resume it on some future date. Moreover, even if they give up for good their practise in Government courts, they may practise in the national arbitration courts, or become teachers in national schools and colleges. So the earning of money by them is not altogether prevented. But supposing it is, the mental equipment of the lawyers—their knowledge, their trained and disciplined mind, &c.—remains, and that is a higher possession than material wealth. With this equipment they can fight the country's cause, they can serve the motherland. Dealers in foreign goods are called upon to gradually boycott foreign trade relations. This gives them the time and the opportunity to gradually substitute indigenous for foreign goods; so that their source of wealth is not quite destroyed. But even if it were, their mental equipment, wherewith to earn a living in other ways, or to serve the country, is not taken away.

In the case of students (of the age

of 16 and over, though numerous younger boys have joined the strike), they are asked to withdraw from schools and colleges *without delay, irrespective of consequences*, at whatever stage of their studies they may be. Thousands of students have not yet got the minimum mental and moral equipment which may enable them either to serve the country effectively as propagandists, teachers and social servants, or to earn a sufficient living for themselves. No doubt, they may be told to break stones, to do sweepers' and scavengers' work, &c.,—which are certainly honest and honourable occupations. But as even young lawyers who may give up their practice, young dealers in foreign goods who may close their shops (how many have done so yet?), &c., have not been told to break stones, &c., our quixotic notions of fairness and democratic equality make us hesitate to prescribe these occupations for students alone. For elderly lawyers, traders, &c., it would not be proper to prescribe stone-breaking, &c., because they may not be able to change their habits and do what elderly coolies do. We may note by the way that a Bengali leader wants Bolshevism of the right sort. We hope, that includes the programme of all physically fit persons doing their bit of scavenging and stone-breaking by turns. Let us, however, come back to the point.

It is difficult to lay down a standard of mental and moral equipment and bodily development for all. But we hope it will not be denied that thousands among the students who have struck have immature bodies and minds, which means that they are not yet fit to be earners, teachers, social servants, propagandists, &c. The effort of the non-co-operation leaders to establish schools and colleges, itself shows that all the boys and young men who have struck are not yet fit for the work of propaganda and social service in the country. Hence, if national educational institutions cannot be established in adequate numbers for their physical and mental development, their physical and mental disqualification cannot be removed at all or as early as may be desirable. But they have been asked to

withdraw *without delay and irrespective of consequences*. This means that even if withdrawal implies that they must for life go without the mental equipment which schools and colleges give, they must withdraw *irrespective of that consequence*. Or, suppose the non-co-operation leaders fail to utilise the services of many students as propagandists, &c., they are still to withdraw *irrespective of that consequence*. We have said before that in the case of lawyers, merchants, &c., their mental equipment, their ability to serve the country, &c., would remain, even if they made the sacrifice demanded of them by the Congress resolution. This cannot be said in the case of students. And mental equipment is superior to material wealth. So, many students run the risk of having to sacrifice something which is of greater value than what other classes of men have been called upon to sacrifice. This militates against our sense of fairness.

Suppose a nation is engaged in an armed war of independence, and some classes of that nation say to some other class, "We should all make heavy sacrifices. For our part we propose to give up further acquisition of wealth, at least for some time. In your case, we propose that you should, or some of you should, give up the chance of obtaining arms:" would not the latter part of the proposal be absurd, involving, as it would do, the sacrifice of the very means whereby victory must be gained? We are asked to consider that we are engaged in a bloodless war of independence, where the principal weapon is mental and moral equipment. And yet some of the soldiers, viz., some of the students, run the risk of having to sacrifice the chance of acquiring that weapon. For they have been called upon to withdraw, *irrespective of consequences*, i.e., whether they have any facilities for education in a national institution or not, or whether a sufficiently large scheme for utilising the services of all qualified young men as propagandists, &c., can be matured and financed or not.

It may be thought that we have unnecessarily brought in the question of

mental and moral equipment and laid undue stress upon it. We contend that we have not. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement have by their own action shown that they consider that equipment—the equipment which the Western system of education by means of English literature, history, &c., gives—necessary in a soldier in the bloodless war of independence, however much the value of that equipment may be sought to be minimised or discounted. For they have sought for recruits neither among illiterate young coolies and peasants, nor among those young men who have received or are receiving education in the vernacular and Arabic *maktabs* and *madrasahs* or in indigenous Sanskrit seminaries of the ancient type.

What we have said above would go to show that according to the Congress resolution students must make a heavier sacrifice, and some of them a sacrifice of a character which would leave them comparatively ill-equipped for the battle of life and the bloodless war of independence. That students should sacrifice more than older persons is natural, for they have less worldly responsibility and liabilities than older persons, and they possess spirits unsullied by worldly prudence and undamped by worldly experience. Our objection is against those who have demanded this sacrifice without setting up an equivalent standard for themselves, against the character of the sacrifice demanded of some students, and against the want of consideration shown for the parents or other guardians of students of 16 years of age and over.

The closing of "Government controlled" institutions means pecuniary loss for certain classes of men, similar to the loss for which the resolution has shown tender consideration in the case of lawyers, litigants, and dealers in foreign goods. Authors, publishers and vendors of text-books, have printed large numbers of them and made promises and entered into contracts, on the expectation of the sale of these books. They now all suddenly run the risk of loss, breach of promise and breach of contract. These men are

not worthy of less consideration than lawyers, litigants, dealers in foreign goods, &c. We know all changes, particularly sudden changes, must mean loss to the community as a whole. But when a change has been deliberately contemplated beforehand, and tender solicitude shown for some classes of men, why were others entirely forgotten? If as many national institutions could be opened as "Government controlled" ones have been vacated, and the usual text books were used in them, their authors and publishers would not be losers in the long run. But then the objection may be raised that these books create a "slave mentality." Other and better text-books, however, cannot be prepared in a hurry, and proscribed books cannot be used as text-books.

We must now perform the thankless task of criticising some developments of the students' strike in Calcutta. One is the blockading of the doors leading to the rooms or halls where examinees for the B. L. degree were to sit for their examination, by the strikers lying flat on the ground in front of the doors so that none could cross over without treading on the bodies of the strikers. We think this was undue interference with the liberty of non-strikers. The freedom which you want for yourselves, you should allow to others: "Do unto others as you would be done by." You want to study in national institutions. You would not like to be prevented from joining them. Then why stand in the way of others of a different way of thinking doing what they think proper? All coercion in any form must cease. It ought never to have been resorted to. No other method except that of reasoning and persuasion should have been and should be used. It was certainly not soul force that was used against the B. L. candidates. The physical blocking of passages cannot be called the use of soul force. The blocking was done with living human bodies and was therefore more effective than if the entrances had been walled up or barricaded. For walls or barricades of inanimate matter can be removed without

doing violence to any sentient creature, whereas barricades of living human bodies could not be removed without such violence, and this few persons with humane feelings would attempt. The method no doubt was amusing, and more amusing was the way in which some examinees are said to have surmounted the obstacle—they fell flat on the prostrate bodies and rolled over them into the examination hall. But in reality it was not a joke, this preventing examinees by physical means from appearing at their examination against their will. This interference with their freedom of action was not a fitting prologue to the attainment of swarāj. Nor was it consistent with the spirit of Satyāgraha. The spirit of Satyāgraha requires that enemies, opponents, dissentients, be won over to the Satyāgrahi's side and made willing and friendly comrades by the Satyāgrahi alone suffering, not by making the other party an angry and resentful sufferer. National solidarity cannot be attained if any class of persons and their guardians and relatives are thus made sullen and angry. It is quite easy to understand why the true Satyāgrahic method is better and more effective than the use of any kind of physical compulsion or obstacle. When the heart is won over, one's opponent becomes a permanent friend; but when anyone is prevented from doing a thing against his will, he is sure to do it again as soon as the compulsion or obstacle ceases to exist. The strikers cannot for ever block the entrances to the examination halls, they will have to do more useful and positive work; and then the examinees will use their freedom. Let us say here that we disapprove of the action of those who walked over the prostrate bodies. We admire and respect the strikers for their spirit of non-violence.

The examinees, no doubt, had not entered into any legal contracts with their guardians that they would sit for the B. L. examination; but they had obtained the examination fees from them on the understanding and expectation that they would be able to appear at the examination. Is it

unreasonable to say that this expectation should not have been frustrated, just as the Congress has taken care not to compel lawyers to break their contracts with their clients?

It may be argued, that, as in the opinion of the non-co-operators it is wrong to have anything to do with an official university, and as it is also wrong to practise in Government law-courts, the examinees in question were doubly wrong,—actually wrong in appearing at an official university examination and wrong in intention, too, as they wanted to qualify for practising in law-courts. And as they were wrong, it was right to prevent them from doing a wrong thing. Supposing that they were wrong, we agree that the strikers would have been right if they had used only reasoning and persuasion. But the use of their bodies for blocking the passages was not right. It is only crime which ought to be prevented by force or obstruction. But to appear at the B. L. examination or to practise in law-courts is not a crime. If the profession of law and, say, the occupation of robbery stood on the same ethical footing, the princely endowments of Prasanna Coommar Tagore, Taraknath Palit and Rash Behary Ghosh would have been considered tainted money, and the promise made by Mr. C. R. Das to devote to the cause of the nation whatever he might henceforth earn as a lawyer would not have been considered acceptable as expiation for so heinous an offence. Nor is the pursuit of the profession of law even a vice or a sin. But even if it were, no sane man thinks that force is a preventive of and cure for sin or vice.

But supposing the practice of law was wrong from some point of view or other and therefore it was right to prevent law students from qualifying as lawyers, by using physical obstacles, it would be right also to prevent lawyers from going to law-courts, by the use of the same means. But the non-co-operation leaders who suggested this particular means and encouraged its application, have not suggested the blockade of the doors of lawyers' residences and law-courts by the strikers lying prostrate in rows on the ground in front of them.

It may be argued that the strikers are students and they are concerned only with the conduct of students, not with what their elders do. But the suggestion of the use of this particular method of obstruction came from their elders, and they received support and encouragement also from the elders. Why did not these elders suggest the application of this method in the case of men of their own age pursuing the profession of law, or dealing in foreign goods, &c., which also the Congress resolution has condemned? Not that we think it would be right in the latter cases, any more than it was in the case of the B. L. examinees.

Moreover, this method resulted in another form of coercion of which we must disapprove. Principal Herambachandra Maitra was subjected to it to-day (21st January, 1921). Some students sat *dharna* and lay prostrate in a kind of hunger-strike in front of the gate of his private residence this morning, preventing all egress and ingress, and refused to budge unless he agreed to "nationalize" his College. This was a most objectionable procedure, and foolish, too, for a Principal cannot alone nationalise a college. Fortunately Mr. Maitra met Mr. C. F. Andrews by chance, and Mr. Andrews was able to persuade the boys to disperse. The Non-co-operation leaders must know that they have set forces at work which they have not been able to control.

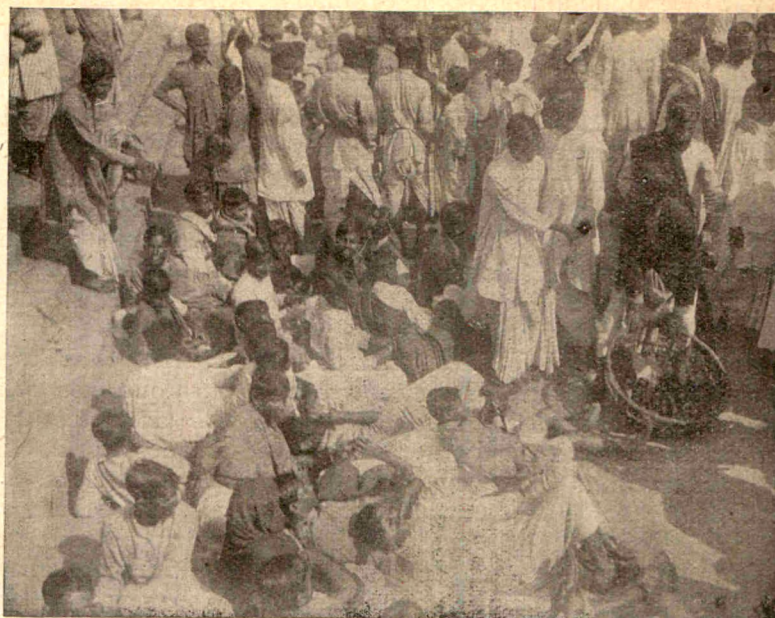
Another thing that we take exception to is the preventing I. A., I. Sc. and other candidates from depositing their examination fees by picketing and other physical means. It was an undue interference with their liberty of action. It was also foreseen that it could not be effective, and it has now been got over by recourse to postal money orders, involving additional expense and labour. Picketing and blocking the entrances to schools and colleges to prevent ingress of students are quite wrong. This interference with the liberty of others must be unhesitatingly condemned.

Still less do we like the male strikers calling upon the girl students to boycott schools and colleges. The prevailing attitude of most

Bengali boys and young men and their elders towards the education of girls and women has been that of hostile detractors, not that of friendly advocates. Therefore, the present male appeal is unbecoming, because every one knows that though the bulk of the "Nationalists" in Bengal may try to establish "national" institutions for the male sex, they will not of their own accord do the same for the female sex,—in any case the Bengal nationalist party (and for that matter, any other political party in Bengal) has not been guilty of excessive zeal

for girls' education of any sort. At the best the Bengal Nationalists, like the bulk of their countrymen, have been quite indifferent to the education of girls. The Khilafat party, too, is not zealous in the cause of the education of girls. Mr. Gandhi is actually opposed to girls and women learning English. We certainly advocate hand-spinning as an occupation for women and girls who are not otherwise more usefully occupied. But it is by no means a substitute for a general education for girls and women. The female sex forms half the population. Seeing that the promoters, Hindu and Moslem, of the educational boycott of "non-national" education, have not been known to promote the education of this half without which there can be no national salvation, the fate of the education of a people should not be in their hands alone, until they have practically shown that they are alive to the necessity of treating girls and women as human beings with souls and intellects, not as human animals existing for the convenience and comfort of the male sex.

The girl students of Bethune College have nobly and fearlessly stood by their brethren, the Calcutta male students,



Strikers on the steps of the Senate House, Calcutta.
Neighbours distributing Oranges among the strikers.
Photograph by T. P. Sen.

though, with some exceptions, these brethren of theirs have never been worthy to call them sisters, not having dissociated themselves from the vilest and most cowardly slanderers of educated women. Most of the Bengali Nationalist and other political leaders, too, have not dissociated themselves from these vile specimens of humanity.

We will now examine some of the grounds on which the boycott of the existing schools and colleges has been advocated. We must clear our minds of cant. We do want independent institutions, but not at present the destruction of the state-controlled ones. It is said that the "non-national" institutions produce a slave mentality. We agree that one aim of the official educational system is to manufacture submissive and obsequious subjects. But we must judge by results, not by the intention. Without repeating what we have said on this subject in previous issues, we may say in brief that there is more dissatisfaction with foreign rule and servitude and more love of liberty among the English educated section of the people, young and old, than among the rest of their countrymen. If there is slave men-

talities to be found among some or many of these educated persons, it is not due to the education they have received, but it is, speaking generally, the residue of the mentality of the general population which education has not yet been able to destroy. There is nothing to prevent private schools and colleges from directly fostering the civic spirit. Some have done so.

Spiritual and social tyranny and political tyranny are closely allied. A people accustomed for countless years to spiritual and social tyranny easily submits to political tyranny. Mr. Gandhi knows this very well. He has, therefore, said that the country can never be fit for swarāj unless and until millions of our countrymen are freed from the curse of "untouchability." The charge of manufacturing slaves can be brought with greater truth against our domestic and socio-religious system than against the official educational system, whatever the intention of its foreign originators and sponsors.

The conduct of the non-co-operation leaders shows their real conviction in the matter. For the establishment of swarāj, for their propaganda work, for rural social service, &c., they require men whose ways of thinking are not those of the slave. And whom do they seek to recruit for this kind of work? If the cry that English education in the ordinary institutions manufactures slaves, had been true, the leaders would have tried to secure the services of persons uninfluenced by this enslaving agency; that is to say, they would have recruited either young illiterate youths, or youths who have received an Arabic or a Sanskrit education in the indigenous makhtabs and madrasahs and tōls. There are thousands of young pandits and maulavis in Bengal who have not been "enslaved by the teaching of false history in the schools and colleges." Why is there no eagerness to recruit them? What has been their response to the appeal of national idealism? On the other hand, the splendid response of the English-educated lads shows that their souls have not been politically enslaved—intellectual and moral slaves, in the political sense, do not respond to the war cry of liberty.

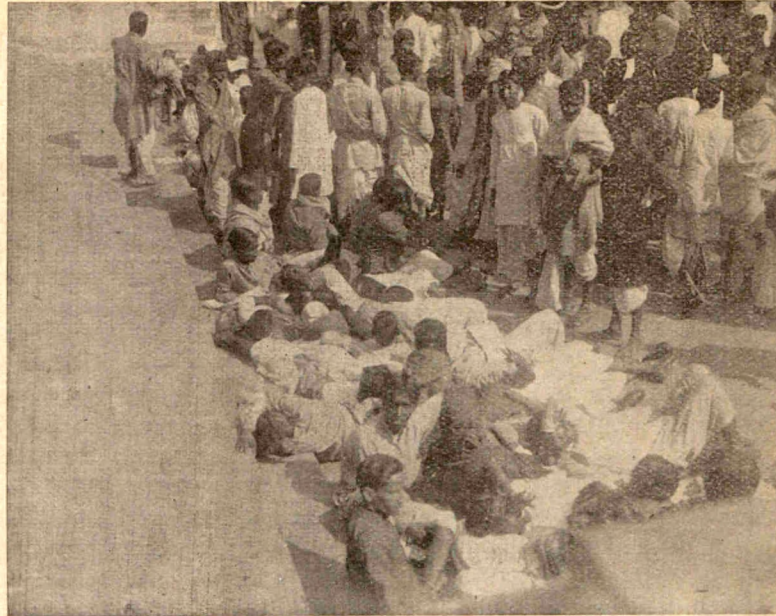
Another charge brought against the "non-national" schools and colleges is that they create a hankering for Government service. So long as people are as poor as they are, they will naturally seek employment in any available ways open to them. Even some students of national institutions have sought and obtained Government service. The remedy does not lie in destroying non-national schools and colleges, but in opening out new careers and providing training therefor. It is true that these institutions in Bengal turn out prospective clerks, &c. But, clerks also are necessary, and if these institutions are destroyed, without providing substitutes, the clerkships will not remain vacant but would be given to men from distant provinces and places. So the remedy is to provide vocational training, to open new careers, &c.; thereby candidates for clerkships would be decreased and clerks would also be able to secure better salaries.

It is argued that students in non-national schools are subjected to cramping, unnecessary and, sometimes, insulting restrictions. We should be the last persons to defend any such restrictions, but it is best not to have any exaggerated notions on the subject. That there are some restrictions, and more were in force formerly, is true. But it is good to have a correct idea of their character. Those rules of discipline which are common to American, French, British, German or Japanese schools cannot be objected to as the special creation of a satanic Anglo-Indian government. National schools and colleges also will have some such rules of discipline. It should be remembered that the Risley, Carlyle and Lyon circulars are not at present enforced. Students even from Government Colleges went to the Nagpur Students' Conference as delegates with the knowledge and consent of their principals. Some of these principals have presided over their students' meetings at which resolutions in favour of non-co-operation have been passed. Students had been openly taking part in political meetings and addressing them even before the strikes. So far, therefore, as restrictions are concerned, there is not at present

a great deal to complain of. Attempts may be made to minimise those which still exist without wrecking the whole system of English education.

Then there is the question of our self-respect being lost and our manhood being dwarfed by associating with "a satanic Government" and receiving any kind of help from it and being under some control by it. This is in some respects a matter of sentiment and we have not the least desire to ask any one to continue to do that which he considers humiliating. For our part, we have said more than once that to live under foreign rule is a great disgrace,

but that we all have to live a life of compromise. Seeing that we all have to live such lives, the only two questions are: (1) how to end this sort of life, and (2) in the mean time what kind of temporary compromise is best calculated to give us that equipment which will in the long run enable us to end the life of compromise. The answer to the first question is, "the winning of perfect autonomy", call it independence or by any other name. The answer or answers to the second question will differ according to individual experience, needs, &c. We find that Mr. Gandhi and others use and put up with state railways, telegraphs, the post office, the Western system of medicine, &c., though they do not like these things; but a state-controlled system of education, even when the control is indirect and almost nominal, is to them unbearable. We do not in the least quarrel with them for their dislikes and compromises. But so far as national self-respect and destruction of manhood goes, every one knows that railways put



Strikers on the steps of the Senate House, Calcutta.
Photograph by T. P. Sen.

the brand of the helot on our foreheads more distinctly, openly and shamelessly than any school or college. Every time we go to a railway station or board a train, we feel more depressed, insulted and humiliated than we can describe. It may be an individual idiosyncrasy with us that we do not have the same feeling to the same extent in entering even a Government College, but it is a fact which we must record. Yet it is the same satanic Government which controls railways and universities and schools and colleges, alike and spends *our* money, obtained in the form of taxes, for all of them. Our opinion is that as we use and put up with railways because we need them for our purposes, so we should use and put up with the universities, colleges and schools, because we require them for our purposes. If we had our own national means of transport and locomotion, we would boycott the existing railways; if we had our national system of education, we would boycott the state system. In the mean time, there is no objection to but rather an urgent need for as many independent lines

of railways and as many independent universities, colleges and schools as we can construct and establish; and at the same time we should try to introduce reforms in the existing railways and in the existing system of education. Mr. Gandhi has tried much to improve the lot of third class passengers, but he wants not to reform the state system of education but to destroy it. We do not quarrel with him for choosing his line of action, but for our part we want to introduce reforms in the universities, schools and colleges, too.

So far as the Calcutta University is concerned, the Bengal public could have made it practically a national university if they could have made Sir Asutosh Mukherji responsible to reasonable public opinion. But that public never tried to tackle him; it needs must fight the Government!

It has been said that Swarāj can certainly be won if the students hold out for three months. It would be useless to seek to demolish such optimism by arguments. We will not attempt the task. We certainly do not think that what has never yet taken place in history cannot happen in the future; but we do believe that it would be an agreeable surprise to the departed spirits of all the liberators of nations if they found India emancipated three months hence by the method of boys taking political French leave for three months. At the same time what a humiliation it would be to them to find that they did not know this royal road to freedom, this "Emancipation Made Easy."

It has been argued that students might not join national institutions if the existing ones were not destroyed. And national education is meant to make us free. But is it really thought that to deprive men of the freedom to choose their own kind of education can be a stepping-stone to real freedom? Let it be. But there is a real danger in forcing those students to join national institutions who would not have entered them if they could help it. May not their hunger for Government service, their "slave mentality," infect the other students, and may not Government also se-

duce the latter, too, with offers of employment, finding its own institutions empty?

It is charged against the existing system of education that it impairs the health of students. Admitting that it does, their health can be improved by relieving the pressure of examinations and by other means, which do not require the total destruction of the system. Moreover, can it be asserted with confidence that the physique of our students is worse than that of other Indians of the same age?

Our students cannot be correctly accused of having less sense of the dignity of labour than those Indians of their age and class who have not received education. Nor can it be confidently asserted that they are more addicted to luxury than other young men who have equal means.

The most urgent question, however, is, now that the upheaval has come, what is to be done to take advantage of the enthusiasm and idealism of the students? Even their leaders have been taken by surprise. They were not prepared for so mighty an onrush of the tide of nationalism. We welcome it. The shock was needed. We know all students are not moved by the right kind of idealism and impulse, but large numbers of them are. Of these we are proud.

Our advice to the students is this:

Those who consider it a humiliation to rejoin their colleges, should certainly not do so. They can do one of three things: (1) join a national college, if there be room there; (2) do village propaganda work, or social service work, after receiving training for it; (3) turn their hands to any kind of remunerative work which does not involve any moral turpitude. Not to speak of the work of the village teacher, even the work of the coolie, the sweeper, the hawker, the shoeblack, the lamp-lighter, the artisan, the mechanic, the brick-layer, the small grocer,—all are honourable. Some of them earn more than ordinary clerks and teachers. It is not the amount of the money, however, that matters most. Dear boys, as you did not consult your guardians when you came out of the colleges, show that you can stand on your

own legs. The best University is that of the University of Hard Knocks. Show that you are fit to graduate there. Why should the unskilled and skilled labour markets of your towns and villages be flooded with illiterate men and women who were not born and brought up there and who do not speak your tongue? Occupy all fields of labour yourselves. We should gladly agree even to the smashing of the colleges if that should furnish the occasion for a demonstration of your willingness and ability to turn your hands to all kinds of honest

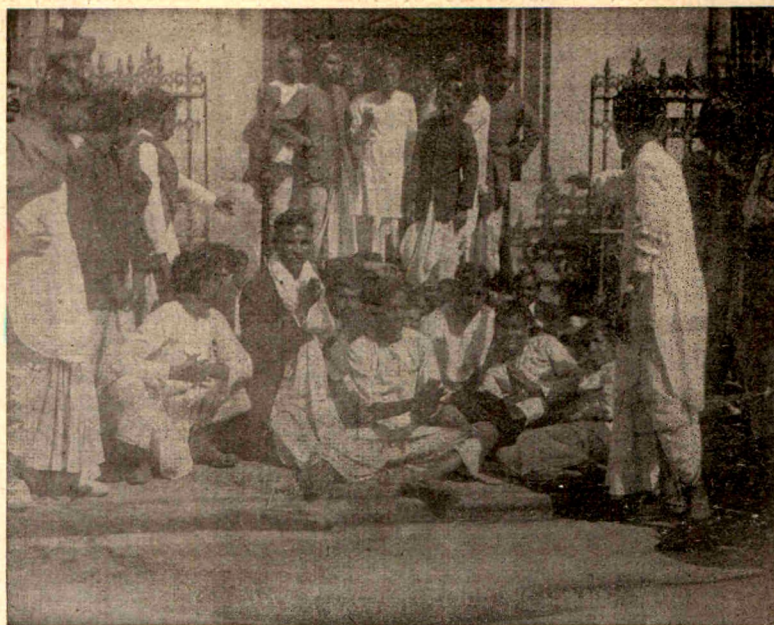
work. It is not a clean shirt and dhoti and patent leather shoes which constitute the manhood of a man, but the power to be equal to all emergencies.

Having made your choice, do not, pray, interfere with the choice of others.

Those who want to continue to study in their colleges should have the courage to do so. It is up to them to prove that they are as good citizens and men as their brethren.

Our appeal to the governing bodies of the private colleges is that they should make them real centres of a liberal education, not merely "graduate factories". As they have got the class-rooms, the furniture, the libraries, the laboratories, and, to some extent, staffs, it should be easier for them than for others to open independent vocational classes, as they undoubtedly ought to. If the present upheaval be not a sufficient warning to them, they may rest assured the Time Spirit will give them ruder shocks.

We are afraid we must not suggest any course of action to the Calcutta University. It is Sir Asutosh Mukherji's *khas mahal*.



Strikers blocking the Entrance to the Examination Hall.

Photograph by T. P. Sen.

To the leaders of the educational non-co-operation movement we may make some suggestions. They should recognise the limits of their capacity and resources. It is neither pleasant nor useful to bite off more than one can swallow. They should place the educational work, and the propaganda and social service work, under the charge of different bands of experts, though we know these are inter-related. They should put a stop at once and for ever to all kinds of interference with personal freedom. They should cease to prophesy and to hold out expectations of the winning of *swarāj* in a given period which they have not the power to fulfil. They should not hold examinations for those whom they have not taught. This we say from the point of view of education. Merely examining students goes against the best ideals of education. Moreover, the certificates and diplomas granted by the leaders cannot have any market value. The education in the national colleges should, for the present at any rate, be mainly vocational, fitting men for independent careers. There should be training classes for propaganda and social

service work. The state of idleness in which the students are passing their days should be put an end to as quickly as possible. Idleness breeds mischief.

In conclusion, we appeal to the Nationalist leaders and organs and speakers to cease to indulge in the cant of speaking of our girls and women as *devis* or goddesses, to recognise that they are human beings with minds, hearts and souls like boys and men, and to give them equal opportunities with boys and men to show what

their minds, hearts and souls can do for the salvation of themselves and others. Justice to our girls and women requires this. Moreover, unless we give them this opportunity, we cannot survive as free beings in the struggle with those nations which can and do mobilize both men and women for all spiritual, moral, intellectual, social, educational, economic, industrial and physical endeavours, though we may survive as slaves or anthropoid cattle.

January 21, 1921.

STUDENT UNREST

THE most disturbing phenomenon in Indian public life during the last two months has been the success of the non-co operation agitators in upsetting the minds of numbers of students and interrupting the work of schools, colleges and even universities in different degrees all over India. We frankly confess that, in spite of our long experience and patient observation of men and events around us, we have, in this case, proved false prophets, and our hope that after the temporary ebullition following the Calcutta Special Congress things would settle down and there would be no revival of trouble among our students,—has sadly failed. We are not so much exercised in mind by the peasant unrest in various parts of the United Provinces, because history teaches us that such things must happen so long as landlords insist on exacting feudal dues and services in addition to rent proper, in civilised times. So long as *begar*, *abwab*, *tawan*, &c., are not abolished by legislation there must be a chronic fear of agrarian revolt with the growth of self-consciousness and education among the peasants. The same causes led to rioting and bloodshed in Chota Nagpur and the Sontal Parganahs in the past, and so long as they exist there will be riot and bloodshed in Pertabgarh and Faizabad. Jacques has known causes and a sure remedy.

But the student revolt is another matter altogether, and confronts us with a far graver problem, first, because of its far-reaching

consequences, and, secondly, because we do not see what act of justice or what political device can effectually remedy it. We have no guarantee that the trouble will not continue to crop up in different seasons and provinces for several years to come till the cause of the ferment has worked itself off.

Thoughtful educationists and patriotic social philosophers had been anticipating some sort of upheaval among our students for several years before Mr. Gandhi launched his gospel of non-co-operation. We knew, for instance, that when Schiller's *Robbers* was first acted, some forty German students left their colleges and took to the woods to lead the life of robbers, not because they were moral perverts rejoicing in the spoliation of their species, but because there was no colour, no romance, no freedom, no excitement in the sober humdrum life of grind which they had been previously leading at their universities.

In India, too, for several years past student life has been becoming increasingly joyless, subject to mechanical drill and prison-like restrictions, routine lectures and dry grind. The living teacher by word of mouth has been completely buried and suffocated under the piled-up regulations of universities, codes of the education department, and police circulars of the Government of Simla. There was a threat against every action of the student: late attendance fines, game fines, absence fines, hostel fines,

besides fines for a very elastic code of moral delinquencies (almost entirely political). He could not, in some institutions, take a single step without the risk of his stumbling against some unknown regulation or other and being punished for it. He could not stroll into any place or park lest somebody should happen to be speaking there and the meeting be styled political, for all meetings having even a remote or abstract political character were taboo to him.

Then, there was an elaborate and costly agency for his political segregation and disinfection, lest he should catch patriotism—or, as it was more euphemistically called, objectionable political views,—from others. All newspapers and even reviews (except ultra-Tory ones on a secret departmental approved list) were excluded from Government colleges, hostels, students' common rooms and young men's institutes in receipt of State subsidies. Rabid Anglo-Indian organs like the *Statesman* and the *Pioneer* were there; but it was a crime to subscribe for or to possess a copy of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* or even the *Bengalee* before Sir Surendranath's conversion. Only dull and colourless magazines, as well as those of a pronouncedly "loyal" tone, were sanctioned.

The vernacular papers encouraged were of the worst class from the literary and cultural points of view, but spotlessly tame. The teachers were expected to be "political eunuchs", if they could not become servile courtiers of this the best of all possible good governments; spies and even open enemies of our nation were encouraged and patronised in college chairs as in the case of the journals permitted.

And to-day the Nemesis has come. Government would not permit our students to listen to honest manly patriotic teachers, but only to subservient courtiers, "Empire-day" orators and Durbars-day poets. This order was enforced for some years, and the result is that to-day our boys would not listen to their guardians nor to any teacher, moderate or extremist, but have come out—without intimidation, without bribery, without cajolery, without any hope of pleasure or gain,—at the call of educational anarchists. You once suppressed the Duma (we speak metaphorically), and now you must put up with the Soviet. This is the legacy of the Risley school of political administrators of education.

* * *

Outside the Education Department of the Government, too, there has been injustice. The examinations have often been massacres for a series of years—especially in Madras and Allahabad, less than a quarter or one-third of the candidates passing. A boy's success has there come to be regarded as a matter of chance and not the reward of his honest exertions. His teachers, who have seen his work for years, have no voice in determining his fate, which is done by an impersonal machine turned at the Senate House. The cruelty of Madras and Allahabad and the crueller kindness of Calcutta (in recent years)—with its seventy or eighty per cent of passes and more than half of them in the first class, so that Calcutta first classes have become the laughing stock of the rest of India and cheaper than dust,—have had the same effect on our students' minds. They are ready to revolt against a system under which years of labour are, more often than not, sure to be lost, for no fault of their own.

And the elderly students, who are near the end of their college career, are seized with despair. They see a dead wall at the end of the academic avenue. No career, except that of beggarly school masters and clerks (and not always clerks), open to the man of general education, which is the only education that our universities give. No vocational training of youths selected early, no apprenticeship in business or trade, no efficient university "employment bureau." The result would have been Bolshevism, were it not for the fact that many of our graduates are married, all are total abstainers, and all are under the sedative influence of the old Indian home.

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We hope we have succeeded in illustrating how everything was getting ready for the deluge that has come down upon us, how a revulsion of feeling against the existing order in education and politics had been steadily growing, how the mine was laid for an explosion, when Non-co-operation came to set the spark, and non-co-operation in education is only another name for a revolt against our present academic principles and practice.

As things really stand with us, religion has no healing balm to lay on the stricken hearts of our youth. The old sectarianism, the old religion of daily practices and elaborate ceremonies, is dead beyond recall. The old-type saints, men like Sir Gurudas Banerji for instance, are too orthodox, too ritualistic, to

convince the modern educated reason; and Hinduism has organised no satisfactory universal *effective* substitute for orthodox ritualism. The "good old brand" in its fulness or nothing: these are the only alternatives it offers to-day. This vacuity, this spiritual hunger in the hearts of our youth is not remedied by music or art, because we have none such in our homes. We believe that the religious situation is as bad among the Muslim and Christian as among the Hindu students.

The economic pressure and the increasing diversity and distraction of modern life have left men with less leisure; the home is no longer the sweet haven of refuge and rest and reunion that it once was. Every man is now, in one sense, a factory hand, and the wear and tear of life and the consequent fret and fury of mind have become universal.

Just then came a man—like the prophet of Israel,—clad in coarse home-spun and living on vegetables and milk, with his clear-simple call, "Come back to Nature, come back to the simple life, come back to your own true selves, and inherit the riches and glory of ancient Aryavarta!" Who, in the frame of mind we have described, could resist his call?

* *

With the constructive side of Non-cooperation,—though its unfortunate name suggests that it is a merely negative movement,—we have no quarrel. It is possible and it is highly desirable for our youth to serve the nation educationally and socially, — to teach our poorer brethren in a simpler and cheaper fashion, to act as peace-makers, and to develop their self-respect and national feeling by example and precept while living in their midst.

But it is the destructive or negative side of Non-co-operation that we must combat. "Education may wait, but not Swaraj,"—as if Swaraj without full education could be gained in a year or defended for a day even,—this pernicious fallacy we must fight in the true interests of Swaraj and for the surer attainment of Swaraj than Mr. Gandhi's programme can achieve.

Non-co-operation, in order to be truly constructive, must, *first* order its young votaries to *complete their education*, so that they may become *fully* trained teachers,—and not raw enthusiasts with incomplete education, capable of rendering to our motherland only half-efficient or quarter-efficient service. National Education, no less than factory production, requires fully trained

"skilled labour" and not raw untrained coolies. *Secondly*, it would be a fatal mistake to turn our faces entirely away from the West. If we have the right spirit, if we have true manhood and patriotism, we can receive the highest education of the West and yet resist its materialistic tendency. Our *national education* should be conducted in close connection with modern knowledge, modern arts, and modern avenues of employment. The nation cannot exist if we all become Sanyasis. So, our *Satyagraha Ashrams* and (new) national colleges must maintain a constant *liaison* with the modern world. Rabindranath Tagore's Shanti-Niketan is a national college, but it has kept touch with the modern world by every year sending its highest form boys to the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University. Surely, nobody can charge Rabindranath with encouraging the "slave mentality." In the education of our youth, you will miss the goal of perfect culture, if you revive the mediæval system of monastic seclusion and timid avoidance of the outer world. No; let our boys live and learn in touch with the broad, free and ever-moving modern world; do not confine them in a well. Make not your ashram a prison, just as some Government hostels—as types of the other extreme—have been prisons. After passing the Matriculation of our so-called official University, the Shanti-Niketan boys read further in the ordinary colleges and gain the highest education possible in India, and then many of them return to their Ashram, as *fully qualified* workers. This is the right method; this is *true* national service.

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Is contact with Europeans and European civilisation to be avoided by our youth as sure to denationalise them? The latter is impossible. As for contact with Europeans, we know by experience that it is the best nourisher of our patriotic feeling. The best Europeans have much to teach us, much to teach even our best men,—[Tolstoy, the guru of Mr. Gandhi, was *not* an Asiatic],—and the worst Europeans, by creating a reaction in our minds, stimulate the national sentiment far more effectually than any book or speech can do. Hence daily contact with Europeans, whether friendly or hostile, is of immense benefit to us. Their presence in our midst would make us reflect and compare, and induce us to develop exactly those national

qualities which we lack, because in many respects, Europe is the complement of India, neither being complete as it stands alone. The policy of Japan, in this respect, should be our guide. Surely, nobody can accuse the statesmen of Japan of being denationalised.

Even the hated materialism and physical science of Europe have a special value for us. They supply exactly what we need, and are the best cure for the dreamy metaphysics and the occult or dogmatic teachings of Mahatmas which have weakened and paralysed the Indian intellect in the past. A revival of this dreamy metaphysics and guru or Mahatma worship in matters of the intellect—instead of following modern scientific methods of accurate observation and experiment and the free exercise of the individual reason,—are the worst evils that can befall our country. The obscurantist and impractical spirit of Indian education in the middle ages, if revived today, would bear even less fruit than the mechanical memorising of western lore enforced by some of our English colleges and castigated in Rabindranath's *Parrot's Training*.

Will English education, or education controlled by the British Government (though such control will be nominal under the Reforms) kill the *soul of India*? No. Look at our vernacular literatures. The true soul of India has come out in our modern Indian prose and poetry, clad in all the ancient charms of Sanskrit and the latter day graces of English literatures. Would this literature—would Bankim and Rabindra, Harish Chandra and Tripathi, Hali and Apte, have been possible without English education and contact with Englishmen? And, can you call them denationalised?

It is *not* true that English education has produced in India only a race of "imitation Englishmen." The richest fertilisers of Indian literature—and I may add art,—have come from our study of European poetry and painting; our greatest contributors in this field have been our English-educated brethren and not the orthodox and exclusive custodians of

our ancient indigenous learning, our pandits and maulavis.

* * *

We shall go even farther and maintain that the best proof of India's national vitality and her strongest right to exist in that modern world will be that she can with safety to herself receive the highest western education and can successfully assimilate whatever is best and truest in the East and the West alike,—that she can pass the inexorable modern test of national efficiency without piteously crying to be carefully protected by others and preserved in an enclosure away from all fear of modern economic competition and military aggression. If Non-co-operation leads to national inefficiency and return of mediævalism, mysticism, or dogma (in matters other than personal faith), it will prove the greatest curse to our nation and the worst enemy of Swaraj. Inefficiency means waste of energy and money, and a poor and backward people like ours can least afford to run the risk of such waste. Rich England would not feel it if there is no return for the expenditure of money and time on national training; and yet in England the most strenuous and deeply thought out attempts are now being made to reconstruct the nation after the war, so as to raise it to the level of pre-war German efficiency. If our non-co-operators hate the English, as the English hate the Germans, let them imitate the present English attitude towards German science, German organisation and German education.

We have from the outset opposed the gospel of non-co-operation as directed against our existing schools and colleges—all too few for such a vast country. And we now call upon the revered leaders of our people in all departments of life to come forward and publicly denounce such destructive work and restoration of mediævalism and obscurantism. Any further delay on their part would only increase the amount of the mischief. Government servants would not command a hearing. But Sir P. C. Ray and Sir J. C. Bose are no longer in State service.

X.

THE NEXT WAR OF THE WORLD

BY PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA, SASTRI,
PRINCIPAL, VISWABHARATI, SANTINIKETAN, BOLPUR.

FROM the Indian as well as the Iranian point of view, the people of this world are divided in accordance with their qualities and actions (गुण and कर्म), into four main classes, viz., Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras (spiritual preceptors, warriors, traders and agriculturists, and slaves and those who serve for wages). The above order is also the order of their excellence. They have each their own angles of vision, and they attempt to get success in life by divergent means and ways. As long as a man remains a Shudra in his qualities and actions he can never achieve the highest bliss and peace of life. To achieve this he has to elevate himself to the level of a true Brāhmana. Of course every one, irrespective of his birth and caste, has a right to do so, for Brāhmanahood is not confined to any particular class of mankind.

Now, from times immemorial, a series of wars, big or small, have been carried on by the last three classes of people, viz., the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras, according to their own ideas and means. The biggest of the ancient wars of the Kshatriyas was the *Kurukshetra-Yuddha*, the War of Kurukshetra of the Mahābhārata. It took place only among Kshatriyas. Though a few Brāhmanas, as for instance, Drona, the preceptor of the princes in archery, took part in it, they were truly speaking Kshatriyas, or nominal Brāhmanas. How a Kshatriya should fight in war has been described in detail by Lord Srikrishna in the Bhāgavadgītā. The greatest war among Vaisyas and Shudras combined (i.e., the commercial peoples and their subjects and hired soldiers) was the last war of Europe, wherein they were guided by the ideals of men like Nietzsche and others. But the world has not yet witnessed a big war of the highest class of people, i.e., the Brāhmanas. It has never been dreamt of before in any country of the world, even in India. But things that could not be thought of have actually come into being. And it clearly appears to me that a very great war is going to be fought not

only in India, but gradually in every part of the world,—a war which will purely be of the Brāhmanas and in which none but a Brāhmana is entitled to take part.

There is no evidence whatever of such a war in the pages of history as has already been stated, but its ideal has very clearly been placed before the world by those who were the highest Brāhmanas among Brāhmanas, no matter whether they lived within India or without. The central idea of such a war is not the principle of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," but the precept of Buddha, given to the world more than two thousand years ago and preserved in the Dhammapada:—

अक्रोधेन जिने क्रोधं असाधुं साधुना जिने ।

जिने कदरियं दानेन सखे नालीकवादिनं ॥ २२३ ॥

Which has been translated by Max Mullar as follows: "Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good, let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth." The modern "civilisers, of the world" are also exploiters and conquerors; that is to say, they are instinct with the Vaisya and Kshatriya spirits at their worst. But the Buddhist missionaries who travelled outside the limits of India successfully fought the animal and savage instincts of man in the greater part of Asia and its adjoining Islands simply with the spiritual weapon of the message of Buddha. In the Mahābhārata, too, we find a parallel to the teaching of the Buddha in the following verse:—

अक्रोधेन जयेत् क्रोधम् असाधुं साधुना जयेत्

जयेत् कदर्यं दानेन जयेत् सखेन चानृतम् ॥

—Mahabh. (Pratap Roy ed.) Udyoga, 38—73.

Which may be translated thus: "Anger should be overcome by its opposite," &c.

In a later age we have the Commandment of Christ, "Whoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn him the other also."

Again, it is not "thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy," but "love your enemies, bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them that reproach you and persecute you." This is what an ideal Brāhmana of the highest order preached to mankind nearly two thousand years ago in a country other than India. He acted accordingly to what he said, waged war against his enemies, and was crowned with success. He conquered them completely not by shedding their blood but by giving his own. He did his duty boldly facing and embracing the sorrows of the world and in consequence not only his enemies but the world came at his feet.

The Brāhmanas thought, as was but right that they should have, that the doctrine of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" was a false doctrine; that an evil could not be remedied by another evil, that the truth could not be attained by untruth, and good could be realised by evil. They further hold that the spirit is far greater than the flesh, and that one's soul is far superior to one's body; that the freedom of the body is nothing when compared with that of the soul, and that physical force is no force at all when weighed against spiritual force.

Taking all these as basic principles, as axiomatic, they proceeded to say that it is not anger, but absence of anger by which anger is to be conquered; that it is not evil but good by which evil is to be redressed; that it is not wickedness but honesty by which wickedness is to be overcome; and that it is not falsehood but truth by which falsehood is to be avoided. So laying great stress on the importance of sacrifice (त्याग) * the author of the Mahabharata tells us: "Let a man not be bewildered in a critical juncture; nor should he give up his duties then. He must think well what is really good and employ himself in doing it. He must not do any evil in return for an evil-doer, but be always good and kind to him,

for a wicked person willing to do any evil to any one is killed by himself."†

This is what a true Brāhmana thinks and acts upon. Its value ought not to be minimised by taking it merely as a platitude. It is not to be confined only to spiritual and religious purposes, but to be equally applied to every work in every sphere of one's life.

Politics which is neither religious nor spiritual brings about nothing but destruction. Freedom, peace, and happiness can never come from it. So it must be made spiritual and religious. Truth is truth and falsehood is falsehood; and truth is good and falsehood is evil. They can never be interchanged, and they cannot be restricted to a particular case, or time, or place.

This is the only weapon, the Brāhmanic weapon; which can be safely employed in combating all sorts of evil in the world. There is going on a constant struggle between good and evil, and if we believe in our Iranian saints, they give us a definite assurance that good will prevail at last, exterminating evil from the world—only if one persists in following the right path.

Hitherto no Brāhmanic war on a gigantic scale has taken place, but clear signs are visible in every nook and corner of India that in the very near future it will be started here. Sooner or later, every country of the civilized world will take part in it in order to make it a full and complete success. For such are the indications as discernible in the minds of all great men in the West as in the East.

Indeed, the starting of this holy Brāhmanic war has already been made under the wise leadership of Mahātmā Gandhi. It is naturally bloodless and non-violent, yet it does not cease for a moment to overthrow every kind of evil, not only political but economic, social and moral. It destroys evil, but creates good at the same time. It is true that it is destructive but it is equally true that it is constructive. Undoubtedly it destroys much, but the amount of what it creates is much more. It

† "न मृच्छे दर्शकं च न च धर्मं परित्यजेत् ।

यत् कष्टाद्यभिधायेत तच्चात्मानं निधोजयेत् ॥

न पापे प्रतिपादः स्यात् साधुरेव सदा भवेत् ।

आत्मनैव हतः पापी यः पापं कर्तुमिच्छति ॥"

* "त्यागान् नान्यत्र सत्तां गुणस्त्रिष्टयं पश्ये ।"

"There are no good qualities in a man if there were no sacrifice."—Mahabharata, Vana, 206—41.

Ibid. Vana, 206. 42—43.

takes out a man from the depth of his immense darkness of illusion. It reveals to him the bright light of truth. It gives him the lesson that truth is truth and cannot be compromised with untruth for a moment even, and that it must be revered and accepted at any cost. It roots out all imaginary fears, annihilates timidity and cowardice, and sets one free from any bondage or enslavement hindering one's soul. And what does it not do, when it teaches the people never to associate with sin, falsehood, and injustice, nor to conquer an enemy by fighting him or by entertaining any hatred towards him, but only by dissociating themselves from him? They may say, "Well, we cannot, and will not keep any connection with you. Do what you like. Take our heads if you will; but it is beyond your power, however mighty you may be, to lay your hand on our soul!"

It thus vividly appears to me, that by preaching and following in action this truth sealed up for generations in our ancient sacred writings, as has already been shown above, Mahātmā Gandhi is merely Brāhmanizing the whole Indian nation. As I see him at the helm of this present movement, he is waging a pure Brāhmanic war which is very peaceful if carried on along right channels. His call has been very satisfactorily responded to by the people, and I have not the least doubt in saying that there will be no want of soldiers for this holy war. At the same time, it must be pointed out that only those persons are eligible to be enrolled as soldiers of this new war, who are fully qualified, as stated below :—

1. They must abstain from any sort of injury or malice towards another man, regardless of his country, or nation, or race, or caste. It is also absolutely desirable that they should refrain from causing injury towards other living creatures.

2. Under no circumstances should they speak untruth and keep any connection with it.

3. They must not take anything belonging to another which is not given to them in the right manner.

4. They must not have anything more than what is absolutely required for keeping their body and soul together.

5. And finally, they must be strict Brahmachārins.

Such are the soldiers required for a Brāhmanic war, and if India can produce them—and I am sure that she will, if only she moves under the guidance of Mahātmā Gandhi—sooner or later, victory will undoubtedly be realized by her people. When the bondage that enfetters our soul is once broken, the bondage of our body will also no longer exist. And consequently both kinds of evil, internal and external,—that is, the evil of untouchability and other such monstrous social customs with us, and the evil of this unjust and arrogant bureaucracy—will disappear simultaneously for ever. People will then live in a free and peaceful atmosphere which would make them feel and realize that no longer are they for a particular place limited by some imaginary geographical boundaries, but for the universe, or the whole of humanity. No longer will there be then heard such childish talk that India is only for Indians. Certainly India is for Indians but also for the whole of humanity, as every other country is.

That is the supreme truth, and it must be realized, the sooner the better. And this Brāhmanic war has been started by the Mahātmāji for preparing the way, the only way leading to this truth. Destruction is not followed by creation, but they both are simultaneous—such is the law of the universe. So we have no grounds for any sort of fear. Let the war go on vigorously without any consideration of its consequences, for if it is our duty or our *dharma* to do it, it must be done. I can assure you of its success, and I have strong reason for doing so. I can tell you with a slight modification in the last words of Sanjaya in the 'Lord's Song' (Bhagavad-gītā, XVIII. 78) uttered in the beginning of the Kurukshetra War :—

“यत्र योगीश्वरो गान्धी

यत्र चैते शत्रुर्धराः ।

तत्र श्रीविजयो भूति-

ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्नम ॥”

Wherever there is Gandhi glowing with his *yoga*, and wherever are these archers referred to, it is my opinion, assured are there fortune, victory, prosperity and justice !

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

—Prof. Sarkar on the "University Problems of To-day."

The last issue of the *Modern Review* contains an article of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar of Patna worthy of our respectful attention, on account of its personal reminiscences alone if not anything else. Himself one of the *alumni* of the Calcutta University who won its blue ribbon, the P. R. Studentship, by a work on Aurungzeb; his advice on the pre-requisites of research or 'the use of rare manuscripts' is of exceptional value to the growing band of research students especially at Calcutta. But unfortunately he indulges in remarks which would prove obstructive to the progress of University education in India if they pass unchallenged at the present moment. What is it that makes him take such a poor view of the multiplication of universities here? Now if once the principle of the local jurisdiction is allowed can we not realise the utter inadequacy in number of the universities to minister to the needs of the vast Indian continent. Should we forget that India started only with three when the United Kingdom had already eight or nine Universities sixty years ago. The sheer weight of numbers also tells and it is of the utmost importance that there should be as many centres of higher culture as possible. Viscount Haldane has said truly "that if the universities exist in sufficient number then the nation need not despair."

Strangely enough the Professor who has made his mark by original research comes in with a brief for the deferring of the research till our country is richer or better educated. It is like Principal James speaking in the strain 'that the encouragement of research has in India a somewhat hazy meaning and its attainment is remote.' Till our country is richer and better educated, forsooth! We might wait till doomsday then and the prospects will be none the nearer. Have we not waited enough for the last sixty years, and come out of the sleepy hollow to find Darwinism take its rise and lose itself in the folds of Mendel, electricity caught hold of in master-minds and eventually applied to every nook of this earth and last but not least mechanical and technological appliances stamping out the last sparks of our economic life while we were cramming away ever so fast at the text books. But we can take comfort in the fact that we have not belied the wisdom of the framers of the Educational

despatch of 1854 who were so much solicitous for our welfare and could see the success of higher education in this country writ large in that "some of the ex-students of the College of Dacca had completely succeeded in the arduous office of a darogha!!"

More daroghas and more Colleges and less of new fongled toys of 'research students to play with' and the problems of higher education in India stand solved to a nicety to Principal James and Prof. Sarkar. The Universities are too large a order. For ought not the true ones as was pointed out by Lord Curzon 'to provide the best teaching over the entire field of knowledge, to offer this teaching to the widest range of students and to extend by original enquiry the frontiers of learning?' Far easier it is 'to lie in the old straw of our habits' and to thatch the roofs of the good old Colleges we thrived so well under. Professor Sarkar thinks that the improvement in teaching is to be effected through the colleges alone which should be given the lead. Had Professor Sarkar enquired of the state of affairs at Oxford and Cambridge he could have realised in a trice the utter unwisdom of making much of Colleges apart from the University. The University Commissioners at Oxford could end a miserable state of affairs and make Oxford worth its name only by pruning the authority of the Colleges and making them contribute to the building up of centralised University research. The affairs of Cambridge were none the better and with an experience of these two Sir Napier Shaw in his Presidential address to the Education Section of British Association 1919, pointed out the evils of the Collegiate system thus:—"It is this which prevents even the great Universities of Great Britain from taking the leading part they might take in exemplifying the ideals of a Co-ordinated national system and makes the success or failure of those great Institutions something of the nature of a lottery. They may offer ten thousand different avenues from Matriculation to a degree and yet the student may find himself imperfectly educated in the end."

So if the mantle of higher education and research is to fall on anybody it is to fall on the Universities alone. But Prof. Sarkar thinks of allotting to each some few definite subjects for research and restricting the activities of the Indian Universities to them alone. Admitting that India should "be taken as a whole" and 'all Universities are to pool their resources' can we

think that secrets of the past of ancient India can be wrested by research in Calcutta alone? If the writer had an eye on the days before Aurangzeb he could have easily found out that ancient India has got distinct zones and problems of the Deccan or the Dravidian tracts lie wide apart from those of Bengal and Northern India. So all the Universities of India have got plenty to do in the sphere of Ancient Indian History alone and it is only after some progress has been made in research on independent lines and with different angles of vision that the question would rise of 'pooling their resources.' Indeed research cannot be successful at all if parcelled out among a lot of Universities and Colleges as was pointed out by the President of the trustees to the Carnegie Institute. And then to think of the banishment of biology to Lahore, when our country is in urgent need of agricultural improvement. The farmer of India has suffered as much as the small-scale industry-man and if India is once more to take her place among the nations of the world, it can ill afford to ignore what would develop more than half its whole wealth. There is also a higher appeal in Biology to our Caste-ridden country for it is not only extremely useful as a training of our faculty but its truths are no uncertain guides toward higher ideals of human welfare and improvement in social organisation.

However one breathes a sigh of relief when one finds Prof. Sarkar protesting against the old universities of the examining type and welcoming those like Calcutta with its recent assumption of direct post-graduate teaching in many and specialised branches and its organisation of research. Yet without pausing to enquire how this state of affairs could be brought about he takes a chance cue from Fisher which was meant for the rugged little footnesses of Wales with all the resources of prospering England at her side and tries it at the only research University of India. It is a Vice-Chancellor Micawber always waiting for 'something to peon up' thinks he that has brought this about. He is probably right for it is doubtful how little could have been accomplished, say at Calcutta, if in the days of dire distress with relentless persecution of the people in power the sound optimism of Micawber had not deserted him and it needed but a congeniality of environment to make him flower into success. The truth is that in these days of progress, Mr. Micawber as a Vice-Chancellor with such a sound optimism and 'the capacity for forming plans in advance which Haldane points out to be the true essence of greatness' is a welcome asset to India for the people think along with Mrs. Micawber that 'the probability is that this Mr. Micawber will be a page of History.'

PANCHANAN MITRA.

Reply.

I have tried to make the following points clear in my first article* on "University Problems of Today" :-

(1) In a province which has one university already, or is connected with a university in a neighbouring province, there is no reason for creating a second (or independent) university, which does not undertake teaching work or research, but merely acts as an examining board. It would merely duplicate the administrative machinery and double the "cost of production" of the graduates, their quality remaining the same as before, or (as I fear) growing worse. The only exception to this principle is the case of a province which has an unwieldy overgrown and inefficiently-administered university, or a province joined to a very distant university in another province.

(2) In a centre where the number of men highly educated in English is limited and the annual supply of under-graduates is only a few hundred, it is premature to establish a local university, because the place lacks the raw materials for Honours or research classes and has not enough local talent to work a modern university to a high standard of efficiency.

(3) If the general education imparted by our colleges (and what is of still greater importance, our High Schools) is not considerably improved, the higher teaching and research attempted by our universities will fail to bear fruit, or prove a sham, because the natural basis and indispensable preliminary conditions of such higher teaching and genuine research will be wanting. Our knowledge of English, in particular, is lower than what is required for such work, and in the case of Calcutta it has distinctly deteriorated among our graduates.

(4) In the present state of our national wealth, our lack of universal primary education, and the growing poverty and inefficiency of our secondary schools, no Indian university is justified in opening post-graduate classes (and still less in initiating research) in every possible branch of human knowledge at the expense of the taxpayer. The colleges and high schools, in India today, have a stronger moral claim on the public purse than universities afflicted with megalomania.

If I have followed Mr. Mitra aright—for I have had considerable difficulty in getting at his sense amidst his lofty generalisations, vague rhetoric, and cloud of detached quotations,—he holds (a) that the mere opening of fresh universities in India would create new centres of culture, and would be a desirable end in itself, whether these universities were teaching bodies or only examining boards; (b) that the teaching University of Calcutta [why

* Nothing said in this (second) article refers to the Science Department of the Calcutta University.

omit Madras and Allahabad?] should be left free to open post-graduate classes and undertake research in every possible branch of human learning, without waiting for the economic development of our country and the wider extension of English among our people; (c) that both these things should be done out of the public purse, in contemptuous disregard of the state of our national finance, the needs of elementary and secondary education [and I may add, sanitation], and the paucity of the present private donors to our universities; and (d) that our existing high schools and colleges should be denied pecuniary support and left in their present state of inefficiency, till all the demands of the "research" universities are satisfied.

If so, Mr. Mitra's letter only reveals what was probably unknown to your readers before, viz., the existence of a Micawberian school of thought among the temporary servants of the Calcutta University (post-graduate department). We here have an airy comparison of India with England—the immense size and population of our country, the small size of England, the large number of the universities in Great Britain, and the wide range of their activity,—but all this in blissful ignorance of the fact that the average national income in India is only one twenty-second of that in England. According to Mr. Mitra, state expenditure on the universities must depend on the country's population and not on their wealth, nor on their preparedness to profit by higher and specialised teaching in a foreign tongue. The result of such Micawberian finance would be national bankruptcy and the revolt of the masses against a selfish parasite *bhadralog* class, monopolising the good things of the State.

Again, Mr. Mitra talks glibly of England, forgetting that the university problem there is different from that of India today, because there (i) the highest classes are taught and examined in their mother-tongue and (ii) the English secondary schools are (in most cases) so efficient and well-endowed that before the war-time rise of prices they hardly needed State aid, while the universities were not so well off. In India, on the other hand, a *sound* knowledge of a foreign tongue (English) is indispensably necessary to enable our boys to follow college lectures or undertake research (where English books and journals have to be consulted and the result written in English), and our schools are at present deplorably unable to teach English well and to give a thorough *general* education. Our attempt to imitate the universities of England at present would end in disaster to the true education of our people.

For instance, when an M.A., and P.R.S. (not in Chemistry or Botany or Sanskrit), in a carefully revised and corrected MS. contribution sent to the press spells 'caught' as COUGHT, 'new-fangled' as NEW-FONGLED, makes a mess of the

definite article, and writes "It is doubtful how little could have been accomplished, say at Calcutta, if the sound optimism of Micawber had NOT deserted him,"—then one is inclined to exclaim in admiration, "Here is Micawberism triumphant in education!" though the impenitent Mr. H. R. James would probably be confirmed by it in his heresy that something other than "research" (of the new Calcutta type) is more urgently required for the improvement of higher education in Bengal.

Mr. Mitra's plea for chairs of Biology at the Calcutta University is still more delicious and will relieve the Bengal parent of a great anxiety. Notes on Botany dictated by old Mr. Bruhl in the Darbhanga Buildings and marginal analysis on Zoology by young Mr. Manlick* in Ballyganj will "more than double" the wealth of India and also demolish our caste notions! This robust optimism is possible only in a Micawberian. After sixty years of lectures on the critique of Pure Reason, on Hume and Mill, we still see young Bengali graduates nursing the *tiki* (Hessian tie on the crown of the head) and Madras graduates painting their foreheads lest an Aingar should be mistaken for an Aiyar. The papers read at the Calcutta Astronomical Society have not affected the sale of the Gupta Press almanac. No, Sir, caste is undermined not by lecture-notes nor by doctoral theses (even when written by Dr. Ramdas Khan of the Calcutta school of research) but by the Great Eastern Hotel and Dias's Goanese Restaurant (Patna). If the opening of a Biological department at the Calcutta University more than doubles the agricultural produce of the country, the Pusa, Lyallpur, Poona and Sabour agricultural colleges ought to be closed as costly superfluities. Or, stay! let the Calcutta University endow its chairs of Biology by means of a loan raised by hypothecating the increase of Bengal's agricultural produce due to its researches. But spare us, O spare us, the doubling of examination-fees, the compulsory purchase of unnecessary monopoly text-books, and the imposition of *Chauth* on all Matriculation schools. Here is Mr. Micawber's El Dorado; why, then, tax the parents?

Mr. Mitra imagines that the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Fisher's speech at the Education Section of the British Association "was meant for the rugged little fastnesses of Wales." He has yet to know that the Association holds its annual meetings in different provincial towns (and even South Africa), but it is an all-England institution and the speeches delivered at its annual meeting are addressed to the whole country and not to the locality of the meeting. Curiously enough, while Mr. Mitra would give a purely parochial application to Mr. Fisher's speech at Cardiff in 1920, he has no hesitation in using

* I cannot be accurate about the name of this gentleman, but some of the papers noticed his engagement in anticipation of classes.

Sir Napier Shaw's address to the same section of the same Association a year earlier as meant for all English (and foreign) universities! Is this an illustration of the method of investigating truth adopted by the new Calcutta school of research?

In my first paper I had presumed most diffidently to suggest to those responsible for the present condition of the Calcutta University—and others who might be tempted to imitate its methods,—in the words of the immortal exciseman nurtured beyond the Tweed,

"O wad ye take a thought and mend!"

But I now entirely agree with the implication contained in Mr. Mitra's concluding assertion, namely, that the *moral* effect of Mr. Micawber's business methods and principles on the rising generations of Bengal and his real achievement in the field of promoting *true* knowledge can be

appreciated only by Mrs. Micawber—and men with a similar psychology.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

P. S. I apologise to your readers for referring to a small personal matter, but it is necessary to correct Mr. Mitra, who has made a mistake, no doubt on account of my obscure position. I did not (as he says) win my P. R. Studentship by submitting a thesis on Aurangzib, but by passing a long and competitive examination held by Mr. Percival and another scholar. My book on *India of Aurangzib: statistics, topography and roads*, was written afterwards to continue the scholarship for five years. Mr. Mitra does me undeserved honour; I am not fit to be ranked with the band of research P.R.S's and Ph. D's., of the new Calcutta school. My method of work is also different.

J. N. S.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Human Waste in Industry.

In an article on "Human Waste in Industry" in the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*, the writer says that in India,

The handling of materials of construction goes on as before while the principle of the *mote* in which a bullock raises water from a well by means of his weight descending an incline has never been applied to the raising of building materials. A cooly, for example, weighing 140 pounds, carries a headload of 70 lbs. up an inclined plane into a building, his effort raises in all 210 lbs. to the desired height. But two-thirds of this in deadweight that brings advantage to no one. If the man, on the contrary, were to walk unloaded up the incline and, putting his foot into a loop in a rope hanging from a pulley overhead, he could on descending raise nearly his own weight from below if it were attached to the other end of the rope, or nearly double the weight he carried on his head and with less effort as he would mount the incline unloaded and would rest while descending. This principle is applied in the *Picottah*—an appliance used for raising irrigation water in Southern India. To raise building or excavated material effectively and safely by means of the weight of one or more labourers calls for a very carefully thought out but simple apparatus under perfect control and capable of being adapted to the growing height of buildings of the increasing depth of excavations, but it offers such undeniable advantages as to merit serious study. Among these is an increased rate of movement of the unload-

ed cooly, which would add to the sum of work performed.

More intellectual energy is devoted in India to buying and selling than to production.

In India the keenest intelligence is concentrated on buying and selling while producing is left in the hands of men who, obsessed by the constant demand for cheap goods, try to give as little as possible for the price offered. As for studying the method of production so strongly and successfully advocated by Major Gilbreth, few of them ever heard of him or his methods, or would be able to comprehend and utilise them.

"Caste will have to give up all control of occupational careers, leaving freedom of choice to parents as to the most suitable work for their sons, and the latter will have to learn, however slowly, that it is not profitable "to put a round peg in a square hole."

The small remuneration accorded to clerks seems to have little effect in diminishing the flow of schoolboys towards a *cul de sac* that is constantly overloaded to the extent of 20 per cent, and the higher pay accorded to the craftsmen has little effect in recruiting their ranks that are always below that required strength. Even the sons of craftsmen show a regrettable disposition to leave their fathers' trade for the attractions of an office stool; so strong a hold has the regard for literate occupations obtained on the popular mind.

The posture of the worker while at

work is more important than is generally thought.

Few men of technical experience can watch an Indian at work without observing a waste of effort or of time—or both in his methods. The habit of sitting at work while commendable in many cases becomes absurd when it involves a greater effort in a constrained position. Planing boards on the ground in a sitting position wastes both time and effort, as the weight of the body can be only partially applied to the propulsion of the plane, and two persons are frequently employed on a hand saw because the blade is blunt or the teeth badly set and trestles are not used. It is a common sight to see a sledge hammer used on an anvil standing a few inches above the ground, this position being chosen to accommodate the smith who sits on his heels while at work. On the rarest of occasions the striker stands in a cask sunk waist deep in the ground, but this position, although it brings him into right relation to the surface of the anvil, precludes the swinging of the sledge. The immediate supervisor of workmen in India must, first, last, and all the time, be a man thoroughly familiar with the work in hand and all its methods. No poor relation, or other outsider employed, "for the love of God," is of any use except, perhaps, as a time-keeper. The choice and training of foremen has been much neglected in India for the reason that so many employers are business men who do not belong to the trade they control. They look on the foreman rather as a policeman than as a teacher which is his chief role. And he is rarely paid in proportion to his responsibilities. Is it therefore surprising if blackmail is a common practice among foremen—so common that the workman submits to it as an established custom.

Industrial reform, as explained in the works of Major Gilbreth and other authorities, may be held to represent a source of profit hitherto unexplored and undiscovered in the average Indian workshop. The employer must spare some time from his books and correspondence for the study of man as a human being as well as a worker. It will lead him to the study of lighting, ventilation, sanitation, and many other neglected things that contribute to the comfort and efficiency of his employees. This will doubtless involve him in some extra thinking, reading, and going about, but all this should be willingly accepted for the reason that appeals most strongly to his commercial instincts. *It pays.*

Position of Women in Various Countries.

An article in the *Hind Mahila* describes the suffrage position in countries where women have been, recently enfranchised.

31—12

These are Austria, British East Africa (white women), Canada, Crimea (the first Mahomedan country to give votes to women), Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, Lettovia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Rhodesia, Russia, Sweden, Ukania, and the United States. In addition to these national suffrage victories several advances are reported. Serbia, Belgium and Roumania have granted municipal suffrage to women. The Zionists of Palestine and the Commune of Fiume have granted full equal suffrage and eligibility.

The Indian Women's Magazine describes the advance made by women in Persia, Japan, Russia, England, Ireland and America.

Drudgery and Dignified Work.

The Indian Women's Magazine gives the following mature views of Babu Bhagavandas on drudgery and the dignity of labour:—

Why should household work, the storing of the edibles and the cooking of the food that sustain life, the sewing and mending of the clothes that are a necessity of life in a degree next only after food, the looking after one's own children without whom home and all the maturer and later years of life are empty—why should all this be any more drudgery than poring over small print or office ledgers and crabbed hand-writing, or endless scratching of pen against paper, or perpetual talking in class room, in court or on the platform, or listening from year's end to year's end to the tales of the quarrels of others and unending rules of true and false evidence, or bending over the office desk morning, noon and night, or being shaken out of bed at midnight after hard day's work to attend to a patient suffering from an infectious disease and living in a slum or sitting in shops and offices, hour after hour and day after day, waiting for or attending to customers—why is household work any more drudgery than doing all this till one's eyes are blinded, the back bent, the chest flattened or even concaved, the nerves broken, the digestion ruined, the whole soul and body sick of chewing paper and drinking ink? Why is this dignified and that drudgery?

As regards the dignity of labour, he observes:—

THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR

Only that work is really devoted which is

philanthropic to the extent of involving substantial self-sacrifice and only that work is degrading which is selfish to the extent of being hurtful to others. But speaking more generally also, only that work is drudgery which one is forced to do against one's will, which is uninteresting, un-pleasant and exhausting; and only that work is dignified which is the opposite. Inherently, that which is known as household work is far more interesting, far more natural, because nearer to the elemental desires, than that which is known as professional work, and is the creation of comparatively artificial conditions of what we know as civilisation. And the human beings that are called Majesties and Highnesses and Excellencies, and Huzoors, and Honors and Worships and Lordships—even they get dreadfully tired whenever they are compelled by circumstances to do their artificial professional work beyond certain limits; then they feel that work to be no longer dignified, but drudgery; then they realise the inherent interest of the household work, if they happen to have good homes.

I am reliably informed by European and Indian friends, who have first-hand knowledge of conditions there, that in the West, whence we are now borrowing so many of our notions, this one about the drudgery of household work does not prevail in middle class families, and that ladies of such families of moderate means in most cases do all the household work themselves, altogether without the help of servants, or with very little such help; although these ladies are very well educated.

The Purdah.

In the same magazine the same thinker has some new things to say regarding the purdah.

There is little or no purdah amongst the very poor, of whatever creed or caste, throughout India. There is none in even the well-to-do and so-called high-caste classes of Hindus in the south country, and none at all among the Parsi and Christian communities. It is comparatively stricter among Musalmans than among Hindus. Then there are special conventions. It is more or less discarded when parties are on pilgrimage. There is no purdah in the Kashmiri community among themselves. Among Maithila Brahmanas, even the men observe it, thus father-in-law and son-in-law must not see each other's faces. As the complement of this, in some of the sub-castes of Kayasthas in the U.P., the woman observes purdah against each other; I am informed that mother-in-law and daughter-in-law must not see each other's faces for a long period. Such are some of the curiosities of the purdah, which probably began in some special and reasonable social convention but have now ended in absurdity.

ABOLITION OF THE PURDAH.

It is a matter for congratulation that opinion and practice are steadily growing year after year in favour of the abolition of purdah. It did not exist in the days of India's greatness and is a misinterpretation of the natural division of functions between man and woman, as extreme as the rigidly hereditary caste system is of the natural division of labour between man and man.

Co-operative Stores in Bengal.

We read in the *Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* that

One of the most remarkable developments of co-operation in Bengal during the year ending on 30th June, 1920, is the increase in the number and turnover of co-operative stores. We are able through the courtesy of the Registrar to give some figures which prove how great this increase has been.

| | 1918-19 | 1919-20 |
|------------------------|----------|-----------|
| No. of stores. | 23 | 72 |
| No. of members. | 5,006 | 13,726 |
| Share Capital paid up. | 63,427 | 2,48,235 |
| Working Capital. | 1,32,358 | 7,19,765 |
| Goods sold. | 1,94,538 | 12,60,130 |
| Profit. | 4,637 | 40,902 |
| Reserve Funds. | 2,665 | 7,749 |

Without the following comments the exact value of this growth may not be understood :—

It must not be assumed, of course, that all the new stores registered can be classed as successful. Some of them will probably prove bad failures. Some beginning well under the incentive of profiteering prices all round began to flag when the profiteers began to come to reason even though in some cases the change in the profiteers was brought about by the organization of the stores themselves. Other societies lost their enthusiasm very early and failed to maintain the effort necessary to success. In some cases the shareholders seemed to imagine that there was nothing to be done beyond taking shares and waiting for the magic word Co-operation to bring prices down with a rush and provide at the same time the highest dividend upon the shares. Certain societies even seemed to imagine that the department should not only help in organization and arrange registration but should continue to run the business of the societies too. There were therefore many who were disappointed, but such disappointments are not to be regretted if they have produced clearer ideas in certain places as to what Co-operation really means.

Whenever a sustained effort was made and wherever the shareholders and the directors showed sufficient interest in the societies there

have been records of successful working during the year.

Infant Mortality in India.

L. Gowardhan Das has contributed to the *Vedic Magazine* an article on infant mortality in India full of telling figures. He begins his article thus :—

There may be other reasons which have a retrogressive effect on the growth of population in India but the most important cause is the High Rate of Infant Mortality. Sir Edward Gait attributes Causes of Decline of population as such :—(Census Report, 1st Volume.)

"Real increase in the Population in the last 30 years is estimated at about 50 millions, or 19 per cent. This is less than half the increase, which has taken place during the same period amongst the Teutonic Nations of Europe, but it considerably exceeds that of the Latin population. In France the population has grown by less than 7 per cent since 1870, but this because of its exceptionally low birth rate. In India, the birth rate is far higher than in any other European country ; it is the heavy mortality which checks the rate of increase."

On comparing the infantile mortality rate of the various other countries with India, I have to admit that no other country in the world can show such a disappointing and heart-rending state of things. We cry for reforms, we demand our rights and privileges from the Government, we want a share in the Administration of the country, we yearn for Self-Government. All these aspirations are noble and high. But of what value will be these rights and privileges, if quantitatively and qualitatively, we are getting weaker and weaker every day and are not able to compete in the race of life with other nations? Our infants die in millions in India of preventible diseases owing to ignorance of the laws of sanitation.

The writer asks, "of what value will be these rights and privileges," &c. The answer is quite obvious. They will enable us to get stronger and stronger, and to compete in the race of life with other nations; they will enable us to reduce infant mortality.

Swami Vivekananda on National Dress.

In the course of a conversation with a disciple, Swami Vivekananda, as recorded in the *Prabuddha Bharata*, said :

By giving up one's national costume and ways of eating and mode of life, one gets dena-

tionalised. One can learn from all, but that learning which leads to denationalisation does not help your uplift but becomes the cause of your degradation.

Disciple.—Sir, one cannot do without putting on dress approved by superior European officials in official quarters.

Swamiji.—No one prevents that. In the interests of your service, you may put on official dress in official quarters. But on returning home you should be a regular Bengali Babu—with flowing cloth, a native shirt and with the *Chudder* on the shoulder. Do you understand?

Disciple.—Yes, Sir.

Swamiji.—You go about from house to house only with the European shirt on. In the West to go about to people's houses with the shirt on is ungentlemanly—one is considered naked. Without putting on coat over the shirt, you will not be welcomed in a gentleman's house. What have you learned to imitate in the matter of dress? Boys and young men now-a-days adopt a peculiar mode of dress which is neither Indian nor Western, but a monstrous combination.

Perpetual Peace.

Mr. S. Jackson Coleman expresses the opinion in the *Indian Review* that

There is one cure alone for the spiritual and physical sickness from which the world is at present suffering. It is the reconciliation of peoples burying old hatchets, wiping out old villainies, and co-operating in a much closer union of mutual help under the direction of a democratised League of Nations. To preach the gospel of International Brotherhood new leaders must be forthcoming. New enthusiasm must be spread for the ideals of life, and a new spirit of unselfishness and service for the common weal must be enlisted. In the League of Nations lies our task to rear the mighty edifice of Zola's Utopia of human solidarity, to bring about "the single race, the common tongue" which the laureate proclaimed, the time "when man to man the world o'er shall brothers be," of which Robert Burns sang, and "The Parliament of Man," which Tennyson could but dimly foresee.

Love of Reading.

We can endorse the following opinions of the editor of *Indian Education* on the lack of a genuine love of reading among Indian students :—

The education given in Indian schools and colleges is commonly and justly charged with being too literary and this makes it all the more difficult to understand why it is that so few students develop a genuine love of reading. Anyone who has anything to do with education in this country knows that only a very small percentage

of pupils read for pleasure and various causes have been assigned to account for this strange phenomenon. Most boys who attend schools and colleges come from homes where, generally owing to poverty, there is no literary atmosphere; at school few masters have any real taste for literature and boys are led to regard books as instruments for the acquisition of knowledge; the sterilising influence of examinations, the lifeless and mechanical teaching of what is grandiloquently called English Literature, the paucity of free public libraries and the inadequate use made of existing school and college libraries all combine to kill any love of reading for its own sake, which must be latent in many students and which is a sure mark of culture. Various reforms in methods of teaching and examination have been suggested which would tend to make study more disinterested and cultivate a love of reading. The most obvious thing to do is to begin at the beginning and since education cannot remove poverty in the home, it can, at least, counteract its influence in the school by developing the possibilities of the school library. Up to the present its influence as an educational instrument has not been duly appreciated and as long as the library is regarded as something subsidiary to ordinary school work there is little hope for improvement.

Overcrowding in British Universities and Schools.

In the monthly article contributed to *Indian Education*, Sir Michael Sadler writes in the January number:—

The British Universities are full, and some of them overcrowded. The number of undergraduates exceeds all records. We are living in a time of flood. All the faculties have grown, but the pressure is especially severe in the chemical and physical laboratories, in the medical and dental schools and in the departments of technology. Colleges and halls of residence have not an empty room. They could have been filled three or four times over. A multitude of applicants, well qualified for entrance, have perforce been refused admission to the Universities. For the time, the demand has exhausted all available accommodation. The University authorities have done all in their power to enlarge laboratories and to increase the number of lecture rooms. But building costs are extravagantly high; work is slow; and temporary premises are in many cases unobtainable. Consequently we have to put up with makeshifts and with a good deal of discomfort. Expansions, desirable in themselves and urgently needed to meet the present emergency, have to be foregone. But there is the exhilaration which comes from large numbers; and, if the experience of last year is repeated, hard work will be done in spite of diffi-

culty and along with a great deal of amusement.

Part of the present excess of numbers is certainly due to the interruption caused by the war. In every University there are hundreds of undergraduates whose college life was broken or postponed by active service. And this applies to a good many women as well as to men. A good many of the present crowd represent arrears—arrears due to the war. But the secondary schools are full, and far more numerous than they were ten years ago. Every year they will send forward to the Universities a larger body of undergraduates. At present they are holding back, for the new advanced courses at school, a large number of young people whom in old days they would have passed on before. The signs are that in future the numbers in the Universities will be permanently larger than they were before the war. How much larger, no one can say. But at every University we must be prepared to deal with big crowds in future. There is evidently a greater demand among English people for University education. And, besides this, more students want to come from overseas.

But this increase in numbers is not all gain.

It is encouraging that the change has come. But the present conditions cannot continue without damage being done to some of the best interests of the Universities. At present there is not enough accommodation for advanced studies and research. And the teaching staff has such a heavy tale of lectures that the time which ought to be given to study and investigation is seriously encroached upon. For a year or two, no one ought to complain of having to bear his part in meeting an unusual demand on his energies and private time. We must all do what we can to grapple with the situation which has arisen. But if the existing state of things became permanent, the intellectual life of the Universities would be impaired.

The Nature of the Consumers' Movement.

Writing in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* Mr. Otto Rothfeld explains that the buying club does not give a correct idea of the nature of the real consumers' movement.

The buying club is an association of a few middle-class people, usually farmers, to supply themselves with certain main articles of consumption at cheaper rates with some guarantee of purity by pooling their orders and their cash and sending one of their members to buy the articles at some wholesale dealer's or at the market-place.

On the other hand,

The object of the consumers' society, or rather

of the movement as a whole, is the gradual collective appropriation of all means of production by all consumers in common and the substitution of a collective method for the existing competitive and capitalist regime. This object is due not merely to a dislike entertained by the co-operative members of the movement to capitalism and to excessive individualism, but still more to the fact that they realise that all competition is wasteful and that it is the community as a whole which pays for the waste. It is obvious, for instance, that if a hundred individual grocers are doing work which could equally be well done by ten managers of co-operative societies, then the money earned by ninety of these grocers is an entirely unremunerative tax on the community, which pays it by buying at their shops. If in India we assume that the average income of such a grocer is about Rs. 600 a year, then Rs. 54,000 have been uselessly thrown away by the community which tolerates ninety such useless shopkeepers. But in addition to this direct loss there is a further indirect loss to the community. For if co-operative societies succeed in starving all these ninety retailers out of their business, then they will be forced to maintain themselves by productive labour instead of mere wasteful distribution. Each of them could probably earn at least Rs. 1,000 by productive labour, and each of them could produce about eight to ten thousand rupees' worth of produce in the year by honest work. In other words, the community loses indirectly something like ten lacs a year by allowing them to continue as shopkeepers instead of forcing them to become producers. Here lies the greatest incentive to the consumers' movement. If the consumers by forming themselves into societies and adopting improved methods of distribution, can stop the abuses of the present retail system, they will at once not merely save the community this wasteful expenditure for the subsistence of the present distributors, but will also profit the community by an enormously increased production.

Marriage Customs and Indian Women.

Mr. Paresh Chandra Ghose asks in the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* whether India is progressive and deals with many educational and social topics. Coming to consider Indian marriage customs as they affect women, he observes :—

If Indian women have no social and political function and are not conversant with the world at large they are also happily ignorant of the art of killing motherhood.

These are however only negative merits. Indian women are mere mothers, wives and

mistresses of the house. All their activities are confined to the hearth alone. The possibilities and potentialities that lie dormant in them are not given any opportunity to unfold.

The marriage system in India is antagonistic to the unfolding of the potentialities of women. Little girls are given away in marriage long before they can understand the significance and responsibilities of married life. And these little girls are forced to many things which by all means be avoided. They learn an artificiality which is unique, they are to love when they have no sentiments of love; they are to respect when they cannot understand what respect means; they are not to play, skip, and jump when their play instinct is dominant; they are not to laugh or speak loudly in spite of their eagerness to do that; in short, their natural instincts are all choked and killed by many unwholesome restraints, whereas these should have been given the opportunity to develop, thus creating an artificial atmosphere; the full development of the girl into a mature responsible woman is denied to them. The baneful results of such unnatural restraints are more than can be imagined.

Again from the hygienic point of view such a union is fraught with greater mischiefs. That India has physically deteriorated is beyond any doubt. Young men do not possess the freshness and agility of youth; infant mortality has increased beyond measures, men have become shortlived. There are of course many causes of the physical deterioration of India, but the main cause perhaps is the baneful system of early marriage. Union implies equality, and union between the unequal is a false union, and as such is a mischievous union. The guiding principles of matrimonial relation should be the mutuality of men and women. Muscular and mental maturity should be secured before she is launched into the most responsible life of motherhood. Her instincts and possibilities should be developed before she undertakes the duties of a mother. Her mental and bodily equipments should become completely feminine before she becomes the mistress of a family.

He dwells on the need of the remarriage of young widows.

As it cannot be expected that the widows in general will all devote themselves to religion and be serious with it, does it not behove us that we all realise the situation of young widows in general and remove the social bar which is so long interfering with the expansion of widow remarriage?

If the whole world is changing how can the womenfolk remain stationary, they will have to join in the march however much they are pushed away and excluded; they cannot remain standing outside the society, they must be taken up as members of society.

I know of many young widows. I can almost

see their pale wretched faces surging with loud protests to and indignant at this unnatural and outward restraint put upon them. I can almost see before my eyes their heaving sighs of agony raised in useless and silent complaints. They bear their burden of life in utter misery, not a single legitimate wish obtains fulfilment, instincts not ignoble are all to be put down and hushed. It is indeed heart-rending to see their condition, it seems as if they are attending a never-ending funeral ceremony.

Not only from the view point of the good of the widows themselves but also from the social point of view widow-remarriage should be firmly established. Some jewels of our country would have been lost by our society had not the courage of conviction of the parents given them the strength to defy society and give their widowed daughters in remarriage. Other countries are profiting in many ways by this custom of widow-remarriage. A mischievous and one-eyed sentiment alone is counteracting the expansion of widow-remarriage. When an old man of 60 goes to marry for the 4th or 5th time, society raises no voice against it. How is it then, that it becomes so eloquent against the remarriage of a girl widow? Is this not whimsical? Is this not tyranny? The untold miseries of girl widows do not excite the compassion of this callous society. It is the height of degradation they say that it is to preserve the chastity and purity of women that the widow should remain widows; on the contrary we assert that it is for that very chastity and purity of thought and action, that girl widows should be given in re-marriage. Moreover we ask why is our society become so needlessly officious towards our women and why does it become the self-elected dictator when the woman cause is in question?

We sincerely regret that our society has not as yet been able to appreciate the moral and social worth of widow-remarriage. It would have cured many insanities, prevented many suicides, checked the gradually increasing number of prostitutes, would have saved many an infant from unnatural death, and would have many good and able mothers of many able sons.

France and India.

The writer of "The World of Culture" section in *The Collegian* regrets that

Indian students are conspicuous by their virtual absence in the universities of France. It is a matter of regret, as says Maurice Croiset, Administrator of *College de France*, that the facilities offered by the laboratories and technical institutes of Paris and the provinces have not been utilized by the professors and post-graduate research scholars of India. Indeed it is strange, says Senator Raphael Georges

Levy, president of the *societe d'economi politique*, that while every nationality is represented in one or other division of the *Ecole libre des sciences politiques* this most important French institution is hardly yet known among the Indian students of finance, foreign exchange and international law. The *Ecole libre* is the college, independent of the University of Paris, where the diplomatists and publicists of France receive their training in statesmanship.

Another paragraph from the same pen shows that in intellectual output we can not stand any comparison with France.

Six hundred and twenty six books and dissertations in French are catalogued in the *Bibliographie Scientifique Francaise* of Paris for six months of the year 1919. These are grouped under twelve heads, mineralogy, geology, geography, paleontology, biology, botany, zoology, anatomy, anthropology, physiology and bacteriology. It must be remembered that the total French speaking population of the world is only 38 millions,—or rather 45 millions including the French colonies, exactly the total human strength of Bengal.

Indian Art in French Exhibitions.

We support the same writer's suggestion in the paragraph quoted below.

About thirty large halls of the *Grand Palais* in Champs Elysees. (Paris) were given over to the exposition of French sculptures, paintings and decorative arts in November and December. The exhibition is held annually under the auspices of the *Salon d'automne*. "It is quite possible," suggests Mons. Frantz-Jourdain, founder and president of the salon, "that every year we might have an Indian section devoted to the work of the living artists of India." The painters, sculptors and decorative craftsmen of our different provinces might put themselves in touch with F. Jourdain, who himself is an architect of distinction, a sponsor of numerous art societies and a writer on *beaux arts*. Or, perhaps a central committee should be organized in India to take the necessary steps. The full account of the exposition of 1920 may be read in the monthly *Les Hommes du Jour* (Oct.-Nov.).

Barren Marriages.

There is much to be said in favour of the following views and suggestions of *Health and Happiness* :—

When a girl has no issue within a year or two of her marriage, her mother-in-law, or better, her grandmother-in-law if she is still living, declares that the girl is barren. Then it is proposed that the husband should marry

another girl. But if the husband be medically examined, he may be found to be impotent or suffering from some form of venereal disease for which he is not destined to have any issue until he is cured of his fell disease. He can marry as many girls as he likes; still there will be no issue of all these marriages until he himself is fit for it. It is time that some such steps be taken as quoted above [*viz.*, to get the marriage declared legally null and void] to save the unfortunate mute sufferers from their life-long miseries. Our Shastras truly say impotent persons have no right to marry at all. A conscientious yet impotent person never marries, knowing full well his own disabilities. We think, not only impotent persons, but persons suffering from any kind of venereal disease ought not to marry and infect their innocent wives with the sins of their own indiscreet youthful excesses. There must be some social prohibitory rules to prevent such persons marrying and bringing miseries in a happy home. If there is any true field for work for the social reformer, it is this. His first duty in the way of social reform is to save the society from such wilful wrongs. In Social Conferences resolutions may be properly put forward and unanimously adopted so that the Conferences may take proper measures towards the end in view.

The Problem of Indian Education.

Mr. S. K. Datta's well thought-out article on "The Problem of Education" in *Young Men of India* begins thus :—

A well-known Indian, in a memorandum laid before the Calcutta University Commission, summarised the purpose of ancient Indian education :—

"The Indian theory of education," he wrote, "was laid down in distinct and specific terms in the Indian scriptures; and this theory has ruled Indian life for thirty centuries at least, and it requires to be definitely stated. . . . I have carefully sifted the material at my disposal, and will use cautious and carefully-worded language. The Indian theory of education may be enunciated as follows :—

"Every man is born with certain moral obligations—*Rinas*, or debts, as they are technically called :

(a) Debts to the Higher Powers that govern his being. (b) Debts to his ancestors, including the fathers of his race. (c) Debts to his neighbours and fellow men. (d) Debts to all sentient creatures that in any way minister to his life's needs. (e) And, above all, debts to the *Rishis* or the ancient founders of the particular type of culture to which his life must conform. . . . The debt to the *Rishis* is given, with absolute unanimity, the first and foremost place in the list of life's obligations, and the way to pay off the

debt is by the cultivation of *Vidya*, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake."

Summarising part of his article, he writes.

(1) Education is wider, indeed very much wider, than the problem of literacy and the activities of the Department of Public Instruction.

(2) Ancient Indian education has served the threefold purpose of being cultural, vocational, and social.

(3) Indigenous Indian education as such has failed, owing to causes over which society has had no control.

Some of his suggestions are :—

University curricula will have to be liberalised, the relation of the student to examinations adjusted, but the main endeavour ought to be to infuse a new spirit into the universities.

(1) We have at hand a great purifying and elevating force in nationalism. The ancient ideal was that knowledge was a duty, that, as Professor Trivedi reminds us, a man who had failed to discharge this duty was not a recognised member of society. This ancient conception only nationalism can rehabilitate. We can never go back, however, to ancient learning for a complete philosophy of life in this age. If it were possible it would not be advisable: indeed, the age in which we live would deny us the right. It must be a new culture, the truth and discipline of the old with the truth and purpose of the new.

This very University of Calcutta, which has undergone such fierce criticism, has produced men of whom any nation would be proud, men who in their own lives have harmonised the new and the old.

How to Counteract International Animositities.

Writing on "The Animositities of 1920" in *East and West* for November, 1920, just to hand, Mr. A. H. S. Hinchcliffe points out that journalists can do a great deal to counteract feelings of animosity. Says he :—

Notwithstanding the importance of our public men realising the need for wisdom and moderation, the greatest danger lies with the peoples themselves whose feelings have now become so intensely bitter. Something needs to be done to counteract those feelings. There is only one channel by which the peoples of the world can be approached and that is through the newspapers and other press propaganda, the power of which has been so thoroughly demonstrated by the Great War. Here is a great opportunity for the journalistic proprietors of every class, party, and nationality. They can combine now to do the greatest service to the world that

has ever been done by journalism. While preserving their different standpoints, they can all, if they will, pursue a policy of moderation, calculated to lessen the intensity of the feelings which have now been created. They can instruct their editors and writers to take, generally speaking, a longer view, and to think more of the future than of the present. They need impair none of the functions which they now fulfil. Let them still criticise everything with which they disagree, so long as their criticism is sound and is not couched in such terms as to arouse resentment. The more constructive policies of

their own they can put forward the better, so long as, when doing so, they do not abuse everything else.

It is to be noted that the writer's appeal is to "journalistic proprietors," and they are to "instruct their editors and writers." So it is capitalism which rules journalism! We are still fortunate enough to be free.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The December "Fortnightly."

The Fortnightly Review for December 1920 contains some excellent articles on the International situation.

REPUBLICS AND MONARCHIES.

Mr. Frederic Harrison, the Doyen of English writers, leads off with his 'Novissimum Verbum,' in the course of which he says:

"... the monarchic principle is itself deeply shaken. Four mighty Empires crushed for ever during five years of war; the Brazilian and the Chinese some years earlier. But over the civilised world republics have been taking the place of monarchies. When I was at school the only republic in Europe was the Swiss. There are now about a dozen, covering two-thirds of the whole continent. Except our own, the only Thrones of the larger States are those of Italy and Spain; and neither promises much support to the monarchic principle. For half a century republics have been supplanting monarchies. The war, chaos, and the New order have created a landslide in favour of democratic republics. No one can count on there being any kings left at the end of the century. When you once have accepted unlimited democracy, the inevitable step is the Republic."

FRANCE'S DILEMMA.

Sir Thomas Barelay writes on 'France's Dilemma'. The article begins as follows:

"The breach between England and France is growing wider every day and for thoughtful Frenchmen it is a fact of deplorable significance. It is the true cause of a pseudo-militarism which no Frenchman at the bottom of his soul approves, yet has to tolerate, because he sees England and America abandoning his country to its own resources in the midst of a hostile Europe. France knows she can no longer count on their co-operation in the European policy which circumstances have forced upon her. She knows Germany

will some day recover her strength, that her population [nearly double that of France] will increase while that of France remains stationary, that while commercial requirements of industrial countries will make her revival desirable to them, France will have to keep her own military supremacy intact to prevent her recovering a strength which cannot fail to be used against her. Hence we have the paradox that France is claiming payment of an indemnity which she knows can only be paid by her debtor in proportion to a prosperity which is big with dangers to herself."

The writer proceeds to point out that France has been the greatest material loser by the war, her most flourishing provinces have been laid waste, while the ruin has been brought about as much by the Germans as by the Allies in their attempt to dislodge the enemy in occupation of French territory, and the wrong done by them, for which no compensation has been secured by the treaty of Versailles, "lies deeply implanted in the feelings of Frenchmen towards England and the United States, and it accounts for much in what is at present embittering the relations of the ex-Allies," and single-handed "France has been left to do her best to repair the damage, an overwhelming task, in face of which she can only cross her arms in despair at the financial burden facing her."

Here is the outlook:

"England has disbanded the bulk of her armies, but she has the command of the sea, and can pour artillery, arms and ammunition into any State she wishes to support. France has the most powerful force on land in Europe, and can lay central Europe waste whenever she chooses. Germany has still an overwhelming man-power which, armed, could resume the war. Russia is in the same position."

"These different potentialities are no mere nightmares. They are stern realities. National irrita-

tion is being whetted in both France and Germany; and *rapprochements* are being encouraged which might change the face of Europe again.

"Why not do something, before the clouds break, to canalise the possible flood?"

Alas for the fickleness of political friendships!

NAVAL SUPREMACY.

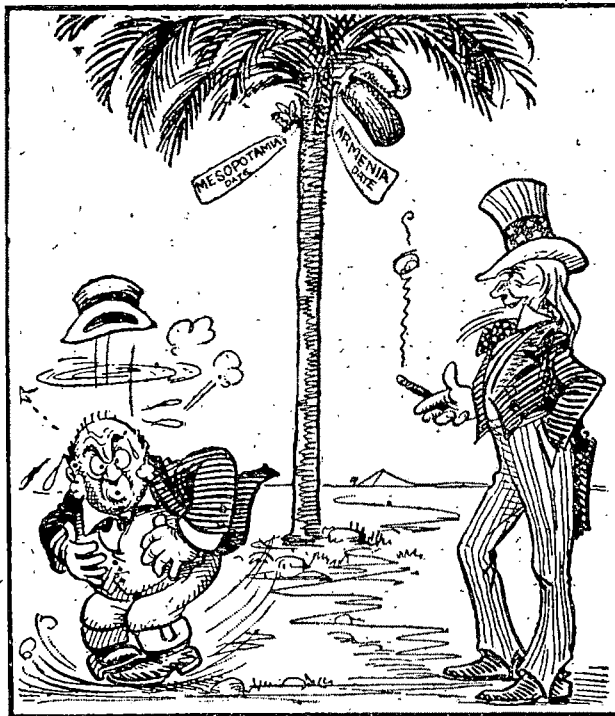
Mr. Archibald Hurd writes on 'Naval Supremacy: Great Britain or the United States'. It is sad and depressing reading from the English standpoint. He begins thus:

"While the nations of Europe are tending the grievous wounds they received during the Great War, the creation of naval armaments in the United States and Japan is being continued with greater activity than ever before and at a far higher cost. Now that peace has been signed there remain only three navies of importance—the British, the American, and the Japanese. The relative strength of these three forces in 1924 can now be estimated with some confidence. By 1923, or at latest by 1924, the British fleet will have ceased to occupy pride of place on the seas, which it has held over three hundred years. The Trident will have passed into the hands of the American people..... as first class naval powers, France and Italy have already disappeared below the horizon."

Senator Harding, the president elect, speaks of the League of Nations as 'now deceased,' and has sought "to please the newly awakened national sentiment of the American people by presenting them with a picture of the United States supreme by sea in virtue of its navy of men-of-war and its navy of merchantships," and

"the hopes which were once entertained by the advocates of a policy of partial naval disarmament must be abandoned, at any rate so far as the United States is affected. Expectations have been raised throughout the United States of a triumph of American sentiment in a war fleet supreme above all other fleets, operating in association with a great mercantile fleet,".....

"The hope that acceptance of the principles embodied in the constitution of the League of Nations would lead to a general limitation of naval armaments must be abandoned. Neither the United States nor Japan is prepared to acquiesce in any such policy, whatever may be the inclination of other Powers. Both these countries are pressing forward programmes of naval construction which will change radically the balance of power by sea, as has been shown. Six years have elapsed since it was asserted, on the outbreak of the Great War, that it would prove the last of all wars and would lead to the adoption of a policy of, at least, partial disarmament, affecting navies as well as armies. Since this confident prophecy was made, the United States, and Japan have embarked



UP TO DATE!

Jonathan—"Say! John, What's up with you?"

John—"I ate a 'mandate'!"

Jonathan—"I'm darned glad I didn't!"

—Daily Express (London).

upon notable projects for strengthening their naval as well as their military forces..... The world, it was suggested, would emerge from the horrors witnessed by sea and by land determined at whatever risk to abate the feverish competition in naval and military armaments, and would hold out its hands eagerly towards any reasonable prospect of finding a peaceful solution of international problems. It was in those circumstances that the United States committed itself to a larger naval programme than had ever been entertained by any of the Powers of the Old World, not excluding Great Britain and Germany."

The writer calculates that in 1924, when the programme will have been fully carried out, the United States will, in capital ships, first and second class, have obtained a lead of 31 per cent., over the British Fleet.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY.

Mr. Demetrius C. Boulzer, the well-known writer on international politics, in his article on the American Presidency, seems to rejoice over 'the triumph of common sense' which the election of the new President means in American affairs. The League of Nations

is 'a useless and obstructive piece of humanitarian machinery.'

Says he :

"The election of senator Harding to the Presidency of the United States signifies the triumph of common sense over the vague and deceptive idealism which his predecessor introduced into the direction of American policy during the war..... Having been enticed into accepting as truth for a time the delusion that we are dwellers in a celestial sphere where Leagues of Nations form the accepted courts, we have been brought back to face the hard fact that we have the earth under our feet and not the Emyrean."

But what seems idealism to narrow-minded politicians of the day may be the quintessence of wisdom, and the triumph of common sense may soon lead the world to another and a greater world war, of which indications are not wanting in the pages of this very number of the Review.

THE ECONOMIC PREDOMINANCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

We have summarised Mr. Hurd's account of the coming naval supremacy of the United States, and here follow some extracts from Politicus's article on the Economic Predominance of the United States, which will go to show that England's position as a first rate power is seriously threatened in all directions by the triumph of common sense in America, and we have seen that the political friendships of the war have already come to nought and the state of affairs on the continent of Europe may any day lead to a re-grouping of forces resulting in a mightier conflagration than has ever been witnessed yet.

"The war," writes Politicus, "has completely changed America's economic position....."

The Republic is no longer a debtor to Europe, but Europe has become a debtor to the United States for gigantic amounts. The *roles* of the two continents have been reversed. In future America will no longer have to pay an onerous tribute to Europe, but Europe will have to work for America and will have to send a very heavy yearly tribute to the Republic..... In consequence of the war, the Americans have become the greatest capitalist nation in the world. From a debtor country it has become the greatest creditor country. They have become the world's money-lenders, and have acquired a gigantic mortgage upon the property and industry of the other Powers... While Europe was fighting they extended their commerce in every direction and have built up a huge mercantile marine..... Out of her poverty Europe must pay a very heavy yearly tribute to the wealthiest Power in the world."

But Politicus perceives that the greatest victim of America's economic predominance will be England :

"England's life depends upon a flourishing export trade, and her prosperity may be threatened in her foreign markets. If we study the American export trade in detail, we find that during the last decade it has been particularly successful in Canada, in South America, and in Asia, in countries which were considered to be a British preserve and a British monopoly [mark India's economic position in relation to England in this unguarded confession]..... It is highly significant that the United States have achieved their greatest successes in foreign trade chiefly at England's cost..... Spurning territorial conquests, they have embarked upon the economic conquest of the world, and not unnaturally they are attracted by the opportunities offered by those markets which England hitherto considered her own. The Americans have rapidly and completely outdistanced many British manufacturing industries which formerly were supreme, and they mean to wrest from this country its pre-eminence in shipbuilding, shipping, banking, and finance as well. That is the ambition of all patriotic Americans, and we must seriously reckon with that movement which threatens to make Great Britain an economic Power of the second rank."

And yet it is not so very long ago that one used to hear the doctrine of blood being thicker than water promulgated by the press and platforms of Great Britain and America when the common enemy was making her last great sally against France.

The suggestion contained in the last paragraph of Politicus's article bodes no good to India, so long 'considered to be a British preserve and a British monopoly' :

"Competition between this country, with its narrow area and limited resources, and the United States is hopeless. However, the British Empire is more than four times as large as the United States. Its natural resources are probably at least as great as those of the Republic. By following a wise policy of development the unlimited latent riches of Great Britain and of the Empire may be turned into wealth and power. Statesmen of vision may establish the world-wide paramountcy of the British Empire. A policy of drift will make Great Britain and the Empire dependencies of the United States."

THE NEW ATTITUDE OF THE AFRICAN.

The last article we shall quote from is from the sympathetic pen of Mr. John H. Harris, who takes for his text a passage in General Smuts' speech in the South African Parliament on the Native Affairs Bill in which occurs the following significant sentence : 'A new attitude was growing up on the part of the natives towards the whites.'

The why and the wherefore of this new attitude of the African is thus summarised by the writer :

"The causes underlying this change are many, but in the main there are three : first among these is the

Great War, with the somewhat generous promises of a new heaven and a new earth for all men proclaimed from the house-tops by our statesmen; these have inspired the African with the not unnatural belief that as he is also "a man and a brother," he is entitled to an adequate share in this new creation; the second main cause is the way in which, voluntarily or involuntarily, British statesmen have in recent years broken the most explicit pledges [later on the writer says: "It is probably correct to say that British promises have been broken just as often in the past, but the difference lies just here: fifty years ago the African races were almost everywhere primitive, but the advance of education, coupled with the provision of newspapers and books, has brought to every village an intimate knowledge of promises made by authorities which fifty years ago was impossible."]; the third reason is of quite another order, namely, a marked departure from British colonial policy in several respects. The cumulative effect of these, with their subsidiary concomitants, are together responsible for the deplorable change of attitude on the part of the African races towards the British Empire."

The main departure in the British colonial policy referred to above by the writer is this: Formerly the House of Commons formally recognised the principle of an Imperial responsibility for the protection of native races not represented in legislative assemblies. Recently the British Government have gone back from this principle, and the native deputation from South Africa to the Colonial office was distinctly told that their affairs were exclusively in the hands of the South African Government. The writer proceeds:

"... the South African native claims that, as a loyal subject of the King Emperor (more loyal, in fact, than thousands of white men who possess the franchise in South Africa), he is entitled to look to the Imperial Government for redress until he has been given a voice in the government of his own country. In South Africa to-day injustice is piled on indignity, but the natives have no representative to voice their grievances; hope was kept bright by a faith in the justice of the Home Government and Parliament, but confidence has now been deliberately shattered by the reply given by Colonel Amery to the deputation."

'Hope in the British Parliament'—what a beautiful will-o-the-wisp it is! In the case of the Indians this supreme delusion was once for all shattered to pieces by the Dyer debate; but the Africans have, it seems, been deprived of even this chimera, and are utterly disconsolate. They have yet to learn that nations by themselves are made, and that reliance on an alien protector like the British Government is little better than faith in the South African



HE SAVED HER LIFE—

And Now She Wants Him To Marry Her.

—Chicago Tribune.

Parliament where the Africans are not represented. Mere representation without responsibility to one's own people, again, is worth nothing, as has been demonstrated times without number in our unhappy country; and so long as the ambition of the native African is limited to being permitted to voice the grievances of his race before a white Colonial Parliament, his condition will not differ materially from what it is now, for to be weak is miserable, doing (i.e., sending forth impotent wails in a white colonial legislature) or suffering (silently, as the South African natives are suffering to-day).

A Theory of History.

"A Theory of History" which Prof. Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia elaborates in *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1920, is thus summed up by the writer himself:—

As participants in the behavior that is history the instinctive multitudes, the errant experimenters, the clear-eyed and farseeing protagonists of premeditated policies have had in common one trait besides their elemental human nature; or has it veritably been their human nature itself? Either way, they have

been of one inclusive kind. *All have been adventurers.* All have felt an urge and responded to it. They have dared and gone forth. They have listened to pipings and followed lures. They have dug for pots of gold; climbed purple mountains. They have fared on pilgrimages "to meet with joy" in any "sweet Jerusalem". They have trekked and voyaged; have fought, and plundered and avenged. They have fashioned empires and dismembered them. With infinite toil they have created social order, and in drunken devilry have destroyed it. They have read the stars and rent the atom.

History, then, is adventure, and the urge to adventure is the cause of history. This proposition is the kernel of my theory.

Enfolding and sustaining it is the coefficient truth that some men, the *daimones* of our race react to the urge promptly, abundantly, persistently effectively, and in doing so pour or radiate a secondary or converted urge upon more sluggish men until they too react effectively. Paradoxically and amusingly this one specific affirmation of inequality among men is not denied by egalitarians. The wildest social lunatic has never imagined, or liar for a holy cause averred, that as *adventurers* men are equal. On the contrary, each is more sure than of anything else in life, that he at least, is an adventurer of parts, destined at some to lead a multitude of small adventurers—somewhere!

In sum, and to be severely scientific (as scientific as Mr. Adams is) equilibration of the urge to adventure and of reaction to it is the historically behavioristic mode of the degradation of energy.

As far as I can see there is one sufficient reason for being so accurate, and abbreviate. It is the short way to get back to history as reality, concrete and alive. As reality history is theme and story. The theme is actuality, the story what we make it. Scholarship—a kind of morality—has corrected our story of history in point of veracity, and (so all things work together for good to such as love truth) amazingly enriched it. Science has discovered and revealed actuality. Unspoiled by knowledge and unharmed by understanding, actuality is what it was to Odysseus and to Columbus; story is what it was to Herodotus and to Froissart.

As actuality history has been and is, Adventure; as story it was and is, and to the end of time will be, the Great Romance.

India's Political Future.

In the same periodical Mr. Bernard Houghton treats of "Reform in India," and says with reference to the non-co-operation resolution passed at the special Calcutta Congress:

It is a decisive event in the history of India. By this revolution Indians have resolved to win their

freedom not by the favor or with the assistance of the British government, but relying on themselves alone, their numbers, their organization, their self-sacrifice, their courage and their patriotism.

What of the future? Will the reforms work well in practice? Will they satisfy the Indian people? The omens are not good. Admittedly they do not content the great majority of organized opinion, nor is it very likely that their working will greatly assuage the heart-burnings and soften the bitterness so widely felt today.

He asks and answers:

Already Simla has given a hint of its intentions in the appointment of the Rules Committee. It intends to throw itself into the arms of the Moderates, to spurn the Nationalists who form the great majority of the Indian people. Still more significant is the budget for 1920-21. A year and a half after the end of the war the Government sets aside £40,000,000 out of a total of £90,500,000 for the army. It alleges the need for new equipment. But that is not the real reason. The real reason is that it fears the people and hopes to overawe them by artillery, tanks, aeroplanes and great munitions of war. Fear is the mainspring of the Government's policy. It is based on fear, inspired by fear, bound by fear. Is that the spirit which can meet the problems of modern India with any hope of success? It is the old bureaucratic spirit, the spirit of privilege and precedent and aloofness from popular wishes and hopes. No protestations, no "camouflage" will alter this essential fact.

Against this government of privilege, resting on bayonets, stand the embattled people of India, united, confident, inspired. For leaders they have statesmen of the first rank, such as Lajpat Rai, Patel, the Ali brothers and a host of others. India is at heart the most peaceful country on earth, and therefore the struggle will be peaceful. But struggle there will be. If a Labor Ministry succeeds the present Coalition (really Conservative) Government in England, the conflict will be short. Otherwise it may linger on through years of agitation, disaffection, compromise and growing popular power. The end is certain.

The Present Position in China.

His Excellency Sao-Ki Alfred Sze claims in *The Asiatic Review* that the Chinese "are a people who, of all living races, go furthest back into the past."

We were a nation long before the Roman set foot in this island. For more than twenty centuries we were living in the valleys of our great rivers before the English entered the Thames Valley. And the whole of Europe was pagan when Confucianism was already, for more than five hundred years, a living creed and a social code in our midst. The peoples and the races who were our contemporaries in those distant days have all disappeared into the night of the past. But we survive. And we survive, not as a dying race, but as a great coherent body of 400,000,000 people. And note this fact: whilst we are the oldest living race on earth, our mind possesses a vitality and elasticity which has

enabled us to adopt the most advanced forms of parliamentary government—namely, republicanism.

Enquiring into "the reason for this survival—for this passage of the Chinese people, as a living nation, through the ages," he suggests "that it is largely to be explained by Chinese adaptability—by the capacity of the Chinese to respond to the demands of change and adapt and readjust themselves to any new environment in which they may find themselves." Will Indians of both sexes take note of the words we have italicised? In the opinion of the Chinese writer the view that China is changeless is "not only untrue, but full of mischief." He quotes the following statement made by M. Paul Painlevé, the ex-Premier of France, as chief of a mission to China last summer, on the departure of his mission for France, emphasizing his "great admiration for China's past" and his "great confidence in her future":—

"(1) The military disorders as between Provinces and the rivalries of the Tsuchuns or military governors, which give rise to so much pessimism regarding the evolution of Chinese democracy, are far more superficial than deeprooted, and only paralyze to a very faint degree the working activity of the nation. It must be realized that these events are being enacted on a stage greater than Europe, and, further, that the Chinese Republic has only existed for less than ten years.

"(2) Contrary to the opinion current in Europe, it is not true that the Chinese nation is vegetating in a sort of stagnation. The evolution of its ideas, customs, and industries is, on the contrary, quickening in striking fashion. The twentieth century will be China's century, just as the outstanding feature of the nineteenth century was the unprecedented development of America.

"(3) The thirst to learn and to become familiar with the Western sciences is prodigious among the young generation in China. In spite of difference of language, the Chinese brain is just as capable of cultivating the rational and experimental sciences as the European brain. But what this huge nation lacks is scientific atmosphere. The Western nations must help China to form the first thousand of Chinese savants as speedily as possible. China will then resume the place which she occupied in the past and which she must occupy again, in world civilization.

"(4) Public opinion already exists in China to-day, and, although it does not manifest itself, as in the West, in accordance with legal forms prescribed by a Constitution, it is already singularly powerful and will soon be irresistible. It is becoming more and more national without being anti-foreign. In a recent and penetrating work, M. Hovelacque wrote that China was a civilization rather than a nation. To-morrow, whilst remaining a civilization China will be a nation, extensively decentralized, but one and indivisible; a nation which will be an element of weight in the concert of civilized powers."

The Problem of Korea.

In the opinion of Mr. F. A. McKenzie, author of "Korea's Fight for Freedom," the dominating factors in the problem of the relation of Japan and Korea have been twofold: "(1) the Imperial ambitions of the Japanese people, and (2) the excessive pacifism of the Korean." There have been attempts at administrative reform. But, says Mr. McKenzie in the *Asiatic Review*:

The Korean people having been awakened to the desire for liberty, are not going to be satisfied by improvements of administrative machinery. Mr. Cynn, one of the ablest and most temperate of Korean publicists, emphasizes this point: "The Korean desires to be recognized as *man*, and a mouthful of rice more or less, or a copper or two more or less does not weigh much with him. 'What does a man profit if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul.'"

Next, the new Japanese administration has been hampered by the fact that it is still dominated, as the old was, by the idea of assimilating the Koreans, making them into a kind of lesser Japanese. This is the foundation error of Japanese Imperial policy, and so long as it persists, conciliation is virtually impossible. The third cause of failure has been the fact that while the heads of the Japanese organization are changed, the vast administrative machine remains very much the same. The old gendarmerie now call themselves Civil Police. The old official methods in rural parts, the old abuses, have a way of surviving. The stories that reached me of tortures in the Korean prisons during the winter of 1919-20 were as terrible as any that I had heard before. No one supposes that Admiral Saito and Dr. Midzuno do not hate these things, and desire their end as heartily as any of us. But they go on. The Japanese method of endless interference with minor details in the life of the individual, of excessive bureaucracy, of super-policeism, bears hardly enough upon the Japanese, accustomed to it from infancy. To an alien people it is intolerable.

What then is the real remedy? The writer replies:

Let Japan leave the Korean people to conduct their own internal affairs. She might reasonably, from her point of view, demand securities against the alienation of Korean land to any foreign Power or the establishment of authority by any foreign Power in Korea. Let her call a real assembly of the Korean people, and give a definite time during which the process of restoring national government will be completed. Let her do the thing generously, taking a fair return for what she has spent, protecting fairly the interest of her nationals settled in Korea, and obtaining a pledge against special tariff disabilities.

In other words, let Japan do for Korea what America has done for Cuba, and what England is preparing to do for Egypt. Let her secure the support of the younger progressive element in the land. By such a course she would do more to wipe out the hateful memories of the past sixteen years than in any other way. She would have not a dependency whose people regard her with hatred, but a neighbour proud to be associated with her.

Her men of affairs would of necessity play a great part in Korean life because the Korean Government itself would, during the next generation at least, appeal to their more experienced Ally for help, for advisers and for co-operation in their development. Japan by such an action would lose nothing except a nominal sovereignty over a revolting people; she would turn rebels into allies and prove to the world the baselessness of the fabric on which the fears of the West concerning her Imperial ambitions had been founded.

Tagore Number of "Young India," New York.

The Tagore Number of "Young India," New York, published in December last, contains an article on Rabindranath Tagore by S. K. Ratcliffe, another on "Tagore,—the Man" by J. T. Sunderland, a third on "Tagore's Boys' School", ten poems by the poet, and an article of selections containing his views on "India's Foreign Rule." Of his religious belief, Mr. Ratcliffe says:

"In religious belief he holds to the position of his father, the Maharshi, and his poetic gift has been freely given to the service of the Brahma Church. The devotional songs of Rabindranath Tagore have entered closely into the religious life of the reformed Hindu community; you hear them sung in every Brahma household."

Of his poetical genius the same writer says:—

Mr. Tagore's poetical genius appears most fresh, spontaneous and rich, perhaps, in the lyrics. Upon the English reader, it may be, the main impression left by the lyrics will be that of a wonderfully clear and effortless expression of profound things. "To sing dedication of life in this silent and overflowing leisure" is the poet's own statement of his purpose; and as you read you are possessed by one feeling above all—the conviction that only in a large, simple, and unhurried life, in an atmosphere of meditation and recollection, could such poems as these have come to birth at all. The work of a 'supreme' culture, they yet appear as much the growth of the common soil as the grass and the rushes. They number many hundreds in all, and most are intensely devotional in character.

The moods embodied therein are many, but the attitude is one. It is the attitude of profound acceptance and receptiveness to all divine influences. "Only," he cries, "let me make my life simple and straight, like a flute of reed for thee to fill with music."

Part of Dr. J. T. Sunderland's tribute is quoted below:

By his very presence he lifts you up, and makes the whole world seem beautiful, and life seem something great, and duty, even the humblest duty, seem attractive, and love seem the holiest thing in the universe and God seem very near and very dear.

If Mr. Tagore is a thinker and a singer, still more is he a worshipper. To him worship is the most

natural thing in the world; and the highest, holiest, sweetest, dearest experience that the human soul can know.

Nor, in his thought, is worship confined to churches or temples or set places or set times. Rather to him the rising and setting sun invite to worship, so do evening shadows, so do the stars that shine in the deep sky, so does the solemn sea, so does the shining dew-drop on the grass, so does the opening flower, so does all the beauty of the world; so, most of all, do the deep yearnings and aspirations of the human heart.

In the familiar story found in one of our Gospels, of the Wise Men who came from the East to see the babe Jesus in Bethlehem, we read that when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto the child "gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh." This Wise Man who has come to us from the East is very modest about opening his treasures; but when any of us of the hurrying West are wise enough to desire them, and can stop long enough in our rush to listen, he is ready to present to us some very precious gifts, of spiritual gold, frankincense and myrrh—spiritual riches of a kind that he believes, and I believe, are of incomparably more value than many of the things which we run after so eagerly, only to find in the end that we have "spent our money for that which is not bread, and our labor for that which satisfied not."

In the article on the Santiniketan school, there are lengthy extracts from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's article in the *Daily Chronicle* of London, in which he says: "Into its [the school's] exchequer Mr. Tagore has put not only the Nobel prize, but the royalties on his books."

From the "Editorial Notes," we quote the following:—

WORDS OF CHEER FOR INDIA

"What do you suppose will satisfy the soul,
except to walk free and own no superior?
Liberty is to be subserved, whatever occurs."

—Whitman.

"And what avail the plow or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

—Emerson.

WHY ENGLAND SHOULD GIVE INDIA FREEDOM

Said James Russell Lowell in his famous address in England on "Democracy": "It is cheaper in the long run to lift men up than to hold them down, and the ballot in their hands is less dangerous than a sense of wrong in their heads."

WHY AMERICA SHOULD SYMPATHIZE

Does any one ask why America should sympathize with India's struggle for freedom? Here is the answer:

Men, whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free
If there be on earth a slave
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works another's pain,

Are ye not base slaves indeed,
 Slaves unworthy to be freed?
 Is true freedom but to break
 Fetters for our own dear sake,
 And, with leathern hearts, forget
 That we owe mankind a debt?
 No! true freedom is to share
 All the chains our brothers wear,
 And, with heart and hand, to be
 Earnest to make others free.

—James Russell Lowell.

THE PHILIPPINES AND INDIA

One of the first things the United States did in entering the Philippines was to throw out opium. At that time the drug habit was widespread, with serious effects everywhere. We banished the traffic, root and branch.

Has Great Britain banished opium from India? On the contrary, against the earnest and constant protest of the Indian people she has made India the leading opium producing country of the world, not only encouraging its sale there and deriving a great revenue therefrom, but shipping it in quantities to all parts of the Orient, and insisting on its sale wherever she holds political sway.

Two of Dr. Tagore's plays, "The Post Office" and "Sacrifice", were to have been acted in New York in December last. They have already been produced in England.

The better mind of America is alive to India's educational needs.

The annual convention of university presidents of the United States which held its sessions in Washington, D. C., passed a resolution recommending to the universities throughout the country to institute scholarships for Indian students. President LeRoy Burton of the University of Michigan made special efforts to bring the resolution before the convention. We extend our thanks to the Convention and to President Burton.

Kafiristan.

According to *Chambers's Journal*, Kafiristan, which lies to the north-east of Khyber Pass, was until recently a completely veiled land.

You must think twice before you cross the Kafir's path. It is simply not possible to intrude into the country, be you never so venerable in appearance or open-handed in bestowing presents. A priestly cloak may impress the faithful in the tribal country or in Bokhara; but the Kafirs, having no fixed conception of religion and no tolerance for priestcraft, will not let any stranger enter their mountains under any guise.

The Kafirs can neither write nor read, and possess no historical records; consequently their origin is still obscure. Some have assigned to them Hellenic ancestry; others take them to belong to the ancient Hindu stock; while they themselves trace their parentage to the Quraish Arabs. From the true Arabian stock of Quraish—the noblest amongst the Arab clans—they are poles apart; there is not the most distant similarity in features or in language.

Their connection with the Greeks is equally unfounded, and there is enough anthropological and dialectical evidence to support the view that they are descendants of the early Aryan hordes which swept upon India some centuries ago, and have more in common with the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Persians, and the Tatars than with the Greeks or the Arabs.

The argument that the Kafirs belong to the Hindu cult is based on the superstitions and practices found in Kafiristan. However these ceremonies may have taken on local colour, they are admittedly traceable to the parent Vedic and the Parsee stock. These are not in any sense allied to the Arabs. All their rites and ceremonies are exotic in nature, probably imported from both East and West.

Origin of the Suffrage Movement.

The Christmas number of the *Century Magazine* contains an article with the heading "Are Women Intelligent?" The title will make women indignant, but the article is in reality a brief history of the suffrage movement, of which the origin is thus stated:—

Seventy years ago, in a little town in the Middle West, a Methodist minister in good standing in his community beat his wife with a horsewhip. He was not drunk; she had not failed in her duties as household drudge any more than drudges always fail; she had eight children and an incredible number of chores. It was simply that she needed discipline on general principles, and she got it every two weeks. She was likely to be "cross," it seems.

The most nefarious law in history was that English common law whereby a man had complete control over his wife, and in spirit regarded her as a body without a soul. Says Blackstone, "He is her baron or lord, bound to supply her with shelter, food, clothing and medicine, and is entitled to her earnings and the use and custody of her person wherever he may find it."

The suffrage movement had its origin in the attempt of women to obtain a reasonable justice, in order that they might have protection in the home. Vitally concerned in the liquor question, they wanted to take part in the temperance cause. Their quick sympathies went out to another class of the oppressed—the slaves. The history of the origin of the movement for the ballot on the part of women is the history of their timid and high-minded endeavor to aid in the great causes of humanity. In the rebuff of their efforts by the men who were the guardians of their needs, in the injustice of the laws made for their "protection," in the realization of their anomalous position in the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, they found the compelling motive for revolt. Out of their activities before and during the Civil War arose their demand for political rights. Their appearance in public life brought upon them the reverberating condemnation of church and state.

Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States.

In the British self-governing dominions

and colonies and in the United States of America, Indians are discriminated against. Not being an independent nation, they have to submit to this insult and disadvantage. But when the Japanese are discriminated against, they being both powerful and independent, there is a probability of more trouble. In fact, if ever there be a great war in the Pacific, it would be due in part to the colour bar against Japan in America, Australia, and New Zealand. The case for the exclusion of the Japanese from America has been thus stated by the New York *New Republic* :

So long as the world is organized under national states, each bent on realizing its own destiny, there must remain discriminations between the nationals of the several Powers which are not the proper object of diplomatic intervention.

Every nation must determine its own population policy.

That implies freedom to discriminate in matters of immigration. Else it might become the subject of colonization and lose its identity, or it might suffer such profound changes in its economic and social structure as to lose its character. Not even the most ardent cosmopolitans would desire America to endure passively the complete Orientalization of the Pacific States.

No less must every self-conscious nation be free to determine what kind of people shall hold its agricultural lands. The trading and industrial labourers of the cities may come and go, but the agricultural population tends to remain fixed. It is the chief source of the future population of the state.

Discriminations in respect to the kind of people who shall be absorbed into our national life, and above all, discriminations as to the kind of people who shall occupy the controlling position represented by agricultural tenure, are of the essence of nationalism.

It may be that we are foolish in preferring Italians and Serbs and Syrians to the Japanese, as constituent elements of our future population. It may be that we are hysterical over a small matter when we refuse to permit the few Japanese in this country to own lands. But these are matters for Americans to settle among themselves without pressure from outside.

If our disposition of them prejudices the interests of the nationals of other states, those states ought to press upon us the duty to adequate indemnification. But no good will come, in the long run, of anything beyond this.

To this the *Century* adds :—

This strikes us as a thoroughly sensible and realistic view of the situation. Japan is rigidly exclusionist in the matter of ownership of land in Japan by foreigners. She cannot justly complain if we exercise our national discretion in like manner. Three things, however, should be kept in mind in this agitation.

TACT.

First, we should be *tactful*. There is a gentility of manner that even a powerful nation can afford to discard.

JUSTICE.

Second, we should be *just*. We should not confuse the problem of immigration and the problem of the Japanese who are already in California. It is our clear *right* to restrict immigration as we see fit. It is our clear *duty* to indemnify adequately every Japanese now living in this country who may in anywise suffer material loss from state or federal legislation.

WORLD-STATESMANSHIP.

Third, we should *recognize that this and similar problem can never be really solved save by world remedies*. Japan is a proud, prolific, and crowded nation. The instinct of self-preservation and self-advancement is as strong in colored as in white races. We cannot imprison a growing people in an inadequate territory any more than we can imprison steam in a kettle and avoid an explosion. World-statesmanship would turn the irresistible power of growing peoples into the high adventure of conquering the waste and idle stretches of the world's surface, instead of burning up half the world's energy in a jealous guarding of preempted areas.

The case for the Japanese has been thus stated in *The Asian Review* :—

It should be in the recollection of every student of history that the Japanese first went to the States at the invitation of the Americans who were greatly handicapped in their business because of the paucity of hardworking labourers. The Japanese proved their worth and earned the admiration of the natives for their numerous fine qualities, which were conspicuous by their absence in the immigrants from Europe. Things went on well and more Japanese were welcomed. Great inducements were held out to them and thousands migrated to America—the land of plenty—and settled there permanently.

In the meantime Japan's political progress attracted the attention of the world. Japan emerged victorious in the Russo-Japanese war. This fact—the victory of a coloured nation over a first class white power—and the bogey of the "Yellow Peril" set the white world against Japan. The condescending patronage so long bestowed on Japan was withdrawn and various measures were adopted to curtail her power. Meanwhile the Japanese in the United States being possessed of superior qualities naturally began to oust the natives and the alien white labourers from the field. This gave umbrage to the latter. The unscrupulous politicians taking advantage of the situation forged a new weapon for an attack on Japan and the result was the disgraceful California School question. Japan was not ungrateful. She remembered the past services of the United States during her infancy and yielded almost in every point. The Gentlemen's Agreement was brought into being, and Japan has hitherto observed it faithfully.

In deference to the wishes of the Americans Japan has already prohibited the system of "picture brides." So far as Japan's obligations are concerned, she has

fulfilled them. It now remains for America to carry out her part. The question now centres round the treatment of the Japanese already settled in America. They are human beings and must be accorded a humane treatment. To wantonly persecute them, because they are more industrious, more thrifty and more moral, certainly does no credit to the Americans. The problem has now shifted from the hand of Japan to that of America. These immigrants are to all intents and purposes the citizens of the United States, having settled there permanently; and it therefore behoves the American government to ensure them their rights.

In deciding any matter not only reason but sentiment too should be made a prominent factor; otherwise one is liable to fall in error. A calm and impartial judgment should be brought to bear on the question. Some jingoistic elements in both countries advocate the settlement of this question by force of arms. But they do not seem to appreciate how ruinous a business war is, especially in these days. They have nothing to gain but everything to lose if they followed this course. The vast majority of the Japanese people want to see a peaceful solution of the question to the satisfaction of all parties. They hope that both Governments will amicably and in a spirit of mutual co-operation solve this problem and thereby strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries, so that the Pacific may truly remain eternally pacific.

On the general immigration policy of America the *New Republic* observes:—

To close our doors against immigration, even temporarily, is a measure no one imbued with the American spirit can contemplate without misgivings. We are essentially a nation of immigrants. Our history of colonization is a romance of immigration which has impressed itself deeply on the minds of all Americans. Our traditions are tinged with the color of new life blooming from stocks transplanted to a fertile soil under a new sky. What is the characteristic American optimism and courage but the collective reflection of the new hopes springing from the opportunities thrown open to the newcomer? Has the time now come when we must reverse our policy, and guard our national heritage jealously for those already here? In that case we must look forward to a different kind of America, less generous, less free, less brave.

For our part we do not believe the time has come, or is even near at hand, when our national welfare may require the permanent exclusion of those who wish to make their homes in America.

But though we believe that there is no valid reason why a permanent dyke should be erected against immigration, we cannot accept the laissez faire view, that it is no concern of the American people what kind of immigrants come, what influences are at work to draw them to this country, what happens to them after they get here, how their coming bears upon our own current social and economic problems.

A Prayer by the late Emperor of Japan.

The Asian Review gives the following

translation of a prayer by the late Emperor of Japan:

Oh God in heaven!
If there be a deed of sin,
Thy wrath to merit,
Punish me; the people spare,
All are children of my care.

Abolition of the Sale of Opium by Japan.

The Asian Review writes:—

Minister Obata at Peking notified the International Anti-Opium League of Peking on October 5th that the Japanese Cabinet has decided to abolish the sale of opium in Kwantung and Tsingtao. This notice was welcomed by the League, and when it was read by a Japanese member of the League, it was received with loud applause. The abolition of the system of selling opium in Kwantung and Tsingtao was decided in the Cabinet meeting in February, 1919, but on account of various hindrances, it was not carried out until recently. Thus the Japanese Government, abolishing the system of selling opium, morphine and other such drugs, will prevent illegal sale of such drugs in China.

Japanese Pharmacist Helps German Scientific Research.

The same journal reports that Mr. Hajime Hoshi, President of the Hoshi Pharmaceutical Company of Tokyo, has contributed a sum of 2,000,000 marks for scientific research work in Germany. "Germany" is not a misprint for "England".

Some Curious Ways of Earning a Living.

Writing on this subject in *Chambers's Journal* Clive Holland first mentions the dog-washers and dog-barbers of Paris, and passes on to describe the work of "the unkempt tatterdemalions who haunt the precincts of cafe's and restaurants, with the object of picking up unconsidered trifles in the shape of cigar and cigarette ends, and the tiny plugs of tobacco raked from pipes." Then come the professional mourners.

For two or three francs many of these men will walk beside the hearse, looking as though the world were indeed a dreary wilderness, and the departed their dearest relative or friend. Watch them in a cemetery, and one realises how undoubtedly the dramatic gift is theirs. Attitudes and expressions are irreproachable, and if at such times the real mourners

should note a thing of this kind, they cannot but feel that the money has been well earned.

The Eating Man must have a whole paragraph to himself.

Some years ago we made the acquaintance of a man whose sole apparent means of livelihood was the eating of an enormous quantity of a certain make of dainties not unconnected with the pork trade, so as to induce buyers to purchase. He used to be invariably seen at the stall eating ! eating !! eating !!! and loudly proclaiming the delicious nature of the repast. To some people it might appear that the proprietor of the stall's ingenuity was of a somewhat unnecessary and expensive character, and that if the goods were worth anything they ought to have sold themselves. But that he found the services of *L'Homme qui Mange* (the eating man)—as the Parisians nicknamed him—valuable was vouched for by the fact that the Gargantuan eater travelled with his employer the whole round of the fairs, attending not only those in Paris and its environs, but even those farther afield in the Departments. How many meals this unfortunate man must have eaten without the shadow of an appetite is simply appalling to think of, but he seemed to flourish amazingly at his queer trade. He ultimately took a post in one of the travelling shows, and spent the remainder of his life, until his death about two years ago, sitting in a huge chair on the platform in front of the booth to exhibit his great bulk to the crowd. From being a man of ordinary weight and proportions, he became in the course of ten years enormously stout, and at the time we saw him last weighed the equivalent of twenty-three English stones, which, for a man of five feet eight inches in height, was considerably more than he should have done.

The trainer of singing birds deserves mention. But all curious trades in Paris are not so innocent or so praiseworthy as the bird-trainer's.

There are other trainers, well known to the police, who take children when quite young, and teach them all the dodges which go to the making of expert thieves.

This training of thieves and desperados is quite a recognised profession, and those who follow it are many of them apparently, to judge from their conversation, as proud of having trained an expert thief as another might be of training a champion athlete or a successful race-horse.

There are quite a number of men and women who train young children to be deformities, either for the purpose of selling them to shows or 'freak' museums which visit the various fairs throughout France, or that they may by their deformity gain the more easily a livelihood by means of begging. Quite a number of children are undoubtedly deliberately deformed each year in Paris for one or other of these purposes.

Their limbs are bound to their sides until they become withered and useless, or their legs are 'twisted' when quite young so that they can be easily dislocated. In some cases, of course, these artificial deformities are only temporary; that is to say, a child one sees, walking on its knees with its legs from its knees downward

bent under it and, apparently useless, crying out for alms 'for the love of God,' may later in the day and at night be seen up on Montmartre walking very much as another person would do.

Many of the Paris beggars, indeed, are wonderful impostors. Limbs which seem twisted beyond all possibility of use will be straightened and used when the owners have retired from the public eye at the end of their day's begging. But it is needless to say that all child deformers must be possessed of horrible instincts, and that most terrible cruelty is often practised in connection with the deforming process.

Let us conclude with the description of an innocent occupation.

Then one other trade, not confined to Paris, but very much in evidence in the French capital, is that of the professional awakener. There are a number of people living in lodgings or in studios who cannot rely upon themselves to wake up at a reasonable time in the morning, and are thus willing to give some one half-a-franc or so a week to come and call them regularly at some time decided upon.

Aridity as an Asset in Agriculture.

The idea, says the *Scientific American*, that an arid climate is a blessing to the farmer, will strike most people as novel and paradoxical, but a good case in favour of this idea can be made out.

In a valuable report on the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project, published by the State of Washington, the following facts are set forth regarding the influence of aridity on agriculture: The almost continual sunshine accelerates plant growth. The soil, constantly warm, prevents any cessation of root activity which would follow night chilling if cloudy weather prevailed in the daytime. An arid climate reduces harvesting costs and insures a higher quality of products, harvested without delay or spoilage by rain. The main point brought out, however, is that, with irrigation as a substitute for rainfall, water can be applied to the crops at the right time and only at the right time; also in just the right amounts. This fact is in accordance with current ideas in agricultural meteorology concerning the great importance of "critical periods" in the growth of any crop plant, when its exact requirements in respect to heat or moisture must be met in order to get the best results. The ideal plan would be to dispense with natural climate altogether and to grow all crops under controlled conditions of temperature, moisture, and probably other atmospheric factors. The above-mentioned report says: "The scant rainfall of the Columbia Basin area has been very beneficial for the future irrigationist. There has not been sufficient moisture to leach away the stored plant food, and at the same time adequate drainage has prevented the accumulation of alkali salts, which are the most soluble of the earth's constituents and are frequently found in poorly drained arid regions."

Education and "Slave Mentality" in Japan.

A Japanese writer criticises in the Japanese journal *Kaizo* (Reconstruction) the spirit and objects controlling public education in his country, as directed to making women, workers, and subject peoples—like the Koreans—mental slaves. Says he:—

The essence of true education, either for men or women, should lie in the building up of free personality. In other words, true education must take upon itself to produce true men. The system of education which makes men slaves, that is, machine-like men, cannot properly be called education, however efficient it may be in other respects. A glance at the prevailing system of female education will show that its chief function is to produce slaves.

At present there are three classes of people upon whom is forced this slave-making education under the name of true education. These three classes are women, laborers, and conquered peoples. The 'good wife and wise mother' principle, the 'patronage' doctrine, and the 'assimilation' policy are terms which are applied to the various educations which are given respectively to these classes. These terms are different, but the thing which they connote is the same. These various educations agree in arresting the free and untrammelled development of personality. Their aim is not to educate peoples belonging to these classes so that they may ultimately take their position as equals with the rest of the population, but to teach them to acknowledge the superiority of the ruling class, as against the ruled.

So mental slaves are produced even in independent countries. We should be on our guard from now that we do not become mental slaves in the process of winning independence and after winning it.

The White Race in the Tropics.

The Living Age writes:—

At the last Australasian Medical Congress, held at Brisbane, a subcommittee reported on the effect of a tropical climate upon the white race. Its conclusion was that with proper precautions, white settlers may thrive in hot climates better than is generally believed; but that under present conditions, their health in tropical Australia deteriorates. Neuresthenia causes 25 per cent of the invalidity; but climate is not the sole reason for this. Nervous diseases are partly due to changed conditions of living. Their increased frequency where white and colored races live in contact, whether in the torrid or the temperate zone, is ascribed to the fact that under such conditions, the whites—especially white women—do not perform the usual amount of physical labor or take in its place sufficient physical exercises.

Ninety Years of Memories.

The Times has published a very interesting interview with Mr. Frederick Harrison on his entering his ninetieth year. He began thus:

As I enter on the ninetieth year of a fortunate life I have much to be thankful for. I retain all my faculties, and feel hardly any personal change. Eyes, ears, hands, and feet hold out. I read without glasses, have good hearing, walk two or three miles a day, and sleep eight hours at night; enjoying Nature, art, society, and books as much as ever. As Cicero reports of Cato the Elder, "I have no fault to find with old age."

"And your memory?"

"Is clear for over 80 years, for I remember the death of William IV in 1837, and I witnessed the coronation procession of Victoria in 1838. These 80 years cover the greatest and most rapid change, during one life, in the history of civilization—certainly in things material—perhaps also in things intellectual, moral, and social. In my childhood there were no railroads, no ocean steamships, no electric telegraph, no modern guns or vessels. As for airships and submarines—! Vast continents were uninhabited and unexplored. Cities were quite moderate in size. England could feed itself; we were a rural people. Except for India, the Oversea Dominions were scanty and struggling Colonies. The criminal law was barbarous. There was no public education, and the mass of the people were unable to read. Children and women were cruelly worked in mines and factories. I recall the "Hungry Forties," the horror of the Irish Famine and Exile, and the cruel Game and Corn Laws.

Well, he went on, "I have witnessed a blessed change. But don't let us suppose the enormous advance in material life has been all to the good. This huge growth of population, wealth, locomotion, of every tool to make a sort of short cut to everything, has reduced existence to one incessant rattle and drive, has ruined half of our lovely country, has imprisoned millions in sooty cities. Mechanical inventions make war more horrible, industry more oppressive, and life one perpetual scramble and cinema show. (By the way, I can't bring myself to pronounce it "sinema"; it should be "kinema.") Everything is restless, provisional, and uncertain."

In the following passage some of the gains and losses during the period covered by his life are balanced:—

"No—and he plunged anew into his survey. The predominant change in my time is a new life for the vast masses of labor. I rejoice to see—and I have for 60 years worked for—shorter hours, healthier conditions, better homes, higher culture, truer education for the people; above all, their share in the government of the nation and in every social opportunity. In 1859 I lectured and wrote, in connection with the Working Men's College founded by Frederick Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Ruskin, Hughes, and Ludlow, for these courses, and am proud to see how it has all grown. The motto of our school at Newton Hall was, not the dictatorship, but the "incorporation of the proletariat"—that is, the raising of labor to every interest and opportunity of society. The working masses are the nation, we always said; other classes are only special agents and officials. We never countenanced the unnatural division into "upper, middle, and lower classes." That is ended. But we never

encouraged any class war. We never said that labor was to be paramount and despotic.

'I am far from denying that this vast material progress this social improvement, has not been gained without grave evils and cruel loss to good things and worthy persons. The tremendous upheaval, spiritually, morally, and intellectually, has wrought incalculable mischief. The social betterment of labor has been won too often by violence, selfishness, and greed, and usually by no cry but that of more money and bitter suspicion. The world war has changed everything, and in the end has ruined much of good and of promise. The churches have not yet shown any power to restore religion to its true place as the guide of human life. The boom in education has not brought any nobler literature, any greater art, any purer drama, any finer manners. Serious literature is being choked out by the increasing cost of printing, the abolition of a leisured class able to study in peace and to produce from its learning, and by the mad whirl of modern existence. The result of this chaos in spiritual and moral training is a manifest loosening of the canons of moral life, the defiance of discipline by the young and ambitious, the mockery of age and all the lessons of age; worst of all, the sacrifice of family as a moral institution, and the degradation of marriage to be a temporary partnership, entered into as a frivolous mode of getting "a good time," and to be cast off as easily as a lodging which is not convenient.'

On being asked, "Do you see no hope for us, then?" he replied:

'Oh, I am not a pessimist. This world is a mass of infinite complexity, and humanity has incalculable powers of recuperation. But the immediate future of this kingdom—nay, of Western civilization—is in real peril of collapse. The seizure of power by untold millions, as yet neither morally nor intellectually trained to rule, threatens revolution, anarchy, and famine. I have been all my life a resolute opponent not only of the accession of women to political responsibility, but of all forms of the assimilation of women's activity to that of men. I adhere to everything I have ever said of this. Are women, now that they have equal votes, doing anything to check the sacrifice of family, the degradation of marriage? They now struggle to be B.A.'s, to deluge the press with short stories, to thrust men from the clerk's room. The true task of woman is to moralize and spiritualize the world of man, to bear, train, and humanize the coming generation. Is not that task sacred enough for the vainest girl?'

'Surely these things will right themselves?'

'One day! I shall not live to see it nor do I care to live to see the moral, spiritual, intellectual, and material chaos which is so near to us now. May my end be early, speedy, and peaceful!'

Why Learn French?

J. H. Hallard gives his reasons in the *Anglo-French Review* why French ought to be learnt. Some of them are:

Well, in my unfortunate essay, I endeavored to put in a plea for the superiority of the French intellect in all matters literary and artistic. After all, French is to the modern world very much what Greek was to the ancient. It is the language of culture, the language of criticism. It is the great mediating language of Europe. Just as an educated Roman in the days of Cicero read Greek, so do educated Englishmen, Germans, and Russians read French. It may very well be that French is not the best language for some things, but it is unquestionably the best language for most things. It is bright and vivacious, and is therefore *par excellence* the language of conversation. It is logical and lucid, and is therefore the best language for psychology. For poetry it is not so well adapted as English, but it is not nearly so ill-adapted as most literary Englishmen fancy. It requires a very intimate knowledge of French, however, to understand the charm of French poetry.

The French have a saying, which naturally we do not accept, that French is the language of men; English the language of birds. They add also that Italian is the language of women and German the language of horses. With these last two appreciations we shall not concern ourselves, but why should English be regarded as the language of birds? We are accustomed to think of our native tongue as a 'manly' one compared with French, yet the Frenchman talks of the *gazouillement*, the 'twittering' of the English language. How should this be? Well, the reason is not so very far to seek. English is full to excess of sibilant sounds. *S* and *ch* abound in it. French, on the other hand, is full of sonorous, nasal sounds, like *on*, *en*, etc., which give to the language a kind of metallic clang. Theophile Gautier it is, I think, who compares the sound of French to the rippling of chain armor.

There can be no doubt that French is the more sonorous, the more masculine language of the two. What it lacks is the whispering sweetness of English, that sound as of wind through a reedbed. This is given to English by its sibilants and its indefinite vowel sounds.

What are the reasons that make one assert that French is the proper language to take the place of Greek in the education of those to whom Greek is to be denied? Well, in the first place, French is essentially the language of pure intelligence, just as Greek was.

Severity of syntax is another feature rather wanting in English, and this French has in a less degree only than Latin, which must ever remain the best educational language for Europeans.

French literature is the literature of power, passion, and clear thinking. It is also, most emphatically, the language of criticism.

NOTES

The Most Humiliating Common Factor.

The object of all reforms of whatever character is to remove all causes of oppression, indignity, injustice, inconvenience, inequality of wealth, power or opportunity, and the like. In India women have their grievances and men theirs. Young students have their grievances and school children have theirs. The "untouchable" castes have their grievances, the castes just a little above these have theirs, and the Brahmans and other "higher" castes are not without theirs. Hindus and Musalmans have their respective grievances, Shiahhs and Sunnis have theirs. Indian Christians cannot say that they have nothing to complain of. That is the case with other religious bodies, too. Landholders do not think that they live in the best possible of all worlds, and the rayats have their age-long tale of woe. Capitalists complain of the exorbitant demands of labour, and labourers complain of the iniquitous conditions in which they have to work. There are similar mutual recriminations and dissatisfaction between other employers and employees.

There is no grievance of any section or class of the people which does not require looking into and remedying. These sectional or class grievances, however, are not directly felt by *all* the inhabitants of India; they are not directly concerned in their removal. It is, no doubt, the duty of all right-thinking and patriotic persons who are not directly and personally affected to give their sympathy and assistance to those who are aggrieved. But such sympathy and assistance cannot produce a nation-wide movement.

A nation-wide movement can be produced only by a nation-wide disgrace, disability, indignity and wrong. What is this most humiliating common factor in our lives which can and ought to bring together men and women, the literate and the illiterate, rich and poor, prince and pea-

sant, Hindu, Moslem, Christian, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, Jew and Parsi, capitalist and labourer, Brahman and non-Brahman, "touchable" and "untouchable," "high-caste," and "low-caste"? It is foreign rule and foreign exploitation. Whatever our other grievances and wrongs and want of opportunity, foreign rule is a common disgrace which we must all feel. The biggest ruling prince in India is not as free a man as a sweeper in a free Western country. The most intellectual and most spiritually-minded persons among us are, from the view-point of political status, dwarfs in comparison with a London costermonger.

So it is inevitable and desirable that our most extensive movement should be a political movement, and the leaders with the largest following should be political leaders. Though it cannot be said that so long as we are not politically free, sectional and class grievances can wait, for these grievances stand in the way of our national solidarity, yet it can and ought to be said that we should all join in the movement for political freedom as Indians, in disregard of our sectional and class differences, disputes and grievances. In politics there is neither Hindu nor Moslem, neither male nor female, neither rich nor poor, neither literate nor illiterate, neither capitalist nor labourer, neither employer nor employee—all are Indians. And the common aim of all is to be free.

But unfortunately, even in politics, there are parties and divisions. The differences between them are twofold, namely, as to the goal and as regards method. As regards our political goal, one party would be content to have a status within the British Empire like that of the self-governing dominions, the other party would strive for ultimate independence. Our own view is that nothing short of perfect independence can enable Indians to be and to do in the world what God meant them

to be and to do. But we find that Canada, a self-governing dominion, is not satisfied with her position ; she wants to be independent. She has already attained a higher status than the other self-governing British dominions, in as much as she has secured direct political relations with the United States of America ; and we have no doubt that in course of time she will have the substance of independence, and probably the name, too. We believe there is a craving for independence in New Zealand, also. The example of Canada alone is, however, sufficient to show that the way to independence may lie through dominion status. For this reason, we have no quarrel with those who want dominion status. The divine spirit of dissatisfaction in man may be trusted to do its work in the minds and hearts of the future citizens of India. For our part, we do not hesitate to state clearly that, though the path may be straight or devious and the journey short or long, our goal is independence. An Indo-British Commonwealth in which India is to be only an equal partner with England or New Zealand must mean injustice to India. India must have an influence in the world proportionate to her area, population, variety and richness of culture, traditions, and spiritual, intellectual and material resources. This she cannot obviously have in a commonwealth in which her voice is to be equal to that of small countries ; she can have it only by domineering over or swamping the others ; but that is not an ideal to which a democratic India can or ought to subscribe. So India can hope to wield her just influence in the world only by being independent. This may be, and for the present actually is, a dream, but all ideals—including a dominion status for India—are dreams ; and if dreams are to be dreamt, why not dream the most satisfying and the most logical ?

As to methods of attaining freedom, we are in favour of any that may be consistent with our manhood and self-respect. One such method may be called that of passive resistance, non-co-operation, &c. At the same time, if others of a different way of

thinking feel that they can follow a different method without their manhood and self-respect being impaired, we have no quarrel with them. But our own opinion is that freedom cannot be won by begging, because begging itself implies dependence on others, and therefore, that for which we have to *depend* on others cannot lead to *independence*. And that which we have not the strength to win, cannot have the strength to keep.

Swaraj and Education.

We have neither the heart nor the desire to make fun of those who expect to win swaraj within nine months or one year, *keeping to themselves the reason for the faith that is in them*. For they may have received some light which we have not, and they may walk by faith whilst we walk by reason ; and their faith may be due to some direct, intuitive and inner illumination. This we consider to be not beyond the bounds of possibility. But if they assign any reasons for the faith that is in them, if they give any indications of the means by which swaraj can be attained within a brief definite period, they place themselves on ground within our reach. We can discuss the reasons, we can consider whether the means are sufficient for the purpose. Discussing and considering the reasons and the means hitherto made public, we have arrived at the conclusion that neither students absenting themselves from schools and colleges for three or nine months, nor the same persons working at the spinning wheel for nine months or one year can bring about swaraj within that period.

To win swaraj within a brief definite period no peaceful means except non-payment of taxes by large numbers of men seems to us sufficient. An universal strike of all Indian employees of the State is, no doubt, another means. But it does not seem probable that the majority of those who are in service, however discontented, would give it up. Should they do so, we should be glad indeed. To gradually cut off the sources of supply of Government servants by proper patriotic education and

education for independent careers, is another means; but this would take a rather long period.

Not to pay taxes and to keep cool even when oppressed and plundered for that reason, would require more patriotism, courage and self-discipline than large numbers of our literate and illiterate sisters and brethren yet possess. But perhaps the movement may be begun with fair prospects of success in small areas under competent leadership at the psychological moment, as was done in Kaira. There is no reason to fear that under such leadership illiterate persons of limited means would prove worse passive resisters than literate and more well-to-do persons;—on the contrary, the former may even prove sturdier than the latter. For this reason, we think Mr. Gandhi was justified in saying at the meeting in Harrison Road on January 26:

If you do not help with money, Swaraj will be difficult but not impossible to attain. If the students of India do not help me, it does not matter. If the pleaders do not help, it does not matter. If monied men do not help with money, that also does not matter. The attainment of Swaraj depends on the workers and the agriculturists. I belong to the same profession as yourselves by birth and was a merchant myself by profession. I was a lawyer and earned money thereby. I am a student also and I think that I am a good student, too. If you have power, if you have strength in you, if you want to govern India, then make sacrifices. Sacrifice yourselves, your children, and your parents, everything in your life. Swaraj depends upon the agriculturists. If they do not help, then Swaraj cannot be attained. If they co-operate with the Government, then all your virtues will not help you in winning Swaraj. If 25 crores of people turn out to be undutiful, Swaraj cannot be attained.

The most important thing, then, is to get at, educate in patriotism, and discipline the workers and the agriculturists. The attainment of Swaraj depends on how soon this can be done. Strikes and *hartals* are imparting this education to some extent. Mr. Gandhi with his *hartals* is a great national asset. The *hartals* are disciplining the people to obey a leader. And hitherto they have rendered obedience. It ought to be the concern not only of Mr. Gandhi but of all lovers of the country

to see that his undoubted influence over the masses is properly utilised. This leads us to observe that if the bulk of the thousands of Bengali student strikers who have *voluntarily* left their schools and colleges can neither be educated in national institutions, nor utilized for propaganda, teaching and social service work in villages, but are *obliged* either to idle away their time or to go back to the institutions from which they have withdrawn themselves, the Non-co-operation movement will experience a setback in Bengal from which it would be difficult for it soon to recover. In *Young India*, January 19, Mr. Gandhi has told the students of Bengal,—

.....in the place of your suspended studies, I would urge you to study the methods of bringing about swaraj as quietly as possible even within the year of grace. I present you with the SPINNING WHEEL and suggest to you that on it depends India's economic salvation.

"But you are at liberty to reject it if you wish and go to the college that has been promised to you by Mr. Das. Most of your fellow students in the National College at Gujarat have undertaken to give at least four hours to spinning every day. It is no sacrifice to learn a beautiful art and to be able to clothe the naked at the same time.

"You have done your duty by withdrawing from Government colleges. I have only showed you the easiest and most profitable way of devoting the time at your disposal."

The same issue of *Young India* contains an article entitled "The Secret of Swaraj" in which Mr. Gandhi writes:—

"We are engaged in a spiritual war. We are not living in normal times. Normal activities are always suspended in abnormal times. And if we are out to gain swaraj in a year's time, it means that we must concentrate upon our goal to the exclusion of everything else. I therefore venture to suggest to the students all over India to suspend their normal studies for one year and devote their time to the manufacture of yarn by handspinning. It will be their greatest act of service to the motherland, and their most natural contribution to the attainment of swaraj. During the late war our rulers attempted to turn every factory into an arsenal for turning out bullets of lead. During this war of ours, I suggest every national school and college being turned into a factory for preparing cones of yarns for the nation. The students will lose nothing by the occupation: they will gain

a kingdom here and hereafter. There is a famine of cloth in India. To assist in removing this dearth is surely an act of merit. If it is sinful to use foreign yarn, it is a virtue to manufacture more Swadeshi yarn in order to enable us to cope with the want that would be created by the disuse of foreign yarn."

Admitting all that Mr. Gandhi has said in the two extracts given above, we do not see how Swaraj can be gained *in one year* by the method suggested therein. We can only venture a conjecture. By manufacturing our own yarn, we manufacture our own cloth. That enables us to stop the import of British-made yarn and cloth. The loss of her trade with India in manufactured cotton goods would rouse England to the seriousness of the situation in India, and thus England would be persuaded or obliged to grant Swaraj to India. If this be the process which Mr. Gandhi has in his mind, it seems to us that one year is not a sufficiently long period to bring about the result desired. It may be incidentally observed that if the literate classes produce yarn and thus help to clothe the poor, that would make for solidarity between the classes and the masses.

Swaraj, no doubt, has various meanings. One is that we ourselves do all that is necessary for our existence as a civilised people. We produce all the things we require. We do the research work, write the books and educate ourselves and our children. We make our own roads, &c. We settle our own quarrels. We police the country, and, may be, make policing practically unnecessary by eradicating criminal propensities. Taking Swaraj to mean all this, it may be taken for granted, for the sake of the argument, that hand-spinning would prove the economic salvation of India. And if India can be thus economically independent, the drain of her wealth would be stopped; research, a liberal education, technological education, improvement in the character of the people, leading to the decrease of crime and litigation, and all the rest of the connotation and denotation of Swaraj, would follow. The details may or may not all be open to question and dispute. Still the question remains, how all this can be

brought about in one year. We find that though in Russia all obstacles were speedily removed by force in the course of a sudden and bloody revolution, the country has not yet become self-sufficient and thus attained Swaraj in the sense explained above, in a much longer period than one year.

We may be mistaken, all the same, and Mr. Gandhi may be right.

We may be permitted to state our own opinion. In an armed or unarmed war of independence (war waged either for gaining or for preserving independence) of short duration (lasting, say, for not more than five years), education may wait, Swaraj cannot. But we think the war in which we are engaged is not of this description. Let us confine ourselves to one weapon, the non-payment of taxes. The peaceful carrying out of this programme by the people requires the education and disciplining of the people. For this work, a large body of propagandists, educated (in the ordinary sense) and trained for the purpose, are required. All this means time and much wider spread of education than India can yet boast of. Therefore, neither education (in the ordinary sense) nor Swaraj can wait. Education should go on and year after year an increasing number of educated men should work devotedly for bringing about Swaraj. Our heart goes out in respect and love to all such devoted workers.

Devoted Workers.

It has given us unalloyed pleasure to read of some such devoted workers. *The Servant* wrote in a recent issue :—

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, M. A., Ph. D., Deputy Assay Master (on probation) of his Majesty's Mint, Calcutta, has tendered his resignation from Government service. The text of the resignation letter is given below :—

His Majesty's Assay Office,
47-1, Strand Road,
Calcutta, 12-1-21.

From Dr. P. C. Ghosh M. A., Ph. D.,
Deputy Assay Master (on probation).

To
The Comptroller of Currency,
Calcutta.
Through the Assay Master.

Sir,
I have the honour to state that as the call of

my country demands that I should no longer continue in this service I beg to tender my resignation. I hope my resignation will be accepted at a very early date.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) P. C. Ghosh.

The same paper gives the following account of Dr. Ghosh's career :—

He was a brilliant student of the Dacca College and a favourite pupil of Dr. E. R. Watson. He passed the B. A. Examination in the year 1913 with first class Honours in Chemistry and topped the list of the successful candidates. He got his M. A. degree in the year 1916 heading the list in Chemistry and was also awarded the gold medal. While a research scholar of the Dacca College, he published several very interesting and erudite papers in the Journal of the Chemical Society of London. He worked in the Presidency College Laboratory as a Demonstrator in the Provincial Service during the year 1918-19, and subsequently was appointed Deputy Assay Master of His Majesty's Mint and was drawing a salary of Rs. 500 at the time of his resignation. The Calcutta University has just conferred upon him the Degree of Ph. D. on the strength of an able thesis on dye-stuffs.

On the 12th January last, Dr. Ghosh tendered his resignation and while handing over the letter to the Assay Master frankly explained to him the reasons for taking so unusual a step. Though the Assay Master more than once requested him to reconsider his decision, Dr. Ghosh said that he was determined to respond to the call of his country and go to the villages of Bengal where he will work with the villagers. It may be noted that he is the first and only Indian who has been appointed to the post of Deputy Assay Master in his Majesty's Assay Office in the Imperial Service. He has resigned his service before a year has been completed.

What adds to the value of Dr. Ghosh's sacrifice is that

He comes of a very poor family consisting of an old father, two brothers, and one unmarried sister, who all depend upon him for their livelihood.....His old father allowed him to give up such a high post and gladly agreed to share all the troubles and difficulties incidental to the career chosen by him and even went so far as to say that if his son should for any reason find it impossible to support him he, old as he was, would again take to work for his own maintenance.

Dr. Ghosh does not stand alone in his sacrifice.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh wishes to take

up the task of village organisation work in accordance with the non-co-operation programme. He will work with twenty-five of his friends and associates who are all of them distinguished students of the Calcutta University. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, B.A., M.B., I.M.S., a fellow worker of Dr. Ghosh, was a Captain in the Indian Medical Service who has also resigned his Commission in the army in order to join the band of national workers. Dr. Nripendra Nath Bose, B.Sc., M.B., is also going with Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh. Babu Haripada Chatterjee, who passed the M.Sc. Examination in Chemistry only this year and headed the list of successful candidates in that subject, is also with Dr. Ghosh. He was provisionally working as a research scholar in the University College of Science. He also has given up his brilliant career and decided to devote his time to the uplift of the villages with Dr. Ghosh. Sreeman Sushil Chandra Palit of the University Post-Graduate class, who got his B. A. degree last year with high honours in History, is another collaborator of Dr. Ghosh. Sushil is the eldest member of the poor family and has got to support his younger brother and one unmarried sister. While taking permission from his widowed mother, Sushil narrated the risks ahead, to which his mother replied, "What harm is there even in a glorious death for one's country's sake?"

East Africa and Fiji.

A Contrast and a Comparison.

The Government of India Despatch on East Africa is a very important State document. On every point of vital importance it claims the inalienable right of Indians to just and equal treatment. If in some of its arguments it descends to the level of expediency, that is what most diplomatic documents are prone to do. The language of the despatch is very restrained, but the Colonial Office, for whom it is intended, will certainly not be likely to minimise its meaning. The three points on which it insists are those of (1) a common equal franchise, (2) a repudiation of all race segregation, and (3) equal rights of land purchase. The final end in view must be the complete administration of East Africa by Africans. *Swaraj* in the long run is as necessary for East Africa as it is for India, Egypt and Ireland.

The Despatch of the Government of India reveals a great amount of patient work and independent enquiry. In the face of its tremendous indictment of Lord Milner's

hasty proclamation, it is impossible that the terms of that proclamation can stand. As far as I can gather, Sir Edward Northey and Sir Robert Coryndon will both welcome a revision. It is probable (according to modern diplomatic methods) that such a revision could not be made without a Commission. To take the parallel case of Egypt, an outrageous Announcement was made directly after the termination of the war, declaring that Egypt must remain a "Protectorate". This declaration having once been made, Government etiquette could not change it without a Royal Commission. The same etiquette will probably be followed in East Africa. There are many extremely important questions awaiting settlement, such as the position of Indians in Nyassaland and Tanganyika. The Commission will decide the position of Indians in other parts of Africa, not merely in East Africa itself. The Government of India have taken an absolutely clear standpoint on the three issues mentioned above. If, however, racial equality is to be fully and freely observed, it is unthinkable that colonials like Mr. Anderson and Sir William Marris should hold high positions in the Government of India and the administration of East Africa should be confined to the white race alone.

When we turn to Fiji, the contrast is remarkable. Here the Government of India had no information at first hand from a man like Mr. Corbett. In spite of repeated warnings which I tried personally to give them from my own first-hand knowledge of the Fiji situation, they have blundered inexcusably and betrayed the honour of Indians. They have accepted at its face value the Governor of Fiji's whitewashing Report and even have appeared by their own words to praise the Governor for the way in which he managed a difficult situation. The whole thing bears the aspect of painful inability to understand the Indian point of view. When Indians were shot down in Natal in November 1913, Lord Hardinge expressed, in public, his indignation, burning and deep, but when Indians are shot down in Fiji, and a woman is killed along with others, the

present Government of India does not appear able to appreciate what the feelings of the country must be. I would still ask the Government of India publicly to put away all absurd ideas of prestige. The one thing needed to-day above all others, is a frank acknowledgment of everything that has been done wrongly. As Mahatma Gandhi has said in very undiplomatic language, the Government of India has to *repent*; and this is one of the things for which repentance is needed.

Sir George Barnes is soon leaving India. More than any other recent Administrator, he has won the respect of Indians, of all shades of opinion. He has been indefatigable in his work and sincerely anxious to understand the Indian point of view in matters concerning Indians abroad. It is all the more lamentable, that this one great mistake last year should remain unremedied. Is it too much to ask him, in this new era of Indian history, when men are speaking out frankly as they have never done before, to withdraw these old pronouncements and face the Fiji situation afresh? When his letter to the Imperial Citizenship Association was written, on August 31st, 1920, things were quite different from the state of things to-day. Surely the very fact, that so many thousands of Indians are selling off their property and returning, shows, if any further proof were needed, that the Governor of Fiji's Report has given a grossly one-sided picture of what happened.

C. F. ANDREWS.

Women's Conference.

The Women's Conference had its annual session in Madras on the 28th December last with Mrs. Srinivasa Aiyangar in the chair. The following resolutions were passed—

(i) That this Conference calls for the application of compulsory primary education to girls at the same time and to the same degree as to the boys.

(ii) That this Conference affirms the necessity for the establishment of more medical colleges for women and for more hostels for nurses in training.

(iii) That this Conference considers that religious instruction, physical culture, and class singing

ing should be made compulsory subjects in all schools, and that, in addition, domestic science should be made a compulsory subject in all girls' schools.

(iv) That this Conference calls on the Government of India and on all the Legislative Councils to remove from otherwise qualified women the disqualification of sex from all public franchises and from eligibility for nomination or election to any public Board or Council.

(v) That this Conference believes that women doing the same work as men should get the same wages, and it also asks that women Government Inspectresses should be appointed to supervise the conditions of working women.

(vi) That this Conference calls on the Government to pass laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks in India.

(vii) That this Conference considers it advisable for girls to be married as late as possible.

(viii) That this Conference emphatically desires that schemes of infant and child welfare should be organised and developed throughout all parts of India and that they should be enthusiastically supported by women.

(ix) That this Conference calls for the improvement of the condition of our sisters in the Fiji Islands, to whom our sympathy is hereby sent.

(x) That this Conference recommends the formation of Women's Associations in every town.

Some of these resolutions call for a word of friendly comment or two. That children should have religious instruction goes without saying. But there may be difference of opinion as to how and where it should be imparted. In public schools there are children of families belonging to various religious bodies. It may not be an easy matter for Government or for the school authorities to provide religious education for all.

We are not opposed to women having the same political rights as men; because it is only by actual experience that it can be found whether it is for the best interest of society that women should contend and co-operate with men in the political sphere. There should not be any disability. It should be left for women themselves to finally decide whether it is best for them and for society that they should do each and every kind of work which men do. We do certainly want that woman's sphere of work should not be confined within

the narrow limits of the home. What we desire women themselves to decide is what kinds of work they should do in the wider sphere. In order to make our meaning clearer we should add that there are men, too, of a fine spirit whose aloofness from politics has been for the good of society.

The wording of the seventh resolution might with advantage have been different. The Conference, we presume, did not intend to encourage what the English people would call late marriages; what it wanted should be called the marriage of adults as opposed to child marriage. The minimum marriageable age for girls may be safely put down at sixteen and that for boys twenty.

With these observations, we heartily support the resolutions.

The Social Conference.

The annual sitting of the Social Conference was held at Nagpur in December last. Mr. V. J. Patel, who is a Hindu Nationalist, was in the chair. His presidential address is worthy of attention. In his view a foreign government is an impediment to social progress.

The cause of Social Reform has suffered in the past because of the utter helplessness induced by our political conditions. The existence of an alien Government in the country fostered the habit of regarding Government as an external agency by manipulation of which, it was believed, social amelioration could be obstructed or advanced. While almost all the ability and energy in the land was directed towards the liberalization of that agency, the inherent difficulties of an alien Government made its intervention in social questions almost impossible. A foreign Government cannot, with prudence, take the risks of rousing deep-seated sentiments that protect social evils.

Admitting, as we do, that there is much truth in what Mr. Patel said, justice to the British Government requires that we should also say that by stopping *suttee*, female infanticide, &c., and by legalizing the remarriage of Hindu widows, &c., that Government has done much to advance the cause of social reform.

Some of Mr. Patel's remarks on the inter-relation of social and political reform deserve to be quoted.

We are called upon to co-operate among ourselves and so purify our society that autocracy and absolutism, arrogance and selfishness and all the corruption that

we cry out against, may not be pointed out to us as our own institutions. Our social relations must be based on justice, freedom and consent, if these are to be the features of our political institutions. It is a vain delusion to think that democracy can be anything but a dream if we support in the same breath, invidious and outrageous social distinctions, based on the mere accident of birth. Faith in the doctrines of Karma and Re-incarnation can no more justify the disintegration of society into an ever-increasing number of watertight sections, with their order of precedence predetermined, than the state of subjection in which we find ourselves. We cannot wait, with pious resignation, to be born free men in our next incarnation only because our struggle for freedom in this life must upset the complacency of the British Empire; why must we then have a more tender regard for the complacency of the Brahmin?

Mr. Patel gave Mr. M. K. Gandhi credit for his pronounced views against "untouchability", but rightly pointed out that "untouchability" is not an excrescence but an integral part, a logical outcome, of *casté*.

I consider it extremely unfortunate that our revered leader Mahatma Gandhi, has ranged himself on the side of re-action in this vital matter. It is something to be thankful for, that in the case of the classes that Hindus in their arrogance have called Depressed, Mahatmaj is not content to let the laws of Heredity override the laws of Humanity. He has not asked the 'Untouchable' to wait for a new birth for his uplift. He has not given him only the consolation of theology. He has permitted him to hope that justice may yet be done to him in this world. There is nothing in the Non-co-operation resolution so significant for Social Reformers as the note on which it ends. As you all know, the concluding clause of that resolution asks all concerned to remove this reproach from our society, if we are to play our part in the advancement of civilization. I do not forget that this is not the first time that the Congress has adopted a resolution condemning the treatment of the Depressed Classes by Hindu Society. In 1917 a similar resolution was passed. But I attach special importance to the clause about the depressed classes in this year's Non-co-operation resolution because of the context in which it appears.

Mr. Patel next dwelt on the anachronism of caste.

It is no longer as a concession to Social Reformers that the clause finds a place in the Congress programme. It is there as a vital part of the immediate political programme before the country. It is found to be essential for the attainment of Swaraj. With this consciousness dawning, I feel that the citadel of age-worn Orthodoxy will be swept away, in the near future, by the onward march of democracy.....it is to be hoped that Mahatma Gandhi's support will not prolong the anachronism of Caste. Untouchability is only one logical extremity of the vicious Caste System. The problem is not isolated. You cannot detach it and deal with it alone. The same psychology that is responsible for it is behind the other distinctions, whatever may be

the theology with which they may be buttressed. Interdining, intermarriage, etc., may not be necessary for national Unity and ideals of Brotherhood; but the psychology that stands in the way of these does interfere with both. And if you think that that psychology may be changed without preceding or consequent relaxation of the vexatious and obsolete prejudices, you are sadly mistaken. I feel that in the new order when we seek the revaluation of all values, our individual lives must become living protests against such arrogant superstitions that have reduced religion into a bundle of meaningless fads.

After the Congress had passed a resolution in 1917 condemning the treatment accorded to the depressed classes by Hindu society, that society took no notice of it. There are no signs that Hindu society has in practice changed its attitude in the least. Those who almost worship Mr. Gandhi almost as an avatar are in no hurry to follow his example in this matter. He, the great-souled man that he is, has taken an "untouchable" (may God forgive the use of this blasphemous word!) girl into his family as his adopted daughter and treats her exactly as one born in the family, taking meals with her. Would that there were many other men, even among the reformers, like him in this respect. We may criticise his views on caste in a future issue, but we must whole-heartedly give him credit where it is due.

In Mr. Patel's opinion, "the most powerful agency for the mental emancipation that is necessary for the new social balance that we need, is a proper system of education." His observations on the need of educating the depressed classes and on the need and value of social reform in addition to what is known as social service deserve to be laid to heart by all public workers, and particularly by our young men and women.

The problem of Social Reform will be solved, not by fussy philanthropy but by creating habits of self-reliance and the spirit of self-sacrifice. Educate the man whom you call depressed and he will soon make it as impossible for you to dismiss him with contempt as you are making it impossible for the white exploiter to dismiss you with contempt. What is needed is not condescending kindness but the encouragement of manly independence. I have seen; of late years, young men with gene-

rous impulses banding themselves together in Seva Samitis to do Social Service. It makes me happy to see the new spirit that inspires our younger generation to think more of what service they can perform in their own persons than of theories of Social Reform. But it would be a grievous mistake to disparage reform movements on that account. It is noble to relieve human distress wherever it may be found; but it is at least as noble, if not nobler, to vindicate the dignity of the human soul. Those whom God made free and equal, no man can divide and degrade without blasphemy.

He spoke of the weapon of social boycott for political differences as a new danger.

I have referred at length to the fanciful doctrines of Religion that have interfered with social intercourse. I must also warn you against the danger of the still more fascinating doctrines of politics that will create fresh trouble unless they are nipped in the bud. I refer to social boycott on political grounds, of which we have had stray demonstrations with disastrous consequences. I would urge you not to let politics, any more than religion, interfere with the amenities of social life.

Our attention must be fixed on our women, our workers and the classes that are submerged, for any solid achievement, social or political, was the deliberate opinion of Mr. Patel. The concluding paragraph of his address runs thus :—

One last word and that is that we cannot advance an inch till we have vindicated the honour of our womanhood insulted and outraged by British Empire builders in the Punjab. Draupadi cries out for redress. What good is it deliberating on the marriages of the widows if we cannot protect our virgins?

Resolutions of the Social Conference.

The following resolutions were passed at the Social Conference :—

(1) That the Social Conference recognising the fresh life opened out in the Country and the urgent call that the fresh life makes for Social Reconstruction of Indian national life, is of opinion that the term Social Reform should be widened so as to comprehend, besides the items of Social Reform hitherto advocated by the Conference, additional measures to promote the Industrial, Economic, Educational and Sanitary interests of the Indian People in rural areas.

(2) The Conference is of opinion that the condition of Untouchability imposed upon the depressed classes in India ought to be forthwith abolished and that free and unrestricted access should be given to those classes to public institutions such as schools, dispensaries, courts of

justice, conducted for the public benefit, and at public expense, and also to public places such as wells, springs, reservoirs, Municipal stand pipes, burning and bathing ghats, amusements, and worship, and further gives its wholehearted support to all peaceful and just efforts on the part of the depressed classes, to remove their grievances.

(3) The Conference, while expressing its satisfaction at the progress of the education of women in this country, strongly urges upon the attention of the public the great and urgent need for greater effort in this direction.

(4) The Conference is of opinion that the Age of Consent in the case of girls should be not less than 16 years.

(5) In the opinion of the Conference, the institution of caste is detrimental to social and political solidarity and national progress and therefore urges all to make every endeavour towards its abolition.

(6) The Conference welcomes the growing support to the widow remarriage movement in the country and urges upon the public the necessity of starting Widow Remarriage Associations or Homes to support the cause.

(7) That in the opinion of this Conference the present methods of charity should be improved and the money at present wasted in feeding and supporting the idle and underserving beggars should be utilised to start in every district charitable institutions like orphanages, homes for the homeless, and infirmaries, to provide for the needs of the really helpless and needy section of the population.

(8) The Conference resolves that in view of the present and growing unrest among the labouring classes, attempts should be made, by the public, with regard to the satisfactory improvement of the condition and status of labour, and in order to achieve this end, the Conference urges upon the attention of the public the needs of labour in the following respects :

1. Hour of work of males, females and children. 2. Wages. 3. Housing. 4. Education. 5. Compensation for injuries. 6. Sanitation. 7. Abolition of the Drink Habit. 8. Old age pensions and maintenance. 9. Co-operative Societies and Trade Unions.

It is to be noted that Sir Narayan Chandayarkar and his co-workers in the cause of social reform, under whose guidance the proceedings of the social conference have been in recent years usually conducted, were not in charge of the arrangements at Nagpur. As Sir Narayan and his colleagues are sure to go on with their endeavours to promote social advancement, the appearance of new workers in the field, belonging to a different political camp, is in some respects a gain.

We rejoice to find that the third resolution, on the education of women, was proposed by Mahatma Gandhi. We hope his followers will take note of the fact. The resolution on the age of consent of girls was moved by Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, the president of the Congress. That means much. The abolition of the caste system was proposed by Principal Gidwani, Vice-chancellor of the Gujarat (National) University. As he gave up his principalship at Delhi in pursuance of the ideal of Non-co-operation and as he must be dubbed an "Extremist" in the prevalent political parlance, this fact, too, is significant.

Japanese in U. S. A.

Reuter has vouchsafed the information that the protracted Japanese-American negotiations with regard to the Californian anti-alien land legislation and the definition of the rights of the Japanese in the United States have come to a successful termination, but has not satisfied the public curiosity as to the terms and details of the settlement. For information regarding these matters we must wait for the arrival of foreign papers about a month hence.

"League of Vagabonds" and International University.

We are indebted to the *Indian Daily News* for the following summary of a conversation, published in *The Times* (London), which Babu Rabindranath Tagore had with Dr. Fort Newton :—

Rabindranath Tagore the Indian poet, has in a conversation with Dr. Fort Newton, expressed his view that the League of Nations is a league of robbers.

It is founded on force—it has no spiritual foundation (he says). Humanity is not yet ready for it. A new machine is of little advantage if it be run by the old power and for the old end. Organization is not brotherhood, and God cares more for a brother than He does for an empire. The great war was one of the blows of God seeking to break down our materialism, our selfishness, our narrow nationalisms. It made a dent but only a dent, in the crust. Other blows will fall betimes. Until we learn to live together by the real law of our nature—the Law of Love—a veil will hide the beauty and wonder of the world, leaving us to wander alone or struggle together in confusion and strife.

In every land Rabindranath finds men who seek the truth but they are outcasts for the most part—as Jesus was in his day. They are the keepers of the soul of humanity. There is need of a League of Vagabonds, some kind of fellowship between these men of God.

The Poet's view is that what is wrong with the world is that it does not know the truth.

"It has forgotten, if it ever discovered, that down below race, rank, religion there is a fundamental humanity—man as man—which is universal and everywhere the same. I am a man of India as to my origin, training, and outlook, but I am something else, I am a human being, a man of humanity. Humanity will be perfect only when diverse races and nations shall be free to evolve their distinct characteristics, while all are attached to the stem of humanity by the bond of love. All imperialism—except the imperialism of love—is wrong. It brings little nations and various races together, like chips in a basket, but they do not unite, they are simply held together. There is no bond of union."

The Poet then dwelt on his idea of a sort of international university, of which the *Visva-Bhārati* at Bolpur is a nucleus.

"Hereafter my life and all that I have—which is only a little—is to be devoted to establishing first in India, and then elsewhere, if possible, a university in which the better minds of all races, to whom we must look for leadership, may mingle, and the culture of the East and the culture of the West may be united in fellowship. It is men of world mind that we need, men of the spirit, who see that we are all citizens in the Kingdom of Ideas. In this way, long after I am gone, when in the purpose of God the time does come for a real League of Humanity, there will be men large enough to see the human race as a whole, who understand that the good of humanity as a family actually exists, and we shall not suffer such a bankruptcy of constructive faith and vision as we have in our day."

Mr. Gandhi's Plain Speech.

In his recent address to the Barabazar merchants, Mr. M. K. Gandhi was not less but more plain-spoken than he usually is. He did not want lip worship, applause, touching of the feet, and all that sort of thing. He wanted deeds, not words. Said he :—

My brothers give me much trouble when I come through the streets. I see that they love me much, but I want to dissuade them from that if I can. Outside this hall so many have assembled that no business can go on because

of that. I lost half an hour. The reason is that the organisation has not been a good one. That ought not to be so. When it is known that many men will gather, provision will have to be made for that also. Work must not suffer and passages ought not to be blocked and tram-cars ought not to be stopped. Our people's time ought not to be wasted. There are a thousand people inside and another thousand outside. Two thousand hours of people's time have here been wasted. I want that Hindi and Urdu papers should also publish that touching the feet is bad and my request is that people should not do it. I am greatly disturbed with noise. I am far from well and cannot tolerate sound. *Bande Mataram*, *Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai*—these shouts are of no avail unless they voice forth our true feeling. What I mean to say is that men do not translate into action what they utter. I also have become a *Khatriya* giving up my *Bania Dharma*. Had I not been a *Khatriya*, I would have demonstrated my feeling by weeping. Certainly I am not thirsting after touching of my feet by you. When I shall want it, I will plainly let you know my feelings and that will be when my object will be attained. I consider myself compromised in dignity otherwise. *Swaraj* will be attained in 9 months. Let all of you combine and lend a helping hand. There is no necessity for shouting *Bande Mataram*, *Hindu-Mussalman-ki Jai*, *Alla-ho-Akbar*. What I propose to do I shall accomplish certainly. I must attain *Swaraj*. If thirty crores of people say that they are not with me, yet I shall do my work and win *Swaraj*; but I do not like shouting. In the matter of shouts and noise I am like a weak lamb. Also prostration at the feet is not good. Bow to all with your hands folded. No one is worthy of being touched at the feet, especially in this *Kali Yuga*. The times are changed. If you wish to accomplish the work of 30 crores of men, then come out with your money. Try to have money and ask me to give account for the same. Appoint some one treasurer. If you know that you yourselves cannot attain *Swaraj*, then help one with money.

Addressing the Marwari merchants, he said :—

I do not ask you to give up trade, but I ask you to carry on honest business and not indulge in untruth. You may say that if you do not resort to untruth, then you will become fakirs. I think it is better to be fakirs and in that case I do not want any money from you. You should not give up trade of foreign goods, and as to your trade of foreign cloths, that should certainly be shunned.

Again :—

"No. 80 thread has been used in making your

pagrees. It is foreign and it is irreligion. The Marwaris have given up their religion."

The three things that he wanted were :—

The first thing is "save me." Do not worry Gandhi, do not give him trouble and cry *Gandhiki Jai*; consider it as haram. The second thing is—Money is needed. Give as much as you can afford, and do as much as you can. To-day the dealers in seeds have given me Rs. 10,000 and promised to give more by raising fresh subscriptions. I want that whatever you give you should give with humility and generosity. As I pray to God so I pray to you. Kindle your religious sense and your patriotic feelings. The third thing is this—be pure, be patriotic, be devoted to the cause of *Swaraj* and *Khilafat*. *Khilafat* is *Kam-dhenu*. Use pure *Swadeshi* things in your household. This alone will do you good. 60 crores of rupees go out of the country. Save them and win *Swaraj* in nine months.

The Duke of Connaught's Visit.

We have no quarrel with the Duke of Connaught as a man, and even if we had we would not be rude to him. As for the royal family, it can do us neither good nor harm. We do not want to be discourteous to it; we are quite indifferent. We do not want to be discourteous to the Duke or to anybody else. But he comes here as the representative of the British Government, and that Government has been a party to the oppression and humiliation of India and the destruction of the *Khilafat*. Moreover, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy want to use him as a tool for rehabilitating themselves. For these reasons we cannot welcome him. Wherever there is fun, wherever there is *tamasha*, there will be idle, thoughtless crowds. That is the way with crowds all over the world. But the gathering of such crowds in any town on the occasion of the Duke's visit is not India's welcome. The complete *hartal* represented Calcutta's true attitude. Any Indian who understands in what capacity the Duke has come to India and who loves and respects his country will certainly have nothing to do with the Duke's visit. Such a man will shun processions, *durbars*, illuminations, and all that sort of thing. We have been insulted beyond measure, we have been subjected to inhuman oppression. We are, therefore,

in mourning. It would be cowardly, servile and sinful hypocrisy for us to wear gala dress and go out as merry-makers, and decorate and illuminate our houses.

The Need for Humility.

"The spirit of non-violence necessarily leads to humility," writes Mr. Gandhi in *Young India*.

Non-violence means reliance on God, the Rock of Ages. If we would seek His aid, we must approach Him with a humble and a contrite heart. Non-co-operationists may not trade upon their amazing success at the Congress. We must act, even as the mango tree which droops as it bears fruit. Its grandeur lies in its majestic lowliness. But one hears of non-co-operationists being insolent and intolerant in their behaviour towards those who differ from them. I know that they will lose all their majesty and glory, if they betray any inflation. Whilst we may not be dissatisfied with the progress made so far, we have little to our credit to make us feel proud. We have to sacrifice much more than we have done to justify pride, much less elation. Thousands, who flocked to the Congress pandal, have undoubtedly given their intellectual assent to the doctrine, but few have followed it out in practice.

The students have done it to a far greater extent than any other class of men. Let the leaders and the elderly men who voted for the non-co-operation resolution keep faith with them.

Mr. Gandhi on the "Sin of Untouchability."

To a letter addressed to the editor of *Young India* by Mr. K. G. Pradhan of Nasik, on the subject of the depressed classes, Mr. Gandhi appends the following note :

"Mr. Pradhan forgets that Non-co-operation against the Government means co-operation among the governed, and if Hindus do not remove the sin of untouchability there will be no Swaraj, whether in one year or in one hundred years. If I invite the depressed classes to join the movement of Non-co-operation, I do so because I want them to realise their strength. Swaraj is as unattainable without the removal of the sin of untouchability as it is without Hindu-Muslim unity."

Our opinion is that no section of the people should refuse to take part in a national movement merely because it has a grievance, however serious, against another section. We must settle our mu-

tual differences ourselves—nay, fight them out, if necessary ; but we must be united in our resistance to those outside our nation who are against all of us.

"The Sin of Untouchability."

We make no apology to our readers for reproducing below almost the whole of Mr. Gandhi's article on "The Sin of Untouchability" in *Young India*.

It is worthy of note that the Subjects Committee accepted without any opposition the clause regarding the sin of untouchability. It is well that the National assembly passed the resolution stating that the removal of this blot on Hinduism was necessary for the attainment of Swaraj.....Even so does the Government retain its control over us through our weaknesses or vices. And if we would render ourselves proof against its machinations, we must remove our weaknesses. It is for that reason that I have called Non-co-operation a process of purification. As soon as that process is completed, this government must fall to pieces for want of the necessary environment, just as mosquitoes cease to haunt a place whose cesspools are filled up and dried.

Has not a just Nemesis overtaken us for the crime of untouchability? Have we not reaped as we have sown? Have we not practised Dyerism and O'Dwyerism on our own kith and kin? We have segregated the 'pariah' and we are in turn segregated in the British Colonies. We deny him the use of public wells, we throw the leavings of our plates at him. His very shadow pollutes us. Indeed there is no charge that the 'pariah' cannot fling in our faces and which we do not fling in the faces of Englishmen.

Mr. Gandhi then speaks of the remedy.

How is this blot on Hinduism to be removed? 'Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.' I have often told English officials that, if they are friends and servants of India, they should come down from their pedestal, cease to be patrons, demonstrate by their loving deeds that they are in every respect our friends, and believe us to be equals in the same sense they believe fellow Englishmen to be their equals. After the experiences of the Panjab and the Khilafat, I have gone a step further and asked them to repent and to change their hearts. Even so is it necessary for us Hindus to repent of the wrong we have done; to alter our behaviour towards those whom we have 'suppressed' by a system as devilish as we believe the English system of the government of India to be. We must not throw a few miserable schools at them; we must not adopt the air of superiority towards them.

We must treat them as our blood brothers, as they are in fact. We must return to them the inheritance of which we have robbed them. And this must not be the act of a few English-knowing reformers merely, but it must be a conscious voluntary effort on the part of the masses. We may not wait till eternity for this much belated reformation. We must aim at bringing it about within this year of grace, probation, preparation, and *tapasya*. It is a reform not to follow *Swaraj*, but to precede it.

In Mr. Gandhi's opinion, untouchability is irreligious.

Untouchability is not a sanction of religion, it is a device of Satan. The devil has always quoted scriptures. But scriptures cannot transcend reason and truth. They are intended to purify reason and illuminate truth. I am not going to burn a spotless horse because the Vedas are reported to have advised, tolerated, or sanctioned the sacrifice. For me the Vedas are divine and unwritten. 'The letter killeth'. It is the spirit that giveth the light. And the spirit of the Vedas is purity, truth, innocence, chastity, humility, simplicity, forgiveness, godliness, and all that makes a man or woman noble and brave. There is neither nobility nor bravery in treating the great and uncomplaining scavengers of the nation as worse than dogs to be despised and spat upon. Would that God gave us the strength and the wisdom to become voluntary scavengers of the nation as the 'suppressed' classes are forced to be. There are Augean stables enough and to spare for us to clean.

We attach little importance to the Subjects Committee or the Congress accepting the clause regarding the sin of untouchability in the Congress Non-co-operation resolution. Our people are hardened sinners in professing what they do not, and will not of their own accord, practice.

Welcome to Prof. P. C. Ray.

We accord a cordial welcome to Prof. P. C. Ray, the distinguished chemist and greater teacher, on his return from England. He has avoided a public reception, but he cannot avoid this private one. He went abroad to see the latest developments in industrial organisation and activities. India expects to reap the advantages of his fresh experience. He has never spared himself, and, therefore, there is no question about his willingness to spend himself in the service of his country. If the Calcutta University does not give him full opportunity, the nation ought to. We say this,

because we heard outside Bengal from lips other than his when he was away in England, that appointments have not been made in consultation with him in all cases even to teach that which is his special province. If this be true, who is the Super-expert in Calcutta in theoretical and applied chemistry whose existence makes Prof. Ray a negligible superfluity?

All-India Cow Conference.

The fourth All-India Cow Conference was held in the Congress pandal on the 27th December last. Lala Lajpat Rai presided. Mr. B. V. Buti, chairman of the reception committee, urged that for the proper protection of cows export of cattle should be prohibited and pasture should be available at cheap rates and the supply of beef to the British army be at once stopped.

Lala Lajpat Rai in the course of his presidential address emphasised that the cow question could not be satisfactorily solved as long as *Swaraj* was not secured. No amount of petitioning could melt the heart of a foreign bureaucracy whose interests were divergent from those of India and whose first care was to help foreign capitalists to exploit the land. India could not mend her past till her destiny was in the hands of her own sons. It was an open secret that owing to shortage of cattle the economic condition of India was getting worse day by day. Government sometimes argued that the shortage of cattle was due to shortage of pastures in India. In old days, before the British Government came to rule over India, pastures were in abundance and every house had cattle of its own. But with the advent of the British rule and with the inauguration of its policy, with regard to revenue, forest and hides and skins, all pastures ceased to exist, as the revenue was fixed at a high level (shame). Government boasts that it has undertaken famine relief work on a grand and scientific scale. Alas! it would not uproot the causes which brought about this famine.

We do not say that Government is not and has not been very greatly to blame in this matter. But we the people

are also to blame. We seem to think that slaughter is the only kind of cruelty to cattle. But is not the condition of living death in which cows and bullocks are often kept by Hindus and Moslems alike a proof of want of feeling? In Great Britain the people eat beef; there is neither humanitarian nor religious feeling to prevent it. Yet one would not find living bovine skeletons in England like those to be met with in abundance in India; and pure milk is actually cheaper in London than in Calcutta.

Let us be honest with ourselves and bear our share of blame and make earnest efforts to set things right, so far as it lies in our power.

Conduct Rules of University Teachers.

In our November issue we wrote a note on some motions which Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan wanted to place before the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts. Professor Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee has written to us to bring to our notice the following extract from the proceedings of the Council held on the 23rd December last :—

The Council then proceeded to resume consideration of the motions brought forward by Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan regarding conduct rules of the members of the teaching staff of the Post-Graduate Department.

Dr. Banerjee, Principal Maitra and Mr. J. R. Banerjee opposed the motions.

Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterjee requested the mover to withdraw the resolutions.

Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan explained the circumstances which led him to bring forward the motions and stated he would readily withdraw the resolutions in case the Council had no objection to the procedure.

The motion for withdrawal was put to the vote and carried.

We wrote in our November issue :—

The educated public will wait to judge from the voting on the propositions in the Council and the Senate whether the university teachers and the Fellows do really appreciate the great privilege of placing their (the teachers') independent views on current topics before the public over their own signatures.

Professor Chatterjee concludes his letter to us thus :—

I beg to send you herewith a copy of the proceedings of the Council of Post-Graduate

Teaching in Arts of the 23rd December, 1920, in which you will notice the fate of Pandit Vidyabhushan's resolution. From what took place that day in the Post-Graduate Council it is clear that the University teachers "do really appreciate the great privilege of placing their independent views on current topics before the public over their own signatures." I need only add that the Senate of the University has confirmed the proceedings of the Council without a single dissentient voice.

Knut Hamsun, Nobel Prize Winner.

The award of the Nobel Prize in literature to Knut Hamsun, the Norwegian novelist, has been criticised on various grounds. But the criticisms that we have seen seem to us more or less irrelevant, because none of the critics find fault with his works, not having read them. So we need not pay much attention to these grumblings. More interesting are the following reminiscences of the author which have appeared in the *Literary Digest* of New York :—

KNUT HAMSON as a horse-car conductor seems to be something of a legendary figure in Chicago, where they appear to know more about his lack of qualification for service on the Halsted Street line than his capacities as a man of letters. Now that he has been crowned by the Nobel committee as worthy of the literature prize, memory is raked for some knowledge of the man who once dwelt among us. The figure of "a blond lad, with a thin face and a perpetual stare into the horizon," is evoked by "old-timers" of Chicago, for it was in the eighties of the last century that he failed, as a street-car conductor. Some there may be who know of his powerful novel, "Hunger," translated into English twenty years ago, or of "Shallow Soil," which made its appearance just before the war, but the figure of the street-car conductor is more definite and this account of him appears in Chicago dispatches to New York papers :

"Why, sure, I knew him; I knew that Knut Hamsun," said Dr. Anders Doe, for many years prominent in Den Norske Club, to-day. "He was such an out-at-the-elbows lad; he was very poor. No, he had no money. That was in the early eighties, when he came to Chicago after working as a plowboy on the virgin North Dakota prairies."

"He got a job as conductor on the old Halsted Street line. The horses pulled the cars then. And, my, it was cold on the back platform. I still remember Knut's chapped, red wrists, where his coat-sleeves forgot to meet his mittens. And he carried books in his pockets. Always books, Euripides, Aristotle, Thackeray. Such a dreamer! The passengers used to get mad. He would forget to pull the rope. They missed their corners."

"And so disaster befell Conductor Knut Hamsun."

The Halsted Street horse-car was not for him. He couldn't remember the streets. On the pilgrimages down the line he used to call out 'North Avenue' for 'Division Street.' Sometimes he stopt the car suddenly in the middle of the block to disembark an elderly acquaintance crippled with rheumatism.

"One day an old lady asked Hamsun if the car was southbound. Hamsun scratched his scraggled blond hair. He ran forward, trampling over the passengers' feet.

"Are we going south?" he asked the driver,
"We are going to hell," growled the driver.

"And so the superintendent at the car-barn gave Knut Hamsun the sack. He said the Norwegian was too stupid ever to cruise as skipper of a Halsted Street car. Hamsun went to New York. He got a berth on a Newfoundland fishing-smack. Later he worked his way to Norway as a seaman.

"Always he scribbled on paper in his west-side room, Chicago friends said to-day. And then in Norway, in 1893, his 'Pan' poems came out, fifteen volumes of epic power. Now at sixty he lives on an estate in Norway."

What is profitable for us to observe in the above extracts is that in Western lands the literates and intellectuals do not form a class by themselves entirely apart and



Knut Hamsun.

quite isolated from those who work with their hands. Hence, a whilom plough-boy and street car conductor can be a Nobel Prize winner. We want this intermingling, this exchange of spheres of work. Let our *bhadralog* class take to work requiring physical labour, at the same time not giving up their intercourse with the brain-workers of the world, and let our labouring population acquire a taste for intellectual pleasures and work, without giving up the habit of bodily labour. Thus will our intellectual output be more *real* and more racy of the soil, and our labouring population rise more in self-esteem and in the esteem of others.

Welcome to Prof. J. C. Bose.

When Prof. J. C. Bose, our teacher, returned from his tour in Europe, we went to Howrah station to his feet and now we mingle our voice with those of the citizens of Calcutta in their welcome to him on his return to the land on which his work has shed fresh lustre. In reply to the public address presented to him in the Town Hall, Prof. Bose made a characteristic speech. The misappropriation of some of his researches by Dr. Waller years ago was described in a passage instinct with quiet humour and noteworthy for its self-control. The Professor said:—

One of my physiological opponents, whom I had shown my experiments, afterwards repeated them and found to his astonishment that what I had said was too true. So impressed was he by these new results of far-reaching consequence that in his excitement he came to regard them as his own discovery and published them accordingly. In extenuation of this it must be said that he thought I was in India, and the question of priority subsequently raised by the Linnaean Society came to him as a very unpleasant surprise. After investigating the matter the Linnaean Society decided in my favour and published my work in their journal, insisting that I should append a note about the glaring attempt at misappropriation. I roused considerable anger of my English friends by attenuating the statement so as to cause the least hurt. I was warned that this Oriental courtesy was misplaced and would lead to infinite trouble in future—a prophecy which unfortunately turned out to be too true. But I may truly say that if I had to go through the experience over again my course of conduct would not be different. For those

who seek truth must pursue it through infinite patience, through forbearance, and through unfailing courtesy.

The reason why he did not enter into any controversy about the matter was that

Controversy would have only led to bitterness and it would have been impossible to keep the vision clear. Some day perhaps the veil would be lifted, but a doubting voice would cry out that it would not be in my life time. But I could also hear another voice: "You and they will pass away; Nations will disappear. Truth alone would persist, for it is eternal."

We also learn that, but for his incursion into the province of physiology, he might have been in all probability a Fellow of the Royal Society twenty years ago.

I came recently to know from my friends that so far back as twenty years ago, Lord Kelvin in recognition of my physical investigations on Electric Waves, which he regarded as very important, wished to propose me for the Fellowship of the Royal Society. But I upset all his plans by leaving my true fold and making a daring incursion into the preserve of plant physiologists. Their irritation became converted into an appreciation in the course of five years with the result that they wished to propose me for the Fellowship. But by some perversity inherent in my nature I upset their plans also this time by intruding into the domains of animal physiology. I had to pay for my temerity for the last 15 years, as no one had the courage to stand sponsor for me.

Referring to "the supposed crushing effect of years of cold neglect," he observed:—

I say it deliberately that the very adverse circumstances which seemed to overwhelm me for twenty years were the most needed stimulus for my own growth. Undisturbed by success, I learnt in these years of isolation to concentrate my mind on the solution of the baffling problems which challenged me at every step. It was then and then only could I see truth face to face.

It is a pleasure to learn that

Advanced scholars from the West have applied for enrolment as pupils in my Institute to be trained in the new methods of investigation. The hope I cherished about the revival of our ancient Universities of Taxilla and Nalanda is no longer an unattainable dream. I have dedicated my Institute to the Nation and I have done all that lay in my power. It now remains with my countrymen to determine its fuller expansion,

so that within its precincts may be gathered seekers after truth from all parts of the world.

THE UNIVERSAL CALL.

My work has been interrupted by the necessary foreign visit. I now return to it and shall try with my disciples to probe into the deeper mysteries that surround life. We have but answered the call which had been echoing through the ages, the call which compels men to choose a life of unending struggle for extending the boundary of human knowledge. Thus may human suffering be alleviated and the earth rendered productive so that two ears of corn might grow in the place of one which grew before. In this respect Science is a Divine Gift; and here in India knowledge is regarded as one with religion. And no injunction could be more imperative on us than the ancient royal edict of Asoka inscribed on imperishable stone twenty-two centuries ago:

"Go forth and intermingle, and bring them to knowledge. Go forth among the terrible and powerful, both here and in foreign countries, in kindred ties—even of brotherhood and sisterhood—go everywhere."

One pang remains. The position of us Indians among the intellectuals of the world is still such that recognition has to come from abroad before we can learn to pay homage where homage is due and become self-respecting. May the young scientific workers of India be worthy of their *gurus* and may they live to bring about and see a better day for their and our common Motherland!

"An Anti-Christian Work."

In a brief notice of "A Catechism of Hindu Dharma" published by the Panini Office of Allahabad, *The International Review of Missions* says:—"This is an anti-Christian work, written to make people believe that Hinduism is opposed to caste and idolatry." We have not been able to discover why the reviewer calls the book an anti-Christian work. It does not contain anything either for or against Christianity. Protestant Christianity is against caste and image-worship. So is this book. Therefore a Protestant missionary periodical would be expected to welcome it as an ally. But, on the contrary, it is denounced as an enemy. It may be that the author of the book was mistaken in relying principally on the

Mahānirvāna Tantra for his exposition of Hinduism. But even that would not make his book anti-Christian. It may be that the Mahānirvāna Tantra, as contended by the reviewer, is an eighteenth century production. But that does not make it or an exposition of its principal teachings anti-Christian. For, we have not heard that Christian Missionaries consider all modern monotheistic and anti-caste sects enemies of Christianity. We know, of course, that "two of a trade can never agree," and there may be some Christian Missionaries (we hope there are none) who consider it their trade to denounce caste and idolatry. They may not be able to brook a rival in that business. But that would be taking a rather sordid view of the calling of a missionary. And we personally know that the enlightened and liberal Christian missionary's desire is that theistic bodies like, say, the Brahmo Samaj, may flourish. Anyhow, it is to be regretted that such a notice should have appeared in a high-class missionary quarterly like *The International Review of Missions*.

The Bengali Student as "Others"
See Them.

The Catholic Herald of India wrote as follows in its issue of December 29, 1920 :—

The non-co-operation movement may have its hidden charms which even a Mahatma is at pains to lay bare. It certainly makes a subtle appeal to the ardent longing of youth to serve a national cause. Love of the Motherland is the very fibre of the Bengalee student's soul. His delicately sensitive nature is just the high-strung instrument on which to play a patriotic solo. Artistic ears will find it all too shrill and harsh and strained. It lacks the harmony and sweetness of the music of the spheres. Perhaps it does, but then his pulse beats true, his heart is right, whatever the world may say about his head. In normal times both combine to produce a state of equilibrium sufficiently poised and balanced to elicit praise in the ordinary happenings of College routine. In times of stress and difficulty, when leaders fail, things change. The heart holds sway, the head is ornamental.

The same paper wrote on the 26th January :—

The psychology of the Bengalee under-graduate contains two elements, one that favours

Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation policy, and one that may ruin it : susceptibility to mass movements and abnormal ambition. He wants education and will ruin his health for a degree : this is inner pressure ; but side pressure from his comrades is equally strong. That is why nobody expected the Bengalee students to follow Mr. Gandhi, and all did ; that is why 16,000 of them obeyed Mr. Gandhi, and about as many paid their college fees for the coming term ; that is why none had the heart to pass over the prostrate bodies of his friends, and most of them passed as soon as the entrance was clear. The movement may ruin the coming festivities in honour of the Duke, but it will not ruin a single college, unless the pickets lie flat on the ground for ever. Police and college authorities evidenced knowledge of the young Bengalee's gentle nature and his sensitiveness to provocation when they refrained from interference and gave him a holiday. It is the right method.

"Corrupting Influence".

In discussing the question as to why Mr. M. K. Gandhi urges the boycott of State-controlled schools and colleges while using State railways, telegraphs and the post office, we observed in our last December number (p. 677) :—

"One may say that the Posts and Telegraphs [and State railways] are run with our money, but they do not seek, directly or indirectly, to influence and mould our character and mentality to serve British interests, to the extent and in the way that Government-controlled universities, colleges and schools do ; and, therefore, one may be justified in using the Posts and Telegraphs [and State railways] while urging the boycott of the officialised educational institutions."

This reason has also been stated independently by Mr. Gandhi in his own way and words subsequently in *Young India*, in reply to the question of a friend of his.

"The money received for other purposes is undoubtedly equally tainted, but our non-co-operation at the present moment is confined, among other things, to scholastic institutions for the reason that the power of the government is consolidated through these institutions in a special manner.....We are resisting the corrupting influence of the government through these institutions. The corrupting influence is the deciding reason."

In our article on "Non-co-operation" in Education in the present issue we have stated that the Government wants to manufacture cheap and efficient servants

and submissive subjects through these institutions ; but at the same time we have discussed the question whether, judging from actual results, educated persons, young and old, are or are not more submissive, servile and satisfied with foreign rule, or more liberty-loving than other classes of the population.

Birth-rates and Death-rates of England and Bengal.

According to a London cable,

The Registrar-General states that the birth-rate for England and Wales for 1920 was 25.44 and the death-rate 12.4, and the deaths of children under one year 80 per thousand. The birth-rate was the highest for ten years, and the death-rate and infant mortality rate the lowest on record. The actual number of births was the highest on record and the death figures were the lowest since 1862, when the population was only twenty million.

Deducting the death-rate from the birth-rate in England, it is found that there is a surplus of 13 per thousand, which represents the increase in population. What is the state of things in Bengal ? In this province, the birth-rate in 1918 was 32.9 per thousand and the death-rate 38.1, that is to say, there were more deaths than births. The figures for 1919 and 1920 are not before us now, but they do not probably give grounds for greater optimism than those for 1918. As for infant mortality, the less said the better ; the rate in Bengal in 1918 having been 228 per thousand, or about three times that of England.

Disorders in Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad.

The foreign exploiters and bureaucrats have hitherto proved more than a match for us. If we had been able to make a combined national effort against them to win political and economic freedom for our country, there would have been some chance of success. But our weaknesses are many. And the greatest of them is that we cannot forget our internal differences and quarrels among ourselves and our grievances against one another, in the face of the ever-present menace to our freedom and even to our very existence. We ought to set our own house in order as quickly as possible. The landholders

and wealthy people are shortsighted enough not to mend their ways even in the presence of the Bolshevik menace all over the world. We have a miserable peasantry, sunk in the depths of poverty and ignorance. Though it cannot be said that all landholders are oppressors, it can be said with truth that as a body the landlords (including the Government) do not play the big brother to the rayats, who suffer under many illegal and extra-legal exactions. Therefore, occasional outbreaks are inevitable. The bureaucrats generally side with the landholders, particularly when they have got the agitator on their brains. It is, therefore, not probable that an official enquiry into the recent disorders in Rae Bareilly would result in an impartial verdict. The Deputy Commissioner of the district says that he did not give any order to fire on the crowd, neither did the Superintendent of Police. But many lives have been lost. Are Indian lives thus to be always held cheap ? The pity of it is that the landholders and the rayats are both brother Indians and the hand that shoots down the peasantry is also Indian. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru has suggested a non-official committee of enquiry. That is undoubtedly the only way to find out the truth, so far as it is discoverable. We do not take it for granted that either the peasantry or the landholders are entirely free from blame.

We may not be able to prevent innocent Indians being indiscriminately shot down ; but is it really impossible to prevent Indians themselves being the slayers of their innocent brethren, as at Jalianwala Bagh and elsewhere ? Strenuous efforts should be made to create a social opinion against accepting such service as would make Indians the slayers of their innocent brethren.

A Rumour.

We have heard a rumour that Prof. J. C. Bose is to be the next vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University. This we are unwilling to believe. There are two parties to such an appointment, the bureaucracy making the appointment and the person accepting it. There is no

improbability in the bureaucracy seeking the greatest victim available. But we doubt whether Prof. Bose would be a willing sacrifice. He has undoubtedly great administrative capacity, right educational ideals, constructive genius and a will of his own. But as in an officialised university, no Indian can have a perfectly free hand, the freedom being only within the limits imposed by the bureaucratic law, and as it is not feasible for any individual to break up the present ruling clique and cleanse the Augean stable until the constitution of the University has been thoroughly overhauled and made truly democratic, we do not see what is to be gained by any Indian, with a reputation to lose, accepting the Vice-chancellorship. In the case of Professor Bose such acceptance would be specially undesirable, as India and the world would be a greater gainer by his time, energy and genius being devoted exclusively to the discovery of truth than to the performance of the administrative duties of an official, however highly placed, working out a policy not his own.

Student Strikers and the Non-co-operation Leaders.

Some advanced students who have left the Calcutta University or their Colleges have probably a plan of patriotic service of their own and they will do their work, whatever the leaders of the Non-co-operation movement may or may not be able to do. But probably the majority of the student strikers have left their institutions in the hope that the leaders may give them facilities for education or opportunities of patriotic service. It is possible, however, that with the best intentions in the world the leaders may not be able to utilise the idealism and enthusiasm of large numbers of students. These should not lose heart. Just as nations by themselves are made, so individuals, too, by themselves are made. Let the students use their own judgments and utilise their moral, intellectual and physical resources to make themselves fit instruments for the service of their compatriots and humanity.

We are not against boys working at

the charkhā, but if they do not do it in large numbers and thus break the immemorial male tradition, and if the leaders cannot give them any other kind of work to do, they should not be blamed for reverting to their old studies.

Vidyasagar College Cricket.

The Indian Daily News has given an interesting account of some games played by the Calcutta Vidyasagar College cricket team in their up-country tour during last Christmas.

The first match was played on the Central Hindu College ground, at Benares, on December 20 and 21, and ended in a win for the Vidyasagar College by an innings and 46 runs. Among the losers Prof. P. K. Telang did best with the bat, scoring 25. He was neatly stumped by N. Ray.

The second match was played with the Canning College at Lucknow on December 22. The Vidyasagar College won by 4 wickets and 113 runs, though the bowling of the home team was exceptionally good.

Playing on the Muir Central College ground at Allahabad on Dec. 23, the visitors defeated the home team by 116 runs.

The next match was with the Muslim Gymkhana which ended in a draw at Khushru Bagh, Allahabad, on December 24.

The fifth match was played with the Allahabad Gymkhana in Alfred Park on Dec. 26, and ended in an easy win for the visitors by 5 wickets and 135 runs.

Played at Agra on December 28 and 29 with St. John's College, the 6th match resulted in a win for the visitors by 7 wickets and 3 runs. The Agra team was a formidable combination, including some old Aligarh players, besides Messrs. Zainulibad and Jilani of Nator and Cooch Behar fame.

The Agra match was the last of the tour. Altogether six matches were played—none lost, one drawn, five won. The tour was thus a successful one. The brunt of the bowling fell upon Prof. S. Ray and Mr. S. Bose, who stood the strain well. A notable feature is that in these 6 matches 17 were stumped out,

which speaks a lot for the wicket-keeping of N. Ray.

Prohibition of Food Exports.

Dr. Gilbert Slater, Professor of Economics, Madras University, delivered an instructive lecture on "Famine and Food Export" at one of the sittings of the Indian Economic Conference at Allahabad, in course of which, according to *The New Empire* report, he expressed the opinion that

"anything like a permanent prohibition of export of food grains from India would inevitably operate in the direction of bringing down production, so that the normal production of a reasonably good year would only be equal to the consumption of a reasonably good year. The consequence would be that when they had to face a bad year the deficiency would be terrible and the power of meeting it on the old methods would have disappeared. Therefore he regarded prohibition of export as being the surest method of courting disaster. What applied to prohibition of export would in a milder degree apply to measures which tended to diminish export. It appeared to him that the fundamental idea of all Government policy must be, apart from prevention of scarcity and the actual measures in dealing with famine, to increase production, not necessarily of food grains, but also of other commodities which gave India the purchasing power, to enable her in times of emergency to draw grain from outside India."

We agree that anything like permanent prohibition or permanent discouragement and decrease of food exports would be against our interests.

In concluding his lecture Dr. Slater emphasized the point that

A country which had an abundant supply of food and which was best provided against famine was a country which normally exported food to other countries. He felt that India was in danger of a short-sighted policy of selfishness when other countries were suffering from scarcity if they would not allow their surplus to go to those countries. Such policy of exclusiveness and national selfishness would only react to the injury of the country which was animated by that spirit. He thought that the prosperity of India would be better served by selling their surplus to other countries where there was

greater demand and thereby developing India's productive power so that in times of emergency they might be in a position to meet any deficiency due to want of rainfall or other causes. The purchasing power of India from the outside world would be great. He was of opinion that the situation at which they should aim was the free flow of produce between India and the outside world regulated only by the ordinary demands of the market. It was desirable that the necessary commodities should flow to places where there was the greatest need from places where there was the greatest surplus.

The professor's observations are quite correct as applied to countries which have a national representative government. As at present India has not got such a government, and as the interests of the foreign exporting agencies and of the foreign bureaucracy in India are not identical with those of Indians, and as, moreover, the sympathies of the former are more with Europe than with India, the answer to the question whether in any particular year or series of years or normally under British rule there is a surplus of food crops in India, can not be unquestioningly accepted by Indians as correct when it comes from official quarters. When Indians can through their own trusted representatives and officers determine whether there is a surplus or not and regulate exports accordingly, Dr. Slater need have no fear that the principle he has laid down will not be followed.

Dyer's Impudence.

The Daily News of London states that "General Dyer is lecturing in London on February 2 on his expedition in Persia in 1916. This is the first lecture of a series the proceeds of which will be distributed amongst the relatives of Indians who fell at Amritsar." The man's impudence is equalled only by his brutality. His money, however earned, is tainted money, and must be *haram* to all Indians, irrespective of creed and pecuniary position. Should he have repented, the case would be different. But in that case he should openly confess his guilt.



A GOOD RIDDANCE
By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Asit Kumar Haldar.

U. Ray & Sons, Calcutta.

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THE EVIDENCE OF MRS. TERENCE MACSWINEY

THE death of Terence MacSwiney, the Irish Republican leader, in Brixton Jail, London, after seventy four days of prolonged suffering by hunger, is not an event of passing moment and importance. It is the symbol of a new world in which the 'moral equivalent for war' has already been found and put into practice.

It is in a direct line with the struggle of the twelve thousand Indians in the Transvaal, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, when very nearly one in every four of the whole Indian population, including women and children, went cheerfully and voluntarily to jail, rather than permit a deep dishonour to fall upon their country.

It is one with the struggle in Korea, which ended ineffectively to human eyes,—but not in the sight of God,—when the whole body of the Korean Republican leaders took their last meal together, and signed at that Last Supper their Declaration of Korean Independence, and then went out silently into the night, without a single sign of hesitation, or of violence, to meet their doom of imprisonment, at the hands of the Japanese military command.

It is in direct line, also, with the unrecorded deeds of those silent sufferers, during the European War,—men who preferred to follow Christ literally and to obey the sermon on the Mount, rather than stain their hands with a brother's blood.

We read in the newspaper today,—two years after the Armistice and, after those pledges of disarmament upon which the

Armistice was founded,—how the most humane of all the nations of the West, the United States of America, has just endorsed a naval programme incredibly more deadly in its purpose of destruction than anything that has been heard of in the world before. We have read also with amazement, how, in such a peaceable and peace-loving nation as America a special 'Chemical Defence Department' has been recently inaugurated, whose special business it will be to discover the most noxious poison gases as a preparation for the next World War. Much nearer home, we find here in India General Cubitt, in his speech at a Calcutta dinner, which was given in his honour by the members of the Ex-officers' Service Club, declaring without the slightest idea of the brutality of his own utterance, that these ex-officers must not fail to keep themselves up to date in the latest modes of modern warfare for application in India, against an Indian rising, *mentioning especially that of poison gas.*

Day by day, we read these things casually in the newspapers, we pass them by carelessly, just as the people, who lived of old in Herculaneum and Pompeii, looked carelessly upon the smoke that came from Mount Vesuvius before the earthquake. Mankind to-day is living on the edge of a volcano.

When we think deeply of the past and the present and the future of the human race, and ponder in silence over the vicissitudes of human destiny, then a profound awe and wonder arise in our hearts, and we are startled. What is the meaning of

it all? Can there be any release for mankind from this chain of tragedy which binds all the ages? Will the whole human race go out at last in blood,—like some constellation suddenly disappearing in the void?

And then, as the thought becomes too oppressive with its weight of evil, we turn to another side of human history. We turn to the days of Gautama, the Buddha. It was he who found, first of all, the true answer to these very questionings. It was he who first declared to mankind, in words that lived and lived again in countless other lives, the divine Truth,—

“Overcome hatred by love.”

Thus said the Buddha, nearly six centuries before the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, who was called the Christ. These words of the Buddha, preached and lived by his disciples, thus changed the face of the East, nearly twenty five centuries ago. They also found afterwards, through Christ himself, a way of entrance from the Eastern to the Western world.

This central discovery of the religious heart of man,—that love is the only victory over hate,—has never been wholly lost throughout all the dark ages, which have intervened, from time to time, both in the East itself and in the West. The truth has been understood and lived and practised. In some centuries, it has been proclaimed with all the exalting joy of victory achieved. The Bhakti Movement in India, with its array of saints and martyrs, Ramananda, Kabir, Chaitanya, Tulsidas, Nanak, Govind, Tukaram, Mirabai, made India fundamentally humane. The Mahayana Buddhist Movement brought the same conception of humanity, more intimately than ever before, to China, Korea and Japan. Again, in the West, the saintly purity and divine charity of S. Bernard and S. Francis of Assisi, along with the passionate devotion to Christ in later ages, spread far and wide throughout Europe that love of humanity, which sacrificed itself for mankind. The simple piety of the early Society of Friends has added strength, up to our own very age, to this fervent Gospel of Love.

But, on the other hand, there have been

long centuries, both in the East and in the West, when this voice of the Gospel of Love has been stifled by the clash of War: Nations, in their mad lust for power, have plunged deeper than ever before into the abyss of slaughter and rapine, enslaving others and themselves becoming enslaved. This desolation of hate might have appeared to have been brought to its climax during the massacre of the late World War. But the Peace which has followed, as I have pointed out, has been already marked by new preparation for murder on a scale greater than anything ever imagined before.

What is to be the End? Are we now in sight of an Age of the triumph of the Gospel of Love? Or are we approaching a still more terrible Age of human Strife?

Such thoughts as these have come to me, while I have read over, again and again, the appeal to humanity which Mrs. Terence MacSwiney made, as she gave her testimony before the American Commission. As I have gone through it, page by page, the tears have sprung to my eyes, and I have been overwhelmed with shame at the thought that these things have been done by men of my own English race and English blood. It is a terrible thing to a man, when he is constrained to lose hope in the justice of his own country. In the year 1919, I had been through the Punjab trouble, and my hope of justice was shaken. Now, this Irish story seems to tell the very same thing,—that Englishmen have strangely lost for a while their sense of justice. This is not an easy sentence for an Englishman to write, who intensely loves his country; but it has to be written. The reaction after the War may account for much; but it cannot excuse things like these. Repentance alone can blot out the deeds that have been done.

Mrs. Terence MacSwiney is the widow of the Irish Republican, whose name she bears. She began her own testimony before the American Commission by describing her own connexion with the Republican movement in Ireland. “I never understood,” she said, “why there should

THE EVIDENCE OF MRS. TERENCE MACSWINEY

be poor people and rich people. You know there is a great deal of poverty in Ireland, especially in Cork, where I lived. I noticed this when a baby. I could not understand why it should be. However, I do not think it is right to give people things only in charity. My father was in very comfortable circumstances. As I grew older, I saw that England was responsible for the poverty of my country, and if we had our own Government we could do something; but until we had our own Government, we could do nothing. I learned that England was only there, in our country, as a thief, and had no right to be there at all."

Mrs. MacSwiney went on to relate, what a change had come over the younger generation in Ireland; how they had all become Republicans. She was introduced to her future husband, who was a Commandant of the Republican Army, at Christmas time in the year 1915. He was arrested twice during the following year, and at that period hundreds, if not thousands, of Irishmen were in jail. "The whole of Ireland," she relates in her evidence, with a pardonable exaggeration, "was in jail at that time, and people who had never handled arms, also. When I went to prison to see them, they were in a terrible condition. They were literally starving. I know one friend of mine,—he had never handled arms. Yet he was never allowed anything to read, not a book, not even a prayer-book. All of his wife's letters were stopped, and he thought that something had happened to her, because she was not very strong at the time. But his wife was one of the very first to get into the jails to see their people. Well, I went over just to help those men. They were in a frightful state. They had literally no food, except what we brought them. There was no charge whatever against my husband. At that time, we were not engaged to be married, only friends..... I met a policeman at Strewsbury Station and asked him where our men were. He told me to ask a soldier. I asked a soldier, and he said they were gone and no one would ever know where they had gone. I felt very

badly. And that night, I heard from him. I went up to see him and we became engaged to be married in the jail. And afterwards we were married in the jail by an Irish priest. And we were married in our own language, the Irish language, on the ninth of June 1917."

Mrs. MacSwiney then went on to relate, how her husband was released, and how they spent their honeymoon together in a very beautiful place in Ireland, far away in the country, called Ballingeary. There the country people still did things in the old Irish way. That period was the one unclouded and happy time in their lives. For, a short time after, Mr. MacSwiney was arrested again, because he had worn the uniform of the Irish Republican army. At this time, Mr. MacSwiney went on hunger strike for the first time, with some others; but at Christmas, under an Amnesty, he was released. That was the only Christmas they had together,—the husband and wife.

Shortly after Christmas Mr. MacSwiney was arrested yet again and placed in the Bridewell, at Dublin. "This was a terrible place," Mrs. MacSwiney said. "The men were not treated as human beings there. They had no mattresses, no bed clothing, no anything. And what struck me as most terrible was that they had a sort of round holes in the doors, and the prisoners could just stick their heads through. And some of them were mere boys in that frightful place."

A baby was born on June 21st, 1918, while Terence MacSwiney was still in prison. The day came for the husband's release, at the completion of this sentence. He had been imprisoned over again for wearing the Republican uniform. That was the usual charge against him. On the very day he left the prison gates, he was re-arrested, on a warrant, and deported. At last, when the little baby was nine months old, he was released again for a short period, and they went together to Ballingeary. "My husband," said the witness, "knew the Irish language very well. I had not made much headway with it. We were in Ballingeary for about seven months. We had this ring. You

can get this ring, when you sign a paper, that you will not speak any English to any one else who has got this ring. And after I got it, I never spoke a word of English to my husband or to the baby. We gave one of these rings to the baby when she was born, so that she would always speak her own Irish language. But we had to take it away from her to prevent her putting it into her mouth. After this, we went back to Cork, and my husband could not be with me really at all. I stayed with my cousins, but my husband could only very rarely come there, because he would have been arrested. The baby could not see much of her father. She was awfully fond of him. He had a telephone in the office, when he became Lord Mayor of Cork, and I used to speak to him. Sometimes I was speaking to other people, but whoever I was speaking to on the telephone, baby would shout and snatch the receiver out of my hand and think it was her father, and she would whisper,—just whisper to him. She loved him and he loved her, and wanted to be with her more than anything else."

Mrs. MacSwiney, at this point in her evidence, began to describe her husband,—how he was a poet from his early youth. He wrote some of his most beautiful poems and dramas, when he was quite young. He studied at nights, while he was in business, earning his own living. He thus educated himself, until he got his degree. His chief characteristic was his love of people, his universal charity. "I never heard him say a word against even his worst enemies. I remember how, when he was in Wakefield, a few of our men were put in solitary confinement, and they thought they surely would be shot, because others had been shot, who were in solitary confinement. And even then, when he expected death, he would not say anything harsh against the English."

Then came the time when the Lord Mayor of Cork, Mr. MacCartain, was killed. The coroner's jury found a verdict, that he had been killed by the Irish Police under orders from the British Government. Terence MacSwiney then proposed, that he himself should be elected as Lord

Mayor of Cork and should take the murdered man's place. He was elected. From that hour, on which he was thus chosen, he knew that he had been elected to die for his country. He lived a hunted life for many months, and at last on August 12th, 1920, he was arrested. At the trial, before a Court Martial, he spoke as follows:—

"We see, in the manner, in which the late Lord Mayor of Cork was murdered, an attempt to terrify us all. Our first duty is to answer that threat in the only fitting manner: to show ourselves unterrified, cool and inflexible for the fulfilment of our chief purpose,—the establishment of the independence and integrity of our country and the peace and happiness of the Irish Republic. To that end I am here. This contest on our side is not one of rivalry, or vengeance, but of endurance. It is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can suffer the most, who will conquer..... God is over us, and in His divine intervention we must have perfect trust. Christ, by His voluntary sacrifice on Calvary, delivered us from the domination of the devil, when the pall of evil was closing down and darkening the world. The liberty, for which we strive today, is a sacred thing, inseparably entwined with that spiritual liberty, for which the Saviour of man died, and which is the foundation of all just government. Because it is sacred, and death for it is akin to sacrifice on the Calvary, therefore, following far off, but constant to that divine example, in every generation our best and bravest have died. Sometimes, in our grief, we cry out the foolish and unthinking words, "The sacrifice is too great." It is not we who take innocent blood, but we offer it, sustained by the example of our immortal dead and that divine example of Christ which inspires us all for the redemption of our country."

Mrs. MacSwiney relates, how this speech, read out in Court at her husband's trial, left a deep impression on everybody there—even the soldiers. It was on that day that she realised, that her husband was to die. He sent a message to the citizens of Cork, that when doing work for Ireland, it should not be in tears, but

in joy. That message sustained his wife also up to the very last.

Then follows, in Mrs. MacSwiney's own words, as the Commission examined her, page after page of detail, which describes the imprisonment at Brixton and the hunger strike. All the world waited for the news about the dying man. The King, the people, the press,—every agency of public opinion,—tried to shake the dull determination of that Parliament at Westminster, which had been filled with capitalists who had won their election on the cry of 'Hang the Kaiser' and "Make Germany pay." Nothing could be expected from such men but a lack of imagination for anything which appealed to the heroic and the unselfish in man. They were the same crowd, who very nearly obtained a majority in favour of General Dyer's attention at Jallianwalabagh. The dullness and unintelligence, the wooden stupidity of English officialdom,—these are seen revealed in all their stolid grossness in this record. We stand amazed, that such a perpetration of human torture on a young Irish poet and his wife and child (who suffered with him) could be regarded as an 'Act of Justice.' Yet, in all her evidence given, we find nothing in Mrs. MacSwiney's words either of hatred, or of vengeance. She can be ironical, almost without knowing it but she is never bitter. About the doctor, who tried to persuade her to force her husband to take food, she relates—"Being an Englishman, he could not understand why a man should die for a principle." But that is all. The rest is full of appreciation for any little act of kindness shown, and she can forgive even the brutality which insisted, at the last, on forcibly feeding her husband, while he lay either unconscious or delirious. This was the greatest pain of all to her.

I cannot write down here the full account which Mrs. MacSwiney gave to

the Commissioners concerning her husband's death in jail. That evidence was necessary for the Commission, but I feel that I cannot repeat it. At times, Mr. MacSwiney was so calm and filled with joy, that a deep peace radiated from him to all around who came to see him. But, at other times, the suffering was beyond all human endurance, and we read of terrible delirium and torture.

There is never one sign of surrender, either on his part, or on the part of his heroic wife. The separation from his little daughter was felt by him most keenly. But he had determined from the first that she must not see the change which was certain to come upon him. "Oh, no!" he said, "It would be a cruelty to have her over." And so she was not brought.

"Did you ever happen to hear your husband say," asked the President of the Commission, "what he felt his sacrifice would do for Ireland?"

"He hoped," answered Mrs. MacSwiney, "that it would strengthen the Irish still further in their struggle for Independence. That was, of course, the main consideration of his life. He never thought of anything else. Of course, the chief thing is, for Ireland to get her freedom."

"Of course, the chief thing is for Ireland to get her freedom." This concluding sentence of Mrs. MacSwiney's evidence gives the key-note to the whole music of this drama of life and death. It may be that in winning Indian freedom such a heroism will have to be shown, and when the time comes it will not be wanting. But what will certainly be needed beyond the individual heroism of single souls, is the united determination of all the millions of India *that they will be free!*

C. F. ANDREWS.

Shantiniketan.

STATE VS. COMPANY MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS IN INDIA

THE relative advantages and disadvantages of State and Company management, so far as Railways in India are concerned, has, for some time past, been the theme of a keen and angry controversy in this country. The appointment of the Indian Railway Committee has followed as a necessary sequel to the discussion of this vital question in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1919. It is no use disguising the fact that, until lately, public opinion in India had practically been silent or in any event unconcentrated. This cannot be regarded as an acquiescence on the part of the people in the continuance of Company in preference to State management of Railways. A discussion of State *vs.* Company management is not possible without considering the question of their relative aims. The aim and object of a Railway policy should be the development of trade and industries, the provision of cheaper facilities for transport, increment of revenues, the abatement of the direct taxation of the people and the reduction of Railway rates to a minimum. The true policy should be to nationalise the Railways and make them subservient to the development of the country. The aim of Company management, on the contrary, is the development of dividends.

The period between 1853 to 1870 was one when Railways in India used to be carried on through the agency of English Joint Stock Companies under a guarantee from the Government of India. In 1869 Lord Lawrence, the then Viceroy of India, expressed his deliberate opinion that the direct agency of Government would certainly be more economical than that of Railway Companies and he felt no hesitation in declaring that he viewed the enormous inflation of the capital accounts of some English Railway companies "with great concern." The result was that in 1870 Railways in India became vested in the State. It is a matter of common knowledge how the policy inaugurated by Lord Lawrence eventually came to be reversed by Lord Ripon. I am inclined to think that if such reversal had been attempted now instead

of 40 years ago it would have evoked a storm of opposition from the people of India.

It is interesting to note that in many advanced countries, such as Japan, Australia, Germany and Austro-Hungary where the experiment has been tried, the verdict has been unqualified in favour of State ownership and management. The present Prime Minister of England in the year 1908, as President of the Board of Trade, paid a glowing tribute to the great economy and efficiency of State management. Coming to India, the following comparative table for 1878 furnishes some evidence of the advantage of State over Company management.

| | Madras (guaranteed) | Rajputana (State) |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Gauge | 5-6 | Metre |
| Mean, age (years) | 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 4 |
| Length in miles | 857 | 419 |
| Gross earnings per mile per week. | 149 | 137 |
| Gross earnings per train mile. | 3.08 | 2.99 |
| Working expenses per train mile. | 2.34 | 1.85 |
| Percentage of profit on capital. | 1.44 | 3.99. |

There is no reason to believe that the compilation made by no less an authority than Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K. C. I. E., is anything but accurate.

There can not be any doubt that State ownership and direct State management would unquestionably be for the benefit and welfare of the people of India for the following amongst other reasons:—

(1) The State Railways serve chiefly the public interests of traffic, of commerce, of the circulation and transport of commodities and passengers, and they aid the public treasury and, in any event, they promote only public interests.

(2) State management will secure unity and consolidation of management, which means large savings in officials' salaries, substantial reduction of the army of employees in the tariff and accounting offices and avoid-

ance of waste in haulage by circuitous transportation.

(3) It would stop the economic drain, however small, on the Indian exchequer, as every rupee of the surplus profit goes out of India for the benefit of the shareholders.

(4) State management is tantamount to management by the people themselves, and this undoubtedly constitutes its paramount claim for preference. India needs nothing more nor less than entire management of her railways by the State under the direct control and direction of the Reformed Councils.

(5) State management is capable of being remodelled under the wholesome influence of the Legislative Assembly.

(6) In view of the fact that the Companies receive only a fraction of the surplus profits, one fails to comprehend why and how they can support their claim for retaining the management in their hands. As Companies subsist for the benefit of the shareholders and are primarily concerned with their own profits, more than power, the real incentive for development, reduction of tariffs, speculative extension and provision of comforts for passengers must be lacking in their case.

(7) The application of nett profits to the amortization of capital until the entire Railway system should become free of debt will certainly lead to great reduction in passenger fares and freight rates.

I venture to submit that the salvation of India lies in emancipating her Railways from the grip of Company management. Sir James Caird had justly observed that the Government of India had no interest to consider and and recognise but that of India. If that was true in 1884, how much more so is it to-day after the enforcement of the recent Government of India Act. I feel tempted to quote in this connection the following opinion of Major Conway-Gordon, R. E., Deputy Accountant General & Under-Secretary to the Government of India, P. W. D. : "If you ask me the point directly, I may say that all monopolies like Railways are better in the hands of the public, that is to say, in the hands of the Government, than in the hands of commercial companies".

I regret to observe that the present Railway Board have failed to satisfy the requirements of the public and to inspire public confidence and I feel inclined to press for its discontinuance. The manner in which the

Indian travelling public, including all classes of the womanhood of the country, are packed, almost like cattle, in ordinary trains, not to speak of pilgrims' specials, consisting most often of goods waggons and trucks, is sufficient to warrant the belief that the Railway Board have signally failed to justify their existence. It is needless to say that the Board ought to be above the faintest suspicion of partiality. It is difficult for any member thereof to maintain an attitude of strict impartiality, as he has the prospect of an attractive seat on the London Board of a Company in view after retirement from Government service. The resignation of the Chairmanship of the Railway Board by Sir Frederick Upcote with a view to assume the Chairmanship of the East Indian Railway and the appointment of Sir T. Wynne, a member of the Board, as the managing Director of the Bengal Nagpur Railway have naturally tended to arouse grave suspicions in the public mind. It may not be out of place to draw the attention of the public to the following astounding observation recently made by a President of the Railway Board, viz :—"there are strong reasons for believing that third class passengers like waggons for travelling". Further comments are unnecessary.

Regarding the financing of Railways in India, I beg to observe that with a credit behind them the State would be in a better position than a Company to find capital within India. I do not approve of any borrowings with any fetters upon the management. If the whole of the requisite capital can not be found in India the cheapest foreign market should then be resorted to. The success of the last War Loan is sufficient to make us optimistic in this respect.

I regret to observe that so far the Companies as well as the State have done very little for ensuring the comforts and conveniences of the travelling public and to provide better and sufficient transportation facilities. The public have so long endured the inconveniences and privations of Railway journeys with patience in spite of the callousness of the management to remove them ; but the fact remains that it has engendered the deepest discontent in the country. The Companies, armed as they are with great powers, can, if they so desire, easily strangle the indigenous enterprises through the medium of the minimum and maximum rates. It is a pity that no attempts have

been made in any event to provide decent and comfortable travelling accommodation for Indian passengers, rich or poor. It may not be known to the public that the bulk of the income of Railways comes from third class passengers. Their contribution two or three years ago was about 19 crores and odd against about 4 crores from the first second and intermediate class passengers put together. The treatment to which third and intermediate class Indian passengers are subjected from day to day would not have been tolerated in any advanced country.

The practice of running inter and third class compartments with distinctive preferential labels such as "for Europeans" still continues in spite of judicial decisions. One cannot conceive why Railway servants are permitted to travel in congested passenger trains, although they can always indulge in the luxury of a journey by a special train, viz., the Parcels Express. It is a pity that the Railway management has failed to recognise the simple fact that human patience has its limit.

TARIT BHUSHAN ROY, M.L.C.

TO POET OF INDIA

(*The following verses were sent from Dunedin, New Zealand.*)

Hail, from afar, to thee
O prophet of God's loveliness! Strong, sweet,
Thy songs, borne hither o'er the charmed sea,—
Strong with Love's strength, sweet with Love's witchery,—
Even now have led us nearer to His feet.
For true and tender help upon the way,
Take thou our homage and our thanks this day.

There ever murmurs through
Thy song a mightier song that upland souls
Loving like thee the dawn-scents and the dew,
Catch, joy-in, lose, only to catch anew,
Till to their ears attuned, lo, it rolls
Or soft or loud, yet ever without cease,
In thy least word, and all their life is peace.

Some souls there are by bare
Lone paths of the unmanifest needs must rise.
Brave hearts, God speed them! Softer breathes our air,
Sees steep, less rough our road lies, whom His fair
And radiant births enrapture, whose glad eyes
In every mirroring the Mirrored see,
As now, O brother beautiful, in thee.

'MARSYAS.'

SOME NOTES ON THE MURAL DECORATIONS PAINTED BY THE STUDENTS IN THE SIR J. J. SCHOOL OF ART, BOMBAY, UNDER THE PERSONAL DIRECTION OF THE PRINCIPAL

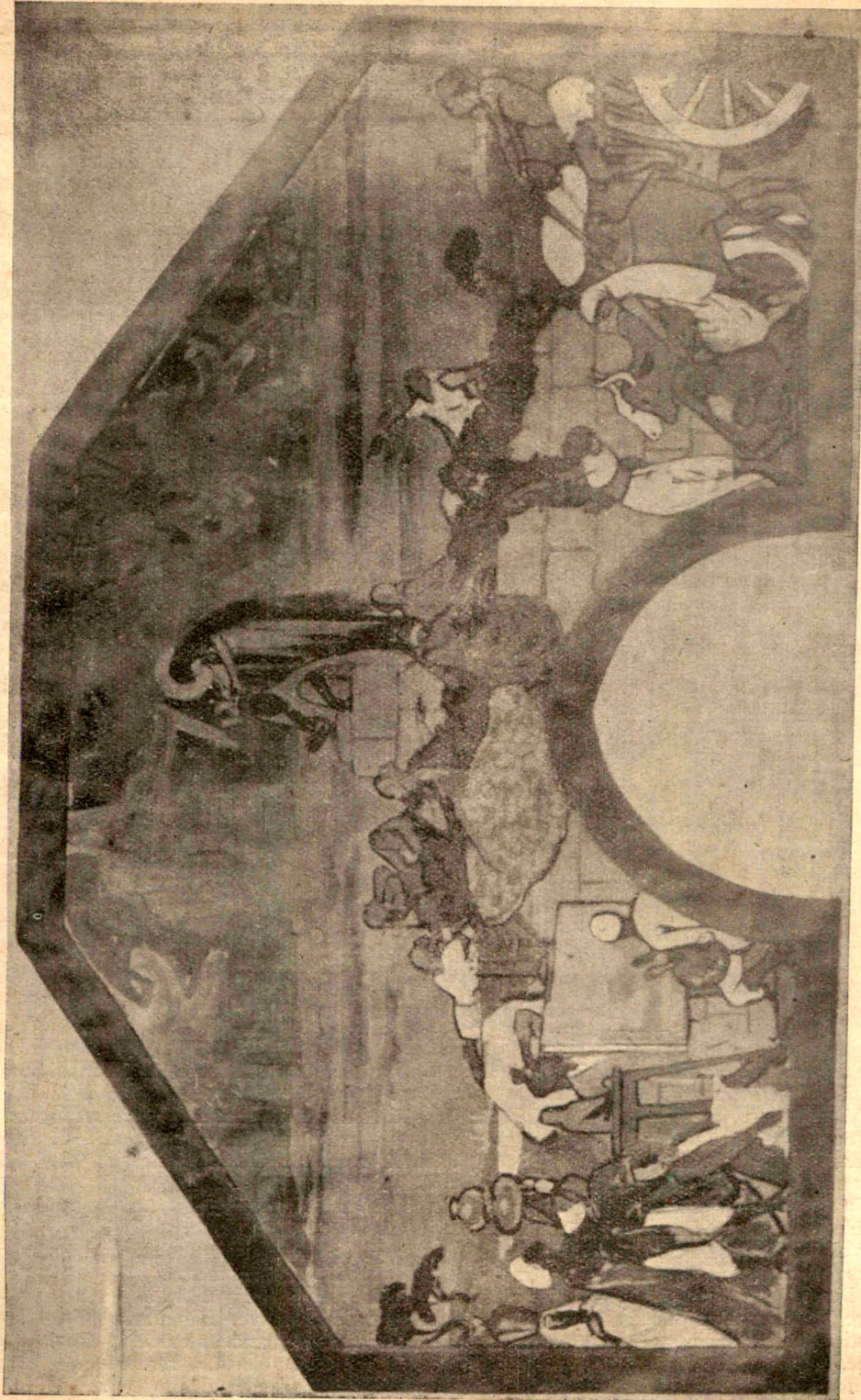
DECEMBER 1919 TO DECEMBER, 1920.

"In a Year."

INTRODUCTORY.

"THE most curious and interesting phase of my Indian experience was the initiation of Hindu, Parsi and Goanese students in the mysteries of an art still congenial to the

Oriental temper and mind I am persuaded that no European however skilful could have so completely caught the spirit of the originals. It is conceivable that if these young men were entrusted with the execution of original work on a large scale they might have carried



THE RECROWNING OF INDIA — By G. H. Nagarkar, A. Kamadolli, S. Fernandiz and other Students of the Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay.



SUMMER.—By C. B. Rao and G. H. Nagarkar.

forward the decorative tradition of Ajanta to an issue of considerable interest."

—JOHN GRIFFITHS, late Principal of the Sir J. J. School of Art, in "*The Paintings of Ajanta*," Vol. II, p. 3.

The scheme of Mural Decoration for the School of Art was announced by the new Principal at the Peace Celebrations on December 15th, 1919, the Director of Public Instruction presiding.

A syllabus of the scheme was issued to the students on December 19th, 1919, and the class of Decorative painting was formed to carry out the work under the Principal's personal direction and guidance.

The original students selected for the class of Decorative Painting were :—G. H. Nagarkar, A.

Kamadolli, S. Fernandez, A. Bhonsale and C. Rao.

The following students were promoted to the class during the current year :—N. V. Parkhi, N. L. Joshi, M. K. Nargunde, V. K. Gadgil and V. M. Nandnikar.

The actual painting was begun upon the panels in the West gallery (size 7' by 3½') in June when C. B. Rao commenced on "Summer" and "Monsoon". It is a matter of great regret that C. B. Rao was obliged by a severe illness to go away on sick leave. His plucky and unremitting efforts were of greatest value in the early stage of the work and set a remarkable example of diligence and true devotion to art. All honour to C. B. Rao, our pioneer. The loss to the class



MONSOON.—By C. B. Rao.

A. A. Bhonsale, also invalided home, was very keenly felt by the workers.

His Excellency the Governor encouraged the undertaking from the first beginnings by his Patronage of and the great interest he showed in the Mural Decorations. His Excellency intimated his intention of presenting two Palettes as a special prize to the two students who should be recommended by the Principal as having done the best work upon the walls; and this has evoked among the students a keen and lively competitive spirit while their efforts have been further stimulated by His Excellency's personal inspection of the work in progress.

The Government of Bombay has sanctioned a special grant of Rs. 5,000 for the expenses of the Mural Decorations of the School of Art.

THE CARTOONS.

The cartoons form an interesting collection of work. They should be carefully compared with the final paintings. If they do not appear to give full scope to the beautiful decorative instincts of Indian Artists, it is because they constitute a means to an end rather than an end in itself,—a transcript of nature rather than a decorative interpretation of nature. The vigorous drawing of "Night" and "The Fruits of the Earth" by J. Nagarkar and S. Fernandez is very noteworthy.

THE PAINTINGS.

The Mural Paintings are executed in oil on canvas laid upon the walls, the method most in favour in France and England. The Principal has for some time past been experimenting in



WINTER.—By A. Kamadolli.

"Fresco Buono" with the assistance of Mr. G. P. Fernandez, Secretary of the Art Society of India. The experiments have produced satisfactory results, and a panel will shortly be executed by the students in that ancient medium.

The South Wall of the Central Class Room.
"THE RECROWNING OF INDIA".
Size 16 ft. by 31 ft. 8 in.

Painted by Nagarkar, Kamadolli, Fernandez and other students of the class of Decorative Paintings.

His Excellency has conferred upon the School the distinction of unveiling this panel which is believed to constitute the first serious effort of modern times to revive the ancient Indian

practice of decorating large wall-spaces with figure designs, as at Ajanta and in Ceylon.

The panel depicts India seated upon her throne looking upward towards Art, painted as a Peri, who is about to place on her head a diadem of stars. The beautiful women upon the plinth at her feet are her daughters representative of some of India's many States and Creeds, Maratta, Mahomedan, Parsi, Brahmin, Marwari, Punjabi, etc. The plinth itself on which they recline is bursting into bloom through every ancient crack and crevice. The groups to the right represent Agriculture and Industry, to the left the Fine and Applied Arts. It will be noted that the attention of all the figures in the composition is centred upon the "Recrowning of India"—all except that



FRUITS OF EARTH.—By S. Fernandiz.

of the Mother with her infant in the immediate foreground. She alone takes no notice of the great event in absorbed contemplation of YOUNG INDIA in her arms. Through the broad beams of the sun which is rising behind India's throne, can be dimly seen the giant outlines of some of her guardian deities—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The fine border and the title lunette are the work of G. H. Nagarkar and V. K. Gadgil.

The West Gallery.

"SUMMER"

The four panels (6' 9" by 4' 6") represent the three main seasons of South-Western India, and "The Fruits of the Earth". "Summer" painted

by C. B. Rao and G. H. Nagarkar shows us a beautiful Marathi maiden in an extasy of joyous abandonment to the gracious influences of birds, trees, and flowers. The gold mohur tree, the blue sea and her own charming draperies and ornaments are treated with the boldest decorative intention. The beautifully painted border was designed by Mr. V. N. Mistry.

"MONSOON"

Painted by C. B. Rao. The shrinking form of the typical girl of Bombay who is sheltering herself, as Dr. Tagore puts it "among rustling leaves in rainy darkness of July,"—the long drooping tendrils and dripping branches of



NIGHT.—By G. H. Nagakar.

the banyan tree, the slate-grey skies crossed by the rainbow of Hope—all tend to remind us emphatically of the Rains. The somewhat Western treatment of this panel should be compared with the previous one. "Monsoon" was finished first.

"WINTER"

Painted by A. Kamadolli. Western in its treatment but pure Indian in the inspiration of its subject, this panel corresponds more than the others to the best decorative traditions of modern France. Compare it with the "St. Genevieve" of Puvis de Chavannes. Kamadolli's strength lies in colour, Nagarkar's invention.

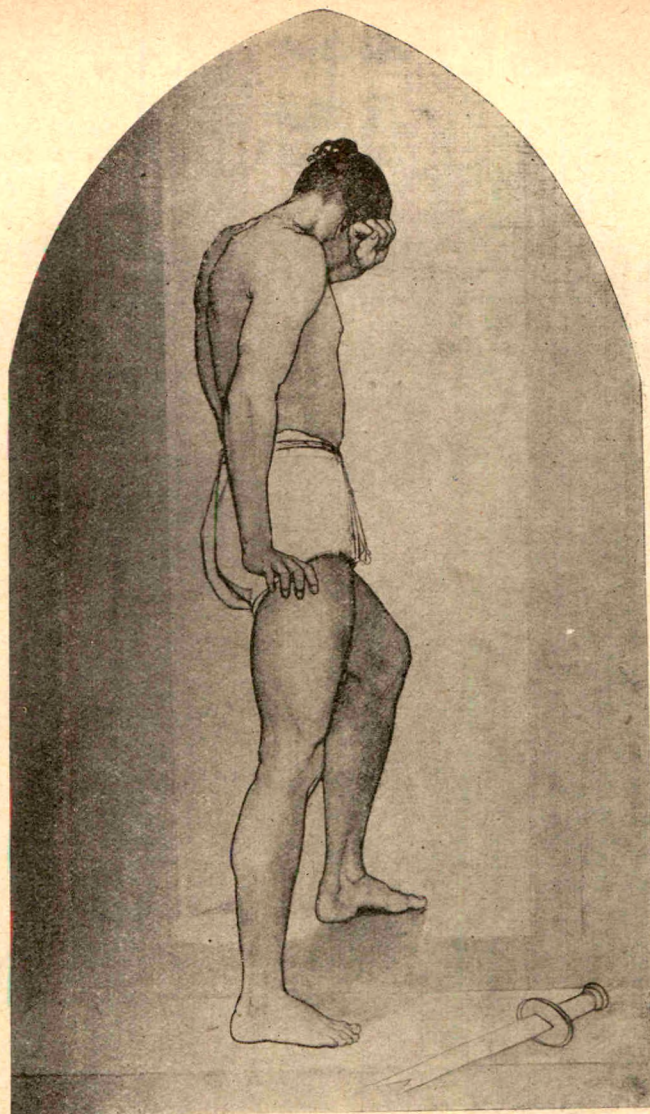
"THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH"

Painted by S. Fernandez. (Unfinished).

Where else except in India could this panel have originated? The fruit-carrier is redolent of India and India only. No such inspiring subjects for Art have been found elsewhere since the models of Phidias walked in Athens.

"THE LOGGIA" (Downstairs.)

The four panels (7' 2" by 4½') here shown will be thought by many to convey best, of all the mural decorations, the message of Art in India to-day. Modern Indian Art is here seen putting forth its own peculiar power—not yet its fullest power. Its potentialities are so apparent in



DEFEAT.—By S. Fernandiz.

these decorations as to delight the Art-lover with the amazing promise of the future.

"NIGHT"

Painted by G. H. Nagarkar; holding firmly to his cartoon, based upon nature as on a rock. The decorative features are beautifully restrained and the treatment is so nicely balanced that probably no recent work has proved more satisfying than this to both the Indian and the European mind. The moon-flower border designed by Mr. Mistry deserves close study.

"Only in the deepest silence of night the stars smile and whisper among themselves."—"Vain is the seeking! Unbroken perfection is over all!"

"DAWN"

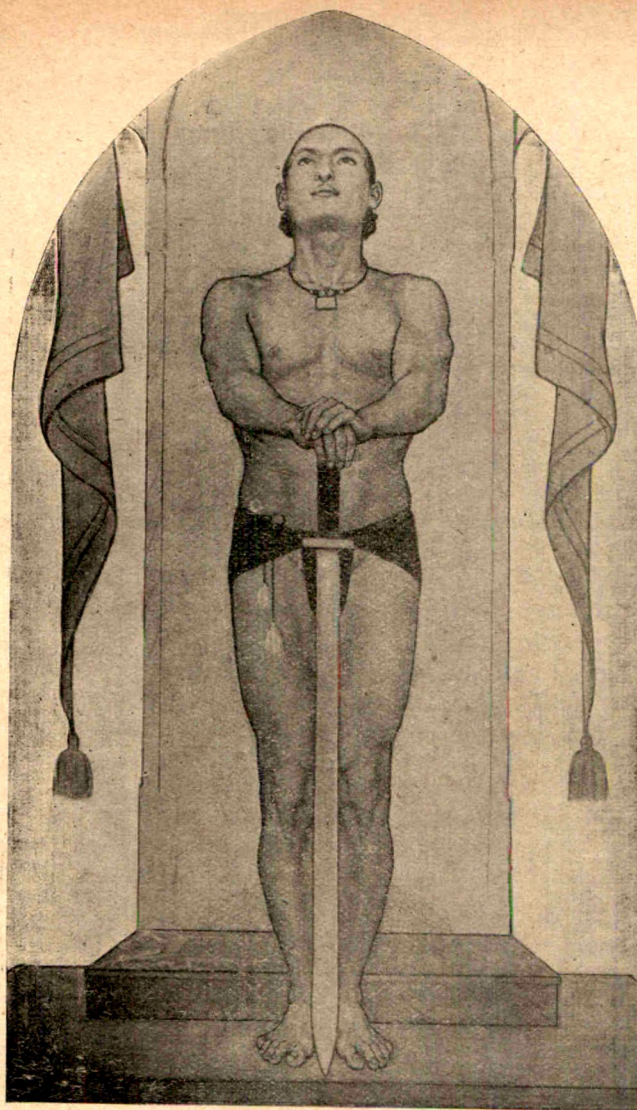
Painted by C. H. Nagarkar and A. Kama-dolli.

"In the morning I woke up and found my garden full with wonders of flowers." Are not these words of India's living poet well illustrated in this enchanting figure who comes to surprise us all to-day? The distinctively Indian treatment of the draperies, foreground and the lotus border are delightfully decorative.

"DEFEAT"

Painted by S. Fernandiz.

Perhaps this panel represents the high watermark of the accomplishment of the students in Mural Decoration, and few single-figure panels



VICTORY.—By S. Fernandiz.

have been painted in modern times whether in Europe or the East in which the rules that should govern the art of mural decoration are more admirably demonstrated. The object of the artist is clearly to decorate the particular wall-space—not to paint an easel picture; to enhance the beauty of the wall,—not to annihilate the wall's surface with illusions of space or depth, or heavy shadows. At a distance this panel still retains its flatness of surface. The details of the temple back-ground so beautifully rendered are from the brush of Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar. The figure of the baffled Maratha warrior by Fernandiz seems to express in every line Dr. Tagore's "Vain is this struggle!"

"VICTORY".

But here S. Fernandiz has painted the other side of the picture—the triumph that must come to him who is not afraid of apparent failure. The panel is garlanded with a rose border, for the warrior has *attained* his goal and stands at last upon the topmost step beneath the royal canopy. Flowers drop from Heaven around him as they fell of old on the heroic Rama. He leans upon the sword of justice—but his gaze is inward, and his ears are deaf to the plaudits of thousands. Conscious of the energy that is in him and of a strength only increased by the sufferings he has endured, and surmounted, he exclaims in his heart: "Oh

worker of the Universe! Let our newly awakened powers cry out for unlimited fulfilment in leaf and flower and fruit."

14th December, 1920.

NOTE—The following members of the Staff of

the School of Art aided the work materially:—Messrs. Dhurandhar, Trindade, Mistry, Agaskar, Tasker, Sardesai Chuderar and Talavdekar. The staff and students of the Reay Art Workshops rendered valuable assistance.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF FRANCE

IN India the universities, technological schools, and research institutes of France have not acquired the celebrity they deserve on account of their intrinsic merit simply because the reports of these institutions of higher learning are hardly available in English. American educationists found exactly the same difficulty standing in the way of French culture becoming popular among the students and professors of the United States. Thanks to the combined efforts of the statesmen of France and America a literature has of late been growing up in English describing the facilities which are offered to foreigners by French educational institutions both industrial and professional as well as scientific and literary.

An institution known as *College des Etats-Unis d'Amerique*, which has its present headquarters at 10 rue de l'Elysee, Paris, was founded in 1916. It has published a series of twenty pamphlets under the general title of *Educational Resources in France*, which are to be had of the Secretary, Mem. Caroline B. K. Levy, only for the asking. The series is likely to be useful chiefly to the post-graduate students of Indian universities, and necessarily also to the lecturers and professors. Indeed these catalogues have been prepared by the *College* with an eye to meeting the requirements of "post-graduate studies" such as the graduates of American universities used generally to seek in Germany previous to the war.

The pamphlets deal with the following branches of learning: mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, medicine, pharmacy, philology, agriculture, commerce, fine arts, geology, botany, biology, anthro-

pology, law, sociology, philosophy, literature, history, and geography. Each pamphlet indicates the advanced courses and opportunities in the science to which it is devoted.

Celebrated specialists in each line have supervised the preparation of these catalogues. For instance, the one on engineering is due to Mons. H. Le Chatelier, Member of the *Institut de France*, that on biology to Caullery, professor at the University of Paris, that on chemistry to Professor Moureu of *College de France*, editor of the *Revue Scientifique*, that on medicine to Dr. Roux, director of the *Institut Pasteur*, that on philology to A. Meillet, the greatest living authority in the domain of Indo-European languages, and so forth.

The *College des Etats-Unis* finds homes for students in Paris and the provinces in French families as paying guests, where they are likely to have the benefit of homelike surroundings and the opportunity to learn practical French. Although instituted solely for Americans the *College* may be appealed to by anybody for information and guidance. Those who wish to be in direct touch with a purely French institution which addresses itself more or less to the same functions in regard to all foreign countries may communicate with the *Office National des Universites et des Ecoles Francaises*. It is located at 96 Boulevard Raspail, Paris, and has Mons. Petit-Dutailles at the head. The assistant director of the *Office* is Firmin Roz, who is a familiar figure in franco-foreign literature and is always ready to satisfy inquiries. Persons seeking information may correspond with him in English if they cannot use French.

Foreigners coming to Paris often avail themselves of the school maintained by the *Alliance Française* at 101 Boulevard Raspail in order to master the French language. This institution is of special value to persons who desire an intimate knowledge of French literature, history and civilization. R. Dupouey is director of this school. There is a *Review* conducted by the *Alliance*, the contents of which are bound to be of interest to students and professors in India who are already making use of French as a medium of scientific and other research, especially if they are contemplating a visit to France.

The laboratories maintained by the colleges, institutes and hospitals of France offer great facilities for original investigation to competent persons, no matter whether degree-holders or not. G. H. Roger, dean of the faculty of medicine at the University of Paris, professor E. Gley of College de France, specialist in the physiology of internal secretions, Gabriel Bertrand, who is in charge of biological chemistry at *Institut Pasteur*, Weinberg, the chief bacteriologist at the same institution, L. Roule, the pisciculturist at the *Museum d'histoire naturelle*, and others are willing to offer suggestions, help and guidance to prospective research scholars from India in the different branches of medical and biological science. The same openings may be expected by serious minded Indian scholars of every insitution of research in France. The training is entirely gratis; laboratory fees are not high. Details may be had on application. One has only to write to the master with whom one wants to work.

The "language difficulty" should not scare away the student of science, philosophy, economics, technology, or politics because it is too well known that the language of advanced thought in French is even more akin to English than is Hindi to Marathi or to Bengali. And of course for at least quite a long period not every research scholar has to carry on long conversations nor is he called upon to make a speech. No M. Sc. or Ph. D. of the Indian universities need therefore weigh too seriously the considera-

tion of the language before sailing for France.

For the convenience of students who wish to prosecute regular academic studies in France with a view to the University degree the following information in English is being furnished from a booklet published by the *College des Etats-Unis*.

"HOW TO ENTER FRENCH UNIVERSITIES.

A foreign student who wishes to study at a French university must produce the following documents.

(a) Birth certificate, or legal equivalent visaed *either by the French Consul residing in the country whence the candidate comes, or by some accredited representative of his country in France*. This certificate must be accompanied by an authentic translation made by a "*traducteur-jure*" in France or by one of the authorities whose visa is required.

(b) Carte d'identité, obtainable free of charge at the Police Prefecture (Bureau des Etrangers, 1, rue de Lutèce).

(c) A diploma or certificate testifying to his previous studies. The Faculty may require that this diploma or certificate be visaed and translated as in the case of the birth-certificate.

(d) Should a candidate wish to be enrolled at the university he must produce, besides *a* and *b*, a diploma of the *French baccalaureat*, or failing this, its equivalent.

Matriculation.

A student who comes to the university merely for post-graduate studies or scientific research, and does not aim at obtaining a State degree or diploma, must be "matriculated," that is, must have his name entered in the register of one of the Faculties of the university. In order to do this, he must produce documents *a, b, c*, as enumerated above, at the Secretary's office of the said Faculty.

The application for matriculation must be made by the candidate in person, and not by proxy or by writing. The application may be made at any time during the school year, but is valid only for the session during which it is made. The matriculation fee is 20 francs per annum,

and must be accompanied by a library fee of 10 francs per annum. A student may, during the month following his matriculation in a Faculty, become matriculated, free of charge, in another Faculty, by producing a certificate testifying to his previous matriculation. Should more than a month have elapsed since he was matriculated, he may still avail himself of this opportunity, but he must then have special authorisation from the Rector.

Enrolment (Inscription.)

A foreign student who wishes to obtain a state or university degree, must be not only matriculated, but also enrolled (*inscrit*) as candidate for such a diploma or degree.

In order to be enrolled, he must, in person and not by proxy or writing, produce documents *a*, *b*, and *d*, as enumerated above, and present them at the Secretary's Office of the Faculty in which he desires to be enrolled. The "inscription" is quarterly and may be applied for during the first half of each of the following months: November, January, March, and May. Application for the first enrolment must be made at the beginning of the school year. Each quarterly enrolment entails a fee of 30 francs, to which is added a library fee of 2 fr. 50.

"Inscription" conveys the privilege of matriculation without further fee.

Should a student be obliged to interrupt his quarterly enrolments, he must inquire at the Secretary's Office of the Faculty concerned, as to the conditions required to avoid the annulment of his previous "inscriptions" and insure their validity. A student enrolled in a Faculty may become enrolled in another Faculty under the same conditions as in the case of matriculation.

In order to obtain a degree or diploma, a fixed number of quarterly enrolments is required, which determines the minimum length of the course of studies required for the said degree or diploma.

Courses of Study.

The university offers to students :

- (1) Public Courses, free to all who present themselves.
- (2) Courses, Lectures and Practical Ex-

ercises, Laboratories, Libraries, reserved for students registered or entered on the books.

(3) Colleges, Schools, Technical Schools, Special Courses, Research Laboratories and Libraries to which students have access on payment of special fees.

Examination and Diplomas.

Universities maintained by the State confer State degrees and university degrees in all branches of study.

Student's Card. A student's card is presented to each student who was matriculated or has been duly enrolled. This card should be brought to the lectures. It is valid only for the Session for which it is issued. It is not transferable.

Exemptions. Foreign students may obtain exemption from the Baccalaureat Examination.

Foreign diplomas officially recognised as qualifying a student for admission to a university in his own country, are considered equivalent to the French baccalaureat.

In certain cases, exemption from the Baccalaureat may also be obtained on presentation of foreign diplomas or certificates, other than the foregoing, or on the result of a special examination held to ascertain the fitness of foreigners to enter upon higher studies in a particular branch of learning. This examination takes place during the second fortnight of the months of October and May.

The student must present at this examination the documents *a* and *b* mentioned above together with a request, written entirely in his own handwriting signed with his surname and Christian names, and a certificate of good conduct given by a representative of his own country, who is accredited in France.

The examination includes:

(1) A passage for translation into French of a text in the student's native language. (Time allowed, three hours: the use of a dictionary is permitted).

(2) The reading aloud of an easy French text, a conversation on the subject-matter read, and questions on the history and civilisation of the candidate's native country.

Application for all examinations, in consideration of a candidate's holding a foreign diploma or certificate, should be made to M. le Recteur de l'Université deand in the following form:

Monsieur le Recteur.

*Je, soussigné.....
demeurant
ai l'honneur de vous demander de vouloir
bien m'accorder l'équivalence du baccalau-
reat en vue de m'inscrire a la Faculté de...
.....(ou a l' Ecole de.....) d'e l'Uni-
versité de..... et d'y préparer.....*

*Je joins a ma demande l'original et la
traduction de mon acte de naissance et de
mon diplôme de.....*

*Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Recteur,
l'expression de mes sentiments respectueux.*

The application should be drawn up on a sheet of French stamped paper (1 franc) and should be accompanied by the foreign diploma or certificate in consideration of which the exemption is sought, together with the birth certificate of the applicant or an equivalent official document. These two documents should be visaed and translated, according to the rules laid down above.

Application and all documents should be delivered or addressed to the Secretary's Office of the Faculty or School in which the student desires to be enrolled.

The same formalities must be observed when, in view of obtaining French diplomas, the same exemptions are sought in the case of foreign diplomas, for foreign degrees other than the baccalaureat.

Foreign students, duly enrolled by reason of an exemption, are subject, in general to the same rules of term-keeping, as French students.

Nevertheless, in order to allow foreign students to continue in France a course of studies begun elsewhere, exemptions from term-keeping may be granted, which will take into account former studies. Foreign students, who satisfy conditions by means of diplomas or certificates granted by the universities of their own country, may obtain exemption from certain examinations, and also from term-keeping. This dispensation is interpreted as the right of taking, at one and the same time, a cer-

tain number of enrolments, in proportion to the duration and nature of the studies pursued by them in their own country.

Under conditions specified in the regulations relating to the various degrees for which students are entering, they may pass from one university to another, retaining the privilege of previous enrolments and of examinations passed. They must apply for the transfer of their papers to the Secretary of their Faculty.

A student who fails in an examination cannot change universities except for a grave reason and with the authorisation of the Dean.

Certificates of Regular Attendance.

Certificates of Regular Attendance at the courses and lectures may be granted to those students who are duly matriculated, and have taken part in the work of the Faculty, or School for at least half a year. These certificates enable foreign students to be accredited in their own university with the terms kept at the University of Paris.

Vacations and Holidays.

The long vacation includes the months of July, August, September and October. The courses reopen the first week of November.

The Christmas vacation lasts a week. The Easter vacation lasts a fortnight, beginning on Palm Sunday and ending on the second Monday after Easter."

For one reason or another, again, the scholars of India have failed to keep in touch with the achievements of French genius in contemporary civilisation. In this regard also they might derive considerable benefit from reading or at least possessing for reference a volume on French culture edited by one hundred American professors representing all the different branches of modern knowledge. This is entitled *Science and Learning in France*, (1917) and is to be had of Colonel J. H. Wigmore, the distinguished jurist, of North-western University, Chicago (Price one dollar).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Aux soins American Express Co.
11 Rue Scribe, Paris.

WOMEN OF INDIA*

The sumptuous get-up of the book at once arrests the attention. The decorative pattern on the binding, the beautiful letter press, the excellent coloured pictures, of which the book is full, depicting various types of Indian womanhood at its best—are all a treat to the eye. The well-known Bombay firm of publishers has undertaken the production of this work in no niggardly spirit, and the enterprise must have cost it a lot of money. Unlike the usual type of Indian human figures which one meets with in the pages of British periodicals and missionary journals, which seem to be purposely designed to create an impression that an Indian is little better than an aborigine, the portraits in Mr. Dhurandhar's gallery are all true to life, and deserve to be treasured for their own sake. An album made up of these pictures alone would form a handsome addition to an artist's collection. We had half a suspicion that the printed matter accompanying such an excellent series of pictures so luxuriously displayed would partake of the character of light gossip and take a distinctly subordinate place in the scheme of the whole production intended as a picturesque and fascinating drawingroom decoration. But a glance through the first few pages was enough to dissipate the erroneous impression. After reading the whole book from cover to cover we are in a position to say, that it is one of the most remarkable portraiture of Indian life that has seen the light of day since the epoch-making work of Sister Nivedita, we mean *The Web of Indian Life*. While equally sympathetic in his outlook, the author of the book under review has a more balanced judgment, and he commands a beautiful style, scholarly, poetic and finely suggestive, which has a distinction and charm all its own, and by its literary grace enhances the pleasure felt by the reader at the author's presentation of the outstanding features of the different types of Indian womanhood, full of insight and sympathy as it is. The author has the artist's eye and a fine æsthetic perception, and represents in his person the best type of the cultured Englishman whose bureaucratic training has not succeeded in killing the humaner instincts of his nature. He is also somewhat of a philosopher, who has observed human nature, alien though it be in race and sex, to some purpose, and his excursions into the psychology of love and the sex-relation in its various aspects prove him to be a master of that wisdom which often lingers though knowledge may come in abundance. Mr. Otto Rothfeld knows life, and has experienced it, and possesses the supreme gift of expression. It is easy to discover from the pages of this book that the author has firsthand knowledge of the women of the Bombay presidency only—and it could not be expected that one man should have an intimate acquaintance with humanity in every part of

this vast continent—but his beautiful pen-picture of the Bengali lady, seen in Benâres, or perhaps at Delhi, or Simla, is one of the best of the series. The following chapter-headings will give us a rough idea of the contents: (1) As They Are, (2) Marriage in India, (3) The Hindu Woman in Marriage, (4) The Ladies of the Aristocracy, (5) The Middle Classes, (6) The Working and Aboriginal Classes, (7) The Dancing Girl, (8) Woman's Dress, (9) The Moving Finger [i.e., the present day tendencies of the woman's movement in India]. We shall now give some extracts from the book, leaving the reader to procure a copy of this patriotic publication, replete with a fascinating interest, and peruse the whole of it, and keep it as an abiding possession for the use of his family and friends.

"Their very aloofness, their seclusion, gives them half their charm and they know it. Not for them, for instance the dismal methods of American Schools, where mixed classes and a common playground rub away all the attraction of the sexes and make their growing pupils dully kin like brother and sister. In India women are so much more valued and attain half their power because they are only occasionally seen and seldom met. It is the rarest flowers that are sought at the peril of life itself. It is for the women who live veiled and separated that men crave, captives of passion at a first quick-taken glance. A wife who is not the familiar companion of every walk or game, who is never seen through the long business hours—with what delight the husband, unjaded by the constant sight of women in street or office, seeks her at last in the inner apartments where she waits with smiles and flowers!"

"For to all of them above all else, is contentment with their own womanhood, faith in religion, and the natural hope of love. An unremitting devotion and an unfailing tenderness, that is the Indian woman's service in the world; and it is her loving service that has given its best to the land. India has had great preachers and great thinkers, it has had and has brave soldiers. But more than the men, more even than their best and bravest, it is the women who have deserved well of the country. What they have won is the respect with which all men behave to stranger women. It is a rule of Indian manners that they should pass unnoticed and unremarked, even in the household of a friend, and, except perhaps among the lowest ruffians, there is none who would offend the modesty of a woman even by a gesture or an unseemly recognition. They can pass in the midst of crowds, as nurses pass in the most evil back-streets, without molestation or insult. For the women of India have raised an ideal lofty and selfless, for all to behold and they have come near its attainment. And with all its self-sacrifice and abnegation, with all its unremitting service, the ideal is not inhuman nor is it alien to the nature of womankind. It allows for weaknesses, it is kind to faults, and it aspires frankly to the joys of a fulfilment deserved by service. Not without reason did the writers of old India liken the

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perfect woman of their land to a lotus, in that she 'is tender as a flower.'"

"They [the working castes] have no leisure for the finer sensibilities, and, like the poor in all countries, must have an eye ever open to the needs of food and nutrition. Without much education and with little capacity for refined emotion, it is not unnatural if there is sometimes disunion and if they seldom attain the heights. The husband in his cups may occasionally beat his wife, or may have to sit with bowed head before the storm of her boisterous abuse. Yet they compare favourably with similar classes in other countries; and at the worst they shun the terrors of European slums, the brutal wife-kickers and procurers who lurk in the blind alleys of industrial life. It is true indeed that the rapid growth of industrial labour in India also has adversely affected the marriages of that class and that only too often an unhappy union ends in elopement or prostitution. Generally, however, it may be said that the Hindu husband even in this class seldom descends to the grossness and cruelty so often found in the lower quarters of European cities: while the wife forms and maintains a higher standard of womanly conduct and devotion. An easier toleration marks their conjugal relations and the Hindu character at its worst is commonly free from the extremer modes of brutality."

"It is in the higher classes that the woman may have to pay for the pride of caste by her individual austerities. Yet against the prohibition of widow marriage may be set the terrific wastage in Europe of chaste and unmarried women. It has not at least entailed upon Indian society that narrowing and unnatural education which Europe has seen itself forced to accept, with all its consequent evils, and which is perhaps inevitable if chastity is to be required as their highest and sometimes their only virtue from women who are in every case condemned to a lengthy and, in a vast number of unhappy cases, to a life-long celibacy. In India a woman is at least allowed to know and to be natural; for an early marriage gives her in her ripening maturity the fitting fulfilment of her womanhood. And, even at the worst conjunction of destiny, the ideal of devotion crystallized in an unbroken widowhood is, in itself, no ignoble aspiration. The unflinching veneration that a son gives to his widowed mother is in India no small recompense for her sacrifice to a sacred duty. Widowhood is recognised by all as a state—divinely-imposed—of austerity and atonement. But it has its own quiet rewards in the family home, with its sense of duty done, like a nun's or a Sister of Mercy's. It is harsh in those [lower] castes, which have merely adopted a custom, when the inspiring ideal is not felt living in their hearts, deep and intense. And it is also harsh in those cases when the original thought has been warped by an exaggerated deduction or where punishment is too rigorously inflicted for illicit infringement of the rule. At least in the case of the child-widow, betrothed indeed by a sacrament, but never really wedded, some speedy relaxation of the rule appears desirable."

"A deeper objection [absence of selection of one's mate which courtship implies] to the Hindu system is one which has been seldom, if ever, expressed. Racially, the absence of that natural selection which expresses itself in sexual desire cannot but be detrimental. It is perhaps vain to expect a vigorous childhood to be born from unions in which healthy desire is replaced by

the coldness of duty or by an instinct that has not been transfigured by personal attraction and selection. The difficulty is inherent in a system which bases its selection upon the supernatural [astrological predictions, and caste coincidences] and rejects the natural call of spirit to spirit and sense to sense. And yet it must be confessed, not without shame, that a careful selection by parents, if it could be trusted to be rational and disinterested, might be no more injurious than the restricted and illusory choice, too often made in ignorance, which so far seems to be the only substitute that civilisation has learnt to provide. In general, it may be said that the Hindu rules of marriage are, in the ordinary sense of happiness, as conducive to the happiness of the spouses as the fast transforming systems of modern Europe, and that their happiness is less self-centred and more altruistic. Romantic love is, after all, most commonly, even in Europe, the short-lived flower of life in one sex and one class. Marriage must everywhere be in practice limited and artificially restricted. Economic conditions are very near the base of most marriages; and even in the richer classes must be a main constituent of the bride's decision. Moreover, for the lasting purposes of marriage, affection is no bad substitute for love—affection and the sense of destined consecration. It may at least be asserted that in general, among the upper castes of India, the mingled feeling of duty and devotion is as strong as, and perhaps more stable than, in the corresponding sections of English society. In many places, however, and in many castes, the soft bloom of companionship and emotion is bruised by the brutality of a first union with a partner before unknown and undesired. Nor can it be denied that the gnostic asceticism, to which Indian idealism has so often condescended, has killed, where it could, that joy in a free humanity which alone can invest marriage with the flaming beauty of love. When the value of love is considered as an inspiration to art and chivalry and, indeed, to every creative activity, then the loss, thus self-inflicted, will appear in all its gravity. It may well be that the deathly slumber of the arts in modern India is to no small extent due to spiritual conditions which exclude and condemn the love which is profane, and is therefore alive and immortal."

"Among Rajput women one finds certainly the highest development of the individual with the greatest charm and the fullest humanity, and it is they, almost alone, who have achieved the heroic. But to India as a whole the ordinary ideal of woman in her relation to social function is represented by the more reticent figure of the Brahman. She is woman as in his life the ordinary man would wish to find her, quiet, devoted, managing, and pious. Nowhere is the Brahman woman so true to the type presented in this ideal as in the Madras Presidency and the Bombay Deccan.....And her whole life is one unceasing round of service, in which humanity is elevated by an ever-present sense of Divine Ordinance. To the lowly in heart she feels—almost one might say she knows, so strongly does she feel—belongs the kingdom of heaven. In service to find fulfilment, even happiness, that is her God-given mission..... For charm and coquetry, for all the arts by which woman gladdens life and creates a liberal society, she has, if she had the inclination, no spare time or energy. She ages early, spent by exhausting labour and the recurring burden of unregulated childbirth, unwarmed by joy, unlit by

passion. But the bare life of poverty and unending labour is illumined by a spiritual exaltation. With the performance of their service the million Saint Theresas of the Deccan are able to find within their hearts a satisfying happiness. Like nuns, by an austere self-repression, they avert their eyes from humanity and the human purposes of life; and when they are forced to see, they persuade themselves to despise. They live as it were in a spiritual cloister. But even in this world they are not altogether without reward, though it comes late in life. The love and devoted kindness of her sons, that is the one constant meed of service upon which the woman counts. And there are few things more impressive than an Indian son's look when he turns to his mother or the tone in which, even years after her death, he speaks of his childhood at her side. And in old age when she in turn, with her husband, succeeds to the management of the large joint family household, she finds a peaceful joy in the ordering of their simple life and the caresses of her clustering grandchildren. At the end, when death lays her to sleep at last, she dies in the hope of an untroubled peace, as one who has accomplished a lengthy service not without pain and effort."

"Such perhaps most truly are the women of India, as through a large continent the greatest number of its inhabitants would like to see them. Not for this world, they might say, is the labour; not for love and enjoyment and greater power and finer emotions and self-development, the glories of nature do they thirst. Of the fervours of youth and the vivid joys of mere active BEING, of the fine harmonies between soul and sense in expanding, self-perfecting human functions, of a humainty that should be self-sufficient, free in the face of the eternal universe and glad in the fight for mastery with obstructive matter, they have not even a conception. To an Indian Antigone no chorus would sing of human power and magnitude. Only the preacher would instruct in humility and abnegation."

"The same ideal of service and privation is to be found no less in Bengal, sweetened however and softened like the more languid air. There is something hard, even cruel perhaps, in the arid Deccan plain with its burning dry winds and its stony hill-sides, and its stern, thrifty, self-centred people. Its asceticism is harsh and rough, the sour ferment, as it were, of crude souls in fear of a fierce Deity, looking by abnegation to secure the grace that alone can give salvation. The spirit is that, almost, of a Hindu Calvinism; savagely abnegatory. A softer piety, as of some Italian nunnery among roses and olive trees over the blue sea, inspires the womanhood of Bengal. They have a devotion no less intense, their service and self-sacrifice is no smaller; but they are also filled with the pity that assuages and the love that makes things sweeter. To be kind and tender in a world which with all its evil and pain, is pervaded by a loving and merciful Providence, such is the spirit in which they render service. The large houses of Bengal, embowered in trees, have a claustral peace as well as labour. In general among the middle classes of Bengal, women practise a seclusion that is however, not too rigid. It is a seclusion like that of classic Athens, not savagely jealous as it still is in many Rajput houses. But with the renaissance that in the last fifty years has so greatly altered life in this great province, many have learnt to discard orthodoxy and with it the tradi-

tional restrictions. At Benares, especially, many a Bengal lady can be seen walking openly to the temples and the sacred river. Always she bears a perfect courtesy and a rounded balanced dignity. Of the newer school, too many perhaps have aspirations gleaned from the lighter English novels which they eagerly read—dreams for whose passage the ivory gates of Hinduism were never meant to open. But deep in the hearts of all—far deeper than such fashions—are the images Sita and of Sakuntala. Some play tennis—and ride, some there are who return from English schools and the smarter section of London society with the gossip of Ranelagh or the bridge club and a wider taste for amusement. But there are none who discard the tenderness and soft devotion of their native womanhood. Nowhere in India have there been so many marriages between English and Indian; nowhere have they been more successful. The number of women really educated, appreciative of art and literature, a few even themselves poets and writers, is out of all comparison large; and the artistic rebirth in Bengal must to some extent have been shaped by the influence of women's grace on the social world. Without departing from the prescribed fields of service and abnegation, they take their part in every important movement—sometimes perhaps, unwisely. But at times they have brought untold benefit by their acts. So a few years ago did the brave girl who by sacrifice of her own life slew [alas! if this were true] a great social evil—the purchase of men at the price of ruinous dowries. It must at last be conceded that the women of Bengal, descendant from mixed races but long since truly Indian, have clothed the sacerdotal idea in vestment of soft and womanly grace."

Other types, the Nairs, for instance, receive high praise. The Census report describes them as the most beautiful women in India, and 'seldom in any country can there have been a womanhood that has received such universal eulogy.' The Marhatta lady is 'intelligent if quiet, winning though—a trifle austere, grave and refined.... There is something in her always that is virginal. She goes through life as if unconscious of evil or at least as one deliberately and finely passing by with eyes unnoticing.' The Rajput women of Kathiawad and Cutch deserve some special mention, both by their beauty and their exceptional cleverness. Beautiful they are above all other women of India except only in Kashmir..... The high bred Mussalman lady receives the homage of the author along with the rest. The Parsi woman, on the other hand, according to our author, has been 'greeted by an amount of praise from European writers which though intelligible, is yet almost extravagant.' They base their standards too largely on wealth, and have suffered from the excessive imitation of English habits or what are considered to be such, and the enormous consumption of English novels. The emotional values of sweet and disciplined womanhood are unknown to them and 'alone of all the peoples of India among them the reproachful name of 'old maid' may be used... they have to suffer from the growing probability of a lifelong spinsterhood. Only too many will have to face the final misfortune of a wasted and infructuous life." But the highest praise of the author is reserved for the women of the Nagar Brahman caste. 'Very beautiful are the Nagar women'..... "the Nagar woman presents a picture that remains unforgotten.... One meets them so at times in Ahmedabad or Baroda."

in the houses of the highest officials, clever, well-read, well-bred, with perfect manners and astounding beauty, like some memory of the Italian Renaissance, taking no small part in the establishment of an urbane and liberal society, and like the *doune* of Boccaccio they return to their homes to serve and cherish their husbands..... And of love they can repeat the whole gamut..... For a higher social life, with heightened enjoyments and a rational freedom, for self-development and wider interests, yet well within the limits that nature prescribes for woman, distinct from the far other limits set to man by his divergent functions, for a life that has something in it of Greece as well as the main ideals of Hinduism, the Nagar woman, for all the illiberal asceticism of the Brahman tradition, may emphatically stand."

Truly does the author write of the aboriginal classes: "Civilization, if it comes to the Bhil from the East, brings with it child-marriage and Brahman law and caste degradation; if from the West, it brings the factory and the industrial slum. Drunken and thriftless, oppressed by customs which he cannot understand, he finds himself submerged in the lowest proletariat, exploited and despised. Can civilization give anything to the Bhil better than what he has?—ease and liberty!"

The chapter on the dancing girl is in one sense one of the best in the whole book. The author is well versed in the technique of the art, and describes it with a nice precision, and knows the distinctions between the northern and southern styles (the Delhi school and the Tanjore school), and also points out certain defects, "which could be removable if the players and public had a finer sense of artistic purpose. The women themselves are too often of little education, illiterate, with their tastes uncultivated. A good voice and some natural grace, with training only in technique, may make a pleasing enough dancer but cannot produce an artist. For any excellent attainment a higher cultivation is required..... But worst of all by far is that lack of artistic sensibility, general in modern India, which is satisfied by the tricks of virtuosity and has no recognition of sincerity and deeper beauty." The author puts in a vigorous plea for the preservation of the Southern school of dancing. Even those who are disposed to disagree from the author would like to know what he has to say on the subject, and we make no apology for the following long quotation: "..... dancing remains the most living and developed of all existing Indian arts. In the Peninsular school above all, India has a possession of very real merit, on which no appreciation or encouragement can be thrown away. It is something of which the country can well be proud, almost the only thing left, perhaps, in the general death-like slumber of all imaginative work, which still has a true emotional response and value. It sends its call to a people's soul; it is alive and forceful."

"All the more tragic is it, a very tragedy of irony, that the dance—the one really Indian art that remains—has been, by some curious perversion of reasoning, made the special object of attack by an advanced and reforming section of Indian publicists. They have chosen to do so on the score of morality—not that they allege the songs and dances to be immoral, if such these could be, but that they say the dancers are. Of the dancers themselves no such allegation could, even by the wildest imagination,

possibly be made. The songs are pure beside the ordinary verses of a comic opera, not to mention a music-hall in the capital of European Civilization, Paris. The dancing is graceful and decorous, carefully draped and restrained. But the dancers, it is true, do not as a rule preserve that strict code of chastity which is exacted from the marrying woman. How the stringency or laxity of observance of this code by a performer can possibly affect the emotional and even national value of her art and performance has not been and cannot be explained. Art cannot be smirched by the sins of its followers; the flaws in the crystal goblet do not hurt the flavour of the wine.....

"Modern opponents of dancing, however..... have already done much to degrade the profession and are gradually forcing girls, who would formerly have earned a decent competence with independence and an artists' pride, into a shameful traffic from very want. Day by day the number of those women is growing less who alone preserve the memory of a fine Indian Art.....

"..... The theatre and music, painting and poetry, by their stimulation purge the soul of those emotions which, unrelieved, would sour and make ill the spirit. In a state where man is bound hand and foot to a mechanical routine of wage-earning, he must seek through the excitement of his imagination that explosion of emotion followed by quiescence, by which the fermenting activities of his mind and body can alone find their needed relief. Among the agents that rouse this excitement and in turn satisfy it are to be ranked high the rhythm and music of the dance, with the spectacle of graceful limbs and pretty faces, of dresses such as are seen in dreams and jewelry rich beyond phantasy. Every man at some time in his life has woven his fairy tales of hope, and there is none so dull but has pictured a goddess to his fancy. Now the woman who toils in his house and shares his interests may be ever so tenderly loved and cared for but she is his own helpmate, of his own sturdy flesh and blood. Hardly—except perhaps for a space in the first blossoming of new love—can he clothe her familiar being with the robes and colours of his dreaming fancies. But in the trained actress with her artful graces and her aloofness, he sees one who responds to those secret aspirations, and gives them room to expand and calms and soothes them, till at last, the spectacle ended, and his mind reposed, he returns to his home in peace for the further routine of workaday existence.

"..... When existence is narrowed to routine and one day is like another, then indeed the soul must sometimes soar to an illusion of wild wind-driven liberty. Man has to guide his plough in the furrow; but not to look to the sky and its currents at the turning!—better death at once than such weariness. And it is the finer creative spirits, the men that think and produce, who are quickest crushed by the unbroken rule of abstinence. In India the general tone is brown, the light grey-brown of dusty plains and villages of sunbaked mud. The ritual of today is that of yesterday, and will be that of tomorrow. The same prayers, the same labours, the same plain food, the same simple house and furnishings. Simplicity, abstinence, repression, the rejection of all that is superfluous, these are the notes of ordinary life..... It produces on the whole a contented resignation, this

life with its austere simplicities and its overhanging haze of asceticism. But even then there are times when the self will out and the lulled nerves begin to stir and tingle and stab with a bitter pain. There is no social life as in France and upper-class England, where ladies of wit and reading, graceful, well-dressed, trained to charm and please, quicken the minds and respond to the sympathies of a wider circle, while at the same time imposing a fine code of manners and a tactful moderation. The wife devoted and affectionate as she is, must usually be first the *house-wife*, busied with a narrow routine, limited in experience, bounded by babies and the day's dinner. In most cases she is illiterate and she has few of the accomplishments which amuse and distract. . . . They [the *gunika*, corresponding to the *hetaira* of Athens] dress well and modestly, they know the arts of pleasing, and their success is in the main due to the contrast by which they transcend the ordinary woman and to the illusions they can give. They do not, therefore, merely fulfil a need but also represent an ideal. Even apart from their art and its high imaginative value, as almost the only living art in India, they respond in a larger sense to a real need of society. To stifle a class of women, living their own lives in independence, graceful, accomplished, often clever, to degrade them, to make them outcasts and force them into shameful byways, is not merely to sin against charity, it is also a blunder against life.

"The existence of such a class, regarded in the light of ultimate truths, may fall far short of the perfect state. But the remedy in any country lies not in their repression and degradation, the most disastrous of all attempts. It lies in the freedom and education of the married woman. When the married woman also is freed from the oppression of narrow codes and the dull monotony of housework, when she too is able to be accomplished and graceful, witty and artistic, free to choose as she pleases and to be true to her nature, then no doubt the professional beauty must by the mere weight of facts become extinct. But what nation, what society, will risk the experiment? And what conditions can make it possible? This at least is clear that where a rigid matrimonial system supported by all the sanctions of religion and inspired by a tradition of asceticism, is fast entrenched and fortified, where woman is limited and narrowed to the duties of a housekeeper or a mother, there the fulfilment of the deeper cravings of human emotion and the satisfaction of artistic sensibilities will depend upon a class that has in it much which is not ignoble."

Regarding woman's dress the author says in one place: "Their garments drape them in soft flowing lines falling in downward folds over the rounded contours of the body—draperies full of grace and restful. In Europe women still adhere to a deformity brought in by German barbarism in the dark ages. With curious appliances, they distort and misshape the middle of their bodies from quite early childhood till—the negation of all beauty—in place of a natural human figure appear two disjunct parts joined, as it were, mechanically by a tightened horizontal band." Elsewhere the author says, "Indian dress on the other hand has this in common with classic style, that it is simple in form and harmonious. It exacts no distortions or deformities. It veils the body but does not misrepresent it. Still less does it attempt to substitute a fictitious

natural line. But while the Indian mind like the classic Mediterranean peoples approves a natural simplicity of design, unlike the other, it delights in a profusion of extraneous ornament." The only exception in the author's opinion is the Moghul trousers which sit tight like gloves from the ankle to the knee which are ugly and repellent. "It would be difficult, even after a long reflection, to design a style of dress so unbecoming to a woman's gait and figure, so crudely frank, so hideously unsuggestive." "Shoes are not in general worn, The natural result is that the foot retains a beauty which can never be expected when it is cramped by constant pressure. . . . in the higher classes or among the womanhood whom caste preserves in a moderate seclusion, the foot is small, well-curved, and light. It is a thing of infinite fascination, tinted perhaps with the henna's pink, almost like a flower."

" There is no question that the niceties of personal cleanliness are followed in all ranks with a fine devotion which can be equalled only in the upper class of Europe. In some points they may put even those to shame. . . . the body is cleansed with water and made smooth like bronze with orpiment and tinged with henna and perfumed with the essence of flowers, till it is a mirror of purity, worthy of adornment and respect."

" The worth of a nation's womanhood can best be estimated by the completeness with which they fulfil the inspirations of love and its devotion. And judged by this standard, the higher types in India need fear no comparison. Whenever race and belief have combined to resist the mere negatives of ascetic teaching, there is a rich literature of love, there is a mastery of rapture, and with it the constant service of undying devotion."

"But it must be said that in no class does maternal affection arouse, as it should, that persistent and laborious effort to tend and educate, which is its worthy criterion. The Indian mother is lavish with her caresses and endearments, as in other moods she may fly into fits of uncontrolled anger. But, except for the lengthy period of nursing, sometimes three and ordinarily two years, to which she is willing to devote herself, she shows only too little of that continuous and intelligent care which is expected from a mother. Largely no doubt this is due to ignorance. She has not—one might with justice say she is not allowed to have—the knowledge which is needed to be a good mother. She is unaware of the most elementary requirements of sanitation and health. Worse still, she has not been trained to know the importance of compelling good habits and regular discipline in early childhood." There are few thoughtful and impartial Indians who would dispute the above.

The following contrasted pictures will at once be admitted as true on the Indian side by every Indian. Whether it is true on the European side also it is for Europeans to judge. But this must be said, that to hardly any Indian, will the European picture stand the ghost of a chance of being accepted in preference to the Indian. But let the author speak for himself:

"Again though she is usually an affectionate, she is not often an inspiring mother. She is probably at her best as she sees her children fed with the food she has cooked herself, giving to each the titbits that she can, looking lovingly to their comforts, herself waiting till all are done before she sits down to her own meal

This is the memory that lingers most in the Indian's mind as the man grows older and leans on retrospect. To most European children the remembrance that is dearest is that of his mother stooping over his cot to kiss him goodnight, radiant in beauty, clad in silks and laces, with the gleams of white shoulders and precious stones to set off the soft curves of her dear face, before she leaves for a dinner, a theatre, or a ball. He is proud of her looks, so transformed, and of her charm, proud that he belongs to a being so splendid and so wonderful. But to the Indian the picture that recurs is of ungrudging kindly service..... Certain it is that the Indian son, as he grows up, forbears ever to judge his mother."

"It is in the quality of social charm that the Indian woman is most lacking. For the man she loves she can command every grace. She can be coaxing, caressing, kind, gentle, tender, submissive, all in one. Even to a stranger, alone in her family as guest or dependent, she shows herself solicitous and kindly, with a pleasing quiet charm that comes from the heart. But she has not the habit of social entertainment or that special training, so much a matter of quickened intelligence, which is required to set general acquaintances at ease or to lead a conversation which should be at once comprehensive and light. She has no general coquetry and is often without that ease of manner and unconstrained grace of movement in a crowded room, which can hardly be acquired otherwise than by the habitual usage of good society. Society, it must be said, and social converse, had in India ceased to exist some fifteen hundred years ago. It does not happen that a company of men and women meet on easy terms for entertainment with the pleasures of light and familiar conversation, not learned, never, please heaven, didactic or instructive, but clever, witty, illumined by intuitions and swift generalizations, light of touch, and near to laughter. Nor is anything known of that innocent coquetry of well-bred womanhood, which seeks no particular stimulations but appeals for a general admiration, impersonally given to that fine-spirited, finely attractive being who is the last word in luxury and taste and womanly moderation."

"Only a century ago when the greatest of German thinkers, Hegel, wrote his 'Philosophy of History' he could with no little truth say that 'Indian culture had not attained to a recognition of freedom and inner morality' and could assert that in the Indian soul 'there was bound up an irrational imagination which attaches the moral value and character of men to an infinity of outward actions as empty in point of intellect as of feeling, and sets aside all respect for the welfare of men and even makes a duty of the cruellest and severest contravention of it.' Women of course in all countries are far more conservative than men and are more readily content to sink the needs of personality in a general level of unruffled action. Yet even among the women of India a new spirit of liberation from external limitations is becoming visible and an aspiration to an excellence that shall be from within. In spite of caste distinctions, in spite of the forced rigidity of the marriage system, in spite of all the mental unrest and error of the educated and the practical inertia of the unread, in spite of all this and much more, it would now be far from true to say of them as a whole, that they are unconscious of inward

freedom and inward law or are blind to the needs of human welfare in the conditions of human life.

"But this inner freedom and external amplitude need not be sought and will not be gained in the imitation of foreign manners and customs. Such imitation can never be anything but unnatural and inharmonious; and the castes which have tried it have not succeeded in avoiding evil consequences. A better way is to revert to the ancient ideals which still inspire all that is good in later practice. Dark ages of ignorance have pruned and pinched the older, freer spirit, by superstitions and absurd asceticisms and misinterpreted authorities..... Yet in the older, nobler days, the Indian women had a life larger by far and more rich in fulfilment. To regain this, which after all is still a living ideal, and to ennobel and enlarge it further through that Greek thought—that inspiring humanity and breath of happiness—which is the life-giving element of European science and civilisation, that were indeed an end worthy of a fine tradition. To cut away from the bonds of fears and artificialities and non-human hopes and terrors and seek only to be, wholly and fully, in the harmony of nature and function and sane development, preserving the eternal virtues of womanhood, and finely conscious of a proud tradition—by some such purpose surely might it be possible to secure safe continuity and social health while attaining a progressive and extended activity that should not be alien or discordant. But the timidity of crude asceticism must first be overcome. A generation must arise which can comprehend that self-control is not asceticism, far from it, but is found only when a free soul, governing itself by its own laws, seeks its own satisfaction and the development of all its functions in its free activities.....

"Most cruel and least defensible is the prejudice, common in all classes except the highest and not unknown even there, against the enjoyment of literature and art. Music is discountenanced, pictures are never seen, even reading and writing is thought unwomanly..... it should be plain how great is the national loss wrought by this empty deprivation. Of all the European countries, it is in France that women have most nearly attained that final excellence which both accords with the true tradition of Western life and is not out of harmony with their nature..... And further, Greek thought and an unbroken Roman tradition have kept alive in France the ideal of a temperate and steady fruition of a world that is made for mankind. In India conditions are different and there is no tradition of mixed society with an easy untrammelled exchange of ideas. Yet even within the limits of the family, it might be thought, the added enjoyment and the larger and finer interests that would be gained by some such acquaintance with books and music and paintings, and the nobler emotions thus won, should seem desirable to all who can think at all.....

In spite of all obstacles, due partly to the decay of older customs, partly also to imported confusions, it may be hoped that before long it will be admitted that every girl must be taught to read and write. And one may even hope that a higher education will ensue which, without slurring over a woman's earlier precocity and special talents, without ignoring her specific duties as wife and mother, without forgetting the peculiar needs and excellences of her mind and body, will in addition make her more liberal, better instruct-

ed, a worthier companion and a nobler inspiration. In India happily a girl is already allowed to know the facts of life and her emotions, are at least natural. But such an education as one foresees would teach her to know more clearly and with scientific truth how to be at once a pleasing and happy wife and a good mother. She, and through her the children whom she trains, would learn the evils of premature and too constantly recurring child-birth and how to avoid them easily. She would know also how to protect her family from uncleanly surroundings and unwholesome habits. She would not unlearn but rather be taught even

better the necessary arts of cooking and of sewing, the latter now in many cases almost unknown. But in addition she would also learn to appreciate the beauties of language and of craftsmanship, to hear and understand great poetry, and to feel her whole being thrill to a more glorious harmony in response to the call of the fine arts. She would still—like the Nair ladies of whom old Duarte Barbosa wrote—"hold it a great honour to please men." Yet she would please not merely by her passion and purity and service, but, keeping these, would also create a higher attraction of the spirit....."

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE IN SUKRA'S POLITICAL THEORY

SECTION 10.

STATE HOUSEKEEPING.

(a) *The Financial Gradation of Powers.*

In *Sukra-niti* states are conceived as belonging to different grades according to the amount of public revenues. The financial basis of Sukra's classification of the "powers" points once more to the importance that he attaches to the economic foundation of the states. The unit of currency, as usual, is the silver *karsa* (80 *ratis*; $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *tola*, e. g., of the modern rupee). The lowest rung in the hierarchy is represented by the state whose income ranges from 100,000 to 300,000 *karsas*. The ruler of such a state is known as *samanta* (I, 365-367).

The following schedule gives Sukra's idea of the powers, first class, second class and so forth, in terms of the "sinews of war":

| Designation of the State | Annual Revenues in Karsa |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Samanta | 100,000 to 300,000 |
| 2. Mandalika | 300,000 „ 1,000,000 |
| 3. Rajan | 1,000,000 „ 2,000,000 |
| 4. Maharaja | 2,000,000 „ 5,000,000 |
| 5. Svaraj | 5,000,000 „ 10,000,000 |
| 6. Samraj | 10,000,000 „ 100,000,000 |
| 7. Viraj | 100,000,000 „ 500,000,000 |
| 8. Sarva- bhauma | 500,000,000 and beyond. |

(I, 368-374.)

This last designation is further described as being the title of a ruler "to whom the earth with its seven islands is ever bound." The *sarvabhauma* is thus the *hwangti* of Chinese tradition and *dominus omnium* of medieval European political theory.

(b) *The Budget.*

The financial administration of each state, no matter what be its rank in the estimation of the world is in Sukra's arrangement, given over to two departments. The one is presided over by the *sumantra* (finance minister) and the other by the *amatya* (the minister of revenues or realizations) (II, 150-155, 168-173).

The function of the *sumantra* is to prepare the budget. The balance sheet indicating the assets and liabilities is framed by him. All information in regard to the amount of commodities laid by, the amount of debts, the total expenditure, and the surplus in both movables and immovables is furnished by his office (II, 204-206). The *amatya*, on the other hand, is responsible exclusively for the realization of revenues. He is in charge of the incomes, receipts and collection. He is to know each source of income and the amount realized under each head (207-214).

Nine sources of revenue are enumerated by way of illustration. These are; (1) *bhaga* (rent or tax from land), (2) *sulka* (duties on commerce), (3) *danda* (fines, realized by the state through its penal

authority), (4) *akristapachya* (i. e., what is received without cultivation or effort, e. g., nature's contribution), (5) *aranya* (forest produce), (6) *akara* (mineral wealth), (7) *nidhi* (deposited with the state as banker by citizens), (8) *asvamika* (unowned property, which escheats to the state), (9) *taskarahrita* (gotten back from thieves). The sources of income, as suggested by Sukra, will be discussed separately in a subsequent section. Here we are concerned only with the functions of the collector-general's office.

It may be pointed out that in its land revenue division, this bureau of public income is expected to know how many cities, villages and forests are there, the amount of land cultivated, and the area of cultivable or other land not under tillage. The state, of course, is interested principally in the revenue, but it must have on record the names of the persons who receive the rent (i. e., the middlemen, the revenue-"farmers") as well as of the actual cultivators, the proprietors or tenants who enjoy the remainder after paying off the rent. The *amatya's* bureau is necessarily the office for all statistical inquiries and cadastral survey investigations.

(c) *Items of Disbursements.*

The analysis of "public" consumption by Sukra might to a considerable extent be described as typical of the conditions of medieval European states. Under the feudal system, as Adam Smith explains it, warfare was not an expensive job, the administration of justice instead of being a charge upon the government's resources was a source of revenue, and three days' service before the harvest and three days' service after it on the part of the people was enough to maintain bridges, highways and other public works, but it would be misunderstanding the scope of the Sukra state if we were to regard it as in any way identical with the minimum-functioned states of theory or history. The functions of the state, as Sukra conceives it, are manifold (I, 145, 146, 149). His is a *Kultur-staat* which in addition to its numerous social and economic functions

is to "encourage with stipends and honorariums all those persons who are high in the arts and sciences" and also take "such steps as may advance the arts and sciences" (I, 740-741, II, 246-250). For certain purposes, therefore, the developmental functions which Leroy-Beaulieu in his *Traite de la science des finances* considers to be a chief factor in the increase of public expenditures in modern times are also to be recognized in the house-keeping of the Sukra state as responsible for the large revenues it demands of the *amatya*.

We need not, however, depend on a conjecture as to the amount of appropriations which *Sukra-niti* treats as necessary for the state's wants. Sukra himself furnishes us with two consumption schedules.

The first schedule gives us certain proportions of the different items of disbursement with reference to the total revenues. The unit is taken to be the *samanta* state with its 100,000 *karsa* income per year. The six main divisions are given below:—

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Gramapa or village officer (i. e. rural establishment) ... | $\frac{1}{32}$ th of the income |
| 2. Army ... | $\frac{3}{32}$ th " |
| 3. Charity ... | $\frac{1}{24}$ " |
| 4. Entertainment of the people ... | $\frac{1}{24}$ " |
| 5. Officers ... | $\frac{1}{24}$ " |
| 6. Civil List ... | $\frac{1}{24}$ " |

These six items make only $\frac{1}{8}$ ths or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the income. The balance is to be deposited in the treasury for the future contingencies. Half the revenues are thus recommended to be hoarded (I, 631-636).

It is to be observed that items 3 and 4 refer to the development of the people's welfare in diverse ways. Together they constitute $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the income, i. e., are equivalent to the charges of local government. Speaking from another angle, the developmental functions are to absorb as much of the public revenues as the civil list and the bureaucracy combined. The enormous military expenses cannot escape anyone's notice. The war-office is to consume one-fourth of the total receipts, which is actually half of the scheduled ap-

propriations. In other words, expenses on the army alone are equal to all the other five items of state expenditure put together.

The proportions suggested here are, however, different from the figures given by Sukra in another connection. There he gives details as to the military and civil establishment of the 100,000 *karsa* state. We are told that it should have 100 men in reserve, 300 infantry with guns, 60 cavalry, 3 chariots, 2 cannons, 10 camels, 2 elephants, 16 bulls, 6 clerks and 3 councillors (IV, vii, 47-52). The expenses of a state thus constituted are to be as follows:—

| Items | Expenses per month in <i>karsa</i> | Expenses per year in <i>karsa</i> |
|--|--|---|
| 1. Personal wants, enjoyments, charities, etc. ... | 1,500 | 18,000 |
| 2. 6 clerks ... | 100 | 1,200 |
| 3. 3 councillors ... | 300 | 3,600 |
| 4. Wife and children ... | 300 | 3,600 |
| 5. Men of letters, etc. ... | 200 | 2,400 |
| 6. Horse and foot ... | 4,000 | 48,000 |
| 7. Elephants, camels, bulls and firearms ... | 400 | 4,800 |
| 8. Savings ... | 1,500 | 18,000 |

(IV, vii, 53-58)

According to this schedule a little under $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the income is recommended for public hoarding and about $\frac{1}{2}$ is the appropriation for "preparedness," while the cultural and educational activities account for only $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the disbursements.

(d) *Principles of Public Expenditure.*

From the two schedules we can easily deduce Sukra's principles of public expenditure. These have, moreover, been explicitly stated by himself. The fundamental items of the state consumption are threefold: (1) the army, (2) the *rastra*, i.e., the land and the people, and (3) sacrifices (IV, ii, 3-6). It is declared, although with considerable hyperbole, that if *kosa* (treasure) be devoted to a fourth object, e.g., to self-enjoyment, wife and children, the result can only be hell in the life after death (7-8). The implication, of course, is that the civil list should be as small as

possible. Here also as in the schedules we must observe that the promotion of the people's cultural and other interests is definitely provided for in the second and third items.

The most important item here as elsewhere is the army. In the first schedule the cost of preparation for war is 25 per cent of the total revenues, and in the second it is recommended to be as high as 50 per cent, and naturally so. It is unnecessary to delve into the figures of the *Statesman's Year Book* for any year previous to the Great War (1914-1918) or since to examine as to how far Sukra's proportions approximate the military and naval budgets of the war lords of contemporary Europe, America and Japan. For this medieval Hindu financier is quite modern in concluding, like the American militarist, Stockton, in his *Peace Insurance*, that military preparedness is not only a bulwark against foreign aggression but also the best "insurance" against defeat. And, a nation that is insured against defeat is really insured against war. The burden of preparedness is, therefore, not a burden at all in the long run. Nay, it is conducive to national growth and prosperity. The army is "the root of treasure," says Sukra. It is because of the army that the *kosa* and the *rastra* prosper. It is also the army that leads to the annihilation of the enemy (IV, ii, 28-29). Expenditure on the army is, therefore, "productive" in every sense (IV, vii, 8-16). "Daily preparation for war" being, again, a postulate of Sukra-niti (I, 641, 652) we can realize the importance attached to state hoarding as one of its maxims of public expenditure. We have noticed that Sukra in one instance recommends 50 per cent of the revenues to be deposited in the treasury as regular surplus, and in another instance he recommends about $\frac{1}{2}$ th or 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the same purpose. As a general principle he throws out the suggestion, again, that the reserve should always be large enough to "maintain the army and the people for twenty years without fines, land revenues and duties" (IV, ii, 25-27). Students of Prussian finance are aware that this theory of *niti* philosophy

in regard to a "war-chest" was a dominant idea with Frederick the Great and all his successors down to the last of the Hohenzollerns. Nay, although condemned by English and French economists of to-day, Sukra's principle of hoarding was universally practised in classical and medieval Europe until so late as Henry VIII of England and Henry IV of France. And so far as pure theory is concerned, Sukra is in good company not only with the German finance-scientists of the present generation but also with Bodin (1530—1596) who in the chapter on finance in his *Les six livres de la republique* (VI, ii) recommended a "reserve" of *fonds aux finances* especially in the form of munitions, arms and other implements of war. A system of finance is not necessarily primitive or distinctively "Oriental" simply because it provides for a reserve fund "against the rainy day."

In regard to this hoarding, Sukra advises the statesmen to lay by not only grains of approved qualities (IV, ii, 50—59), but also medicinal herbs, minerals, timber, fodder, arms, weapons, gunpowder, vessels and clothings (60-63). It has been pointed out also in another connection that the tools and implements for the use of artists and craftsmen should be preserved by the state (IV, iv, 85—87).

(e) *The Revenues.*

In examining the sources of government income enumerated in *Sukra-niti*, it would not be proper to have before us the standard of scientific classifications attempted by Rau, Leroy-Beaulieu, Bastable, or Plehn. Nor are we to expect in it the logical analysis of public revenues by Adam Smith (1776) which in its twofold division as income from government property, whether in stocks, i.e., capital or in land and income from the compulsory charges on the people's revenues continues to serve as the theoretical basis of contemporary British finance, classified as it is into the economic or quasi-private, i.e., non-tax revenues and those derived from taxation.

A fairer *point d'appui* for comparison would be that furnished by the French political philosopher of the sixteenth century, Jean Bodin. The *nerfs de la*

republique are, according to him, derived from seven sources. There are (1) landed domain, which is considered to be *le plus honnete* and *le plus sur*, (2) conquests from enemies, (3) gifts from friends, (4) *pensions*, tributes from subject peoples, (5) public traffic, i.e., government commerce, (6) customs duties, and (7) taxes, which, however, are to be levied only under conditions of *neccesite urgente*. It will be noticed that items 2, 3, and 4, although casual sources of income even to a modern state, do not figure at all in any scheme of civilized finance at the present day. Nor can public traffic be regarded as having been an important source since the beginning of the nineteenth century, although as "profits" of trade and "interest" on loan, it certainly figures in Adam Smith's Class I, and as such may still be counted among the "economic" or non-tax revenues of a modern government. In regard to 1 and 7, modern financial theory, especially in England, France and the United States, is the exact opposite of Bodin's position; for the "domain" is virtually *nil* or in any event at a discount in the modern world except in German theory and practice, the most important source of public revenue everywhere being taxation. Bodin's sixth item is, however, valid still; but, he himself did not understand that customs duties are ultimately paid by the home consumers, i.e., are "indirect" taxes. We shall see that although Sukra does not exhibit the logical keenness of the moderns in the matter of classification, his system is more akin to that of the present theorists than to that of the French sociologist who wrote on the eve of the "modern" epoch.

In connection with the *amatya's* (revenue minister's) office, we noticed that nine sources of government income are enumerated by Sukra (II, 207-214). Of these sources four, viz., nature's gifts, deposits, unclaimed property, and goods realized from thieves, although they must figure in the balance sheet of a budget, are by no means to be counted upon as substantial feeders of the public exchequer. *Sukra-niti* furnishes, however, another list where we get not only the "subjects"

of finance, but also the rates at which those subjects are charged. These revenue-yielding resources may be enumerated as ten.

The first source of public revenues is *sulka* or duty, both customs and excise. It is to be collected at the market-places, streets and mines. The rate is normally $\frac{1}{2}$ nd, but it may rise as high as $\frac{1}{3}$ th or even $\frac{1}{10}$ th. It is to be realized only once either from the buyer or from the seller. If the seller has to part with the commodity at a loss, no duty is to be paid by him. In that event the buyer has to pay it (IV,ii, 212-219). A *sulka* is an *Aufwand-steuer* or tax on consumption, and might appropriately be called an "indirect" tax. Were it not for the prevailing trend in the economic thought of today which, on considerations of *Ueberwälzung* or shifting, proposes to ignore the old distinction between "direct" and "indirect" taxation. Sukra's rates from $3\frac{1}{8}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. will be found to be quite moderate compared with those in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, or the Roman *portoria* and the British duties.

The second item is land revenue. The rates are different for different kinds of soils. From lands irrigated by canals, wells or tanks, the government's demand is $\frac{1}{3}$, from those irrigated by rains it is $\frac{1}{4}$ th and from those by rivers it is $\frac{1}{2}$, while from barren and rocky soils, it is to be as low as $\frac{1}{10}$ th (227-230). The principle is obvious. The highest rate, viz., 50 per cent is demanded of those lands where cultivation is certain, e.g., under river irrigation. Where rain or "monsoon" is the source of moisture agriculture is precarious and uncertain. Hence, the very low rate of Government demand, viz., 25 per cent. But where the tanks and other artificial water supplies irrigate the soils, cultivation is difficult and expensive, although certain. The rate in this instance is, therefore, midway between the two, i.e., $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

The land revenue administration in Sukra's state is thoroughly centralized. He suggests two modes of realization; either the revenues may be "farmed" out to one rich man in the village, who is to advance the entire amount to the govern-

ment or, to suit his convenience, guarantee the payment in monthly or periodical instalments (248-250). Or, revenue collectors may be appointed by the state who are to be officers of the government for the purpose of realizing the dues from the cultivators. They are to receive salary at the rate of $\frac{1}{10}$ th, $\frac{1}{12}$ th, $\frac{1}{8}$ th or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the government's revenues in the specified areas (251-252).

The land revenue of the village is "assessed" or determined by the government itself (248). In the matter of assessment, however, the principle of equity is to be observed. The rates are to be fixed after ascertaining the "amount of produce." These amounts may, generally speaking, be of three grades—great, middling, or small, corresponding, say, to the three kinds of soil discussed above (220-221). In order to protect the peasant from "rackrent" a further economic maxim is laid down for the *sumantra* and *amatya*'s consideration. It consists in the generalization (224-226) that no matter whether the actual yields of land be great, middling or small, only such cultivation is to be regarded as successful from which the net return is double the expenditure (including the government demand). Sukra seems to direct the attention of the assessment officer and collector to the fact that, whatever be the amounts of produce and whatever the scheduled rates of government revenue, the peasant must be assured of an earning which is at least twice the expenditure. The principle of an assured profit (236) is apparent also in the ruling in regard to new lands brought under tillage (242-244). It is only by observing such a standard of "successful" agriculture that the cultivator can be saved from destruction (222-223).

While noticing these principles of revenue settlement and collection we must not ignore the consideration that howsoever solicitous Sukra may be in regard to the welfare of the agricultural classes, he is silent as to whether they are to have any part in the administration of their own interests. It is of "good government" that *Sukra-niti* is an apostle here, not of self-government. We do not notice

in it any reference to the so-called village-communities or other rural institutions as corporate organs of "public law." Besides, the land tenure that is suggested by Sukra is thoroughly individualistic. Each cultivator is to have for himself the deed of rent or tax bearing the government seal (247). Neither the *Mir* or "communal" system of land-ownership, nor the *soviet*, *sabha* or *panchayat*, i.e., the folk-assembly of the peasants is, therefore, to be detected in Sukra's *niti* philosophy,—although as facts of *Realpolitik* in Indian economic and constitutional history, both these phenomena are abundantly in evidence. Possibly *Sukra-niti* represents those stages in Hindu political evolution during which, as in the *ancien regime* of France under the all-interfering control of *intendents* organized by Richelieu, the democratic units of local *svarajā* (self-rule) were reduced to impotence if not to nullity through the "nationalizing" or "consolidating" achievements of *sarva-bhaumas* ("world-rulers"), whose gospel may have been not unlike Louis XIV's *l'état c'est moi*. And this circumstance should furnish a hint as to the probable date and territory which account for certain sections of the treatise. [But see section 6 (b)].

Sukra evidently considers the land revenue to be a "direct tax" paid by the peasant proprietors out of their private revenues. For, the cultivators of the Sukra state cannot by any means be described as *ryots*, i.e., tenants holding estates on terms imposed by a landlord. They are themselves the proprietors of their own holdings. In other words, in *Sukra-niti*, curiously enough, we do not have indications of *ager publicus*, *domaine*, or crown-land, which should be regarded as state, "public" or national property. This is all the more noteworthy since the tendency of fiscal thought and practice in the ancient and medieval world was to "nationalize" this "chief agent of production." Not only Bodin appreciates the landed domain as the "most just and certain" source of public revenues, but Adam Smith also regards it as a "fund of more stable and permanent nature" than government property in capital. And not only in Greece,

Italy and the early European states, but also in the Germanic Kingdoms of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the rulers were, strictly speaking, landowners and landlords. In all these instances the government's realizations were tantamount to crown-rent, an economic entity, and could not be described by the political category of a tax. Readers of treatises on *Finanzwissenschaft* by Cohn and Rau will be surprised to notice the silence of Sukra, monarchistic as he is, in regard to the state ownership of land, a doctrine which has not lost its force even in contemporary political thinking, e.g., among the German philosophies of hereditary kingship.

The third source of government income in *Sukra-niti* is the "royalty" on mining. Here, again, the author does not explicitly mention that the mines are "public" property. The settlement or valuation officer is first to inquire into the expenses of extraction and production and then determine the net worth of the yield. The rates are 50 per cent on gold, 33⅓ per cent on silver, 25 per cent on copper, 6¼ per cent on zinc and iron, 50 per cent on gems, glass and lead (233—235). Like the revenue from land, the income from minerals also is a tax, i.e., a levy on the private revenues of the people exacted by the political authority of the state.

The fourth item is grasses, timber, and forest produce generally. The rates may be 33⅓, 20, 14⅔, 10 or 5 per cent (237—238). The fifth item is animal husbandry or cattle-rearing. The rates are 12½ per cent of the "increase" of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes and horses, and 6¼ per cent of the milk of she-goats, she-buffaloes, and ewes (239—240).

The sixth subject is the working man. Compulsory labour for one day in the fortnight is the tax to be paid by artisans and craftsmen (241). The seventh subject is the money-lender or employer of loan-capital. The rate is the ⅓rd or 3⅓th per cent of the "increase," i.e., interest (255). The eighth item is the tax on houses and dwellings (256). The ninth item is the tax on the site for stalls used by shopkeepers (257). Lastly, there is the road-

cess to be paid for the preservation and repair of streets (253). It is to be noticed that although we have used percentages, Sukra mentions only proportions or fractions.

By these ten heads of income the state is in a position to tap every resource of the people. No species of property is left untaxed. Land in every form, including forests and mines, houses and stalls for residence or for business, labor, sales and purchases, as well as capital,—no conceivable source of the citizen's income is to get scot free. To these we shall probably have to add an eleventh item, viz., fines inflicted by the courts of justice.

These then are the normal sources of income. It should be pointed out that Sukra, although an advocate of state intervention in industry and commerce, does not probably think of any state-conducted enterprise in those fields. At any rate, excepting a slight hint (IV, ii, 37), we do not read of government trade or government loans as sources of economic or quasi-private revenues. Nor even does *Sukra-niti* know anything about state monopolies, e.g., in salt. Altogether the conclusion is forced upon us that all the revenues that Sukra contemplates for his state are derived by taxation, and that there are no non-tax revenues in the fiscal theory of *Sukra-niti* (but see *infra*), although the division of income into *sahajika* and *adhika* (II, 659-664) would tend to negative this conclusion.

In addition to the normal sources of income we have some sort of an emergency collection in Sukra's thought. For war purposes, or for other extraordinary contingencies, we are told, the usual rates may be enhanced all along the line. Even holy places and properties consecrated to the gods, which are untouchable in peace times, may be conscripted under the war-budget (17-18). "Special grants" also may be levied from the people (19-20), and the last safety-valve, it is suggested, is the loan from wealthy classes, which, however, must be redeemed with interest (21-22). As Sukra has been able to conceive the mobilization of credit and the institution of "national debt" for revenue purposes,

one wonders as to why he should lay such store by the "war-chest." Possibly in order to make assurance doubly sure, state-hoarding is regarded by philosophers who, like German and Japanese statesmen, are obsessed by the notion of self-defense against foreign aggression, as a second string to the bow of sound war-finance.

For some of the historically authentic rates of revenue in the Indian fiscal systems and for comparison with the figures of ancient and medieval European revenues see the Chapter on "The Public Finance of Hindu Empires" (in the author's forthcoming *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*), which is totally distinct in scope and method from the present essay. Cf., in this connection, the section of revenues in the Ibn Khaldoun's *Mokaddimah*, N. P. Aghnides' *Mohammedan Theories of Finance* (N. Y., 1916), Brissaud's *History of French Public Law* (Garner's transl., Boston, 1915), Dowell's *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England* (London, 1884), Ramsay and Lenczner's *Roman Antiquities* (London, 1898), Schoemann's *Antiquities of Greece* (London, 1880), E. R. A. Seligman's *Shifting and Incidence of Taxation* (New York, 1902).

(f) Principles of Taxation.

Bodin's term *les nerfs de la republique* is an expressive and quite characteristic description of the national finances. But for certain purposes, although restricted in import, the phrase "sinews of war" is a more emphatic expression. Sukra's definition of *kosa* (treasure) as "the root of the army" (IV, ii, 28) conveys an identical significance. He approaches the problem of finance as a militarist, i. e., from the point of view of the state as a fighting machine.

We have examined the legitimate revenues derived by regular taxation and have noticed that Sukra is prepared also by law to enhance the rates, float "war-loans," and devise new "subjects" to be taxed for extraordinary circumstances. It is now necessary to add that in order to replenish an exhausted treasury, Sukra's statesmen are not to shrink from employing questionable methods of public finance. The funds are to be collected, by hook or by crook, as we read (IV, ii, 3-4). The ethics of practical financing is, therefore, ready to announce that the ruler who takes away the wealth of the undeserving is not a sinner (12). Further, in the spirit of Aristotle, legitimizing the per-

petration of robbery in "barbarian" territories, we have *Sukraniti's* dictum that "one should take away by craft, or force, or robbery, the wealth of the ruler who is addicted to immoral ways of life and also from other kingdoms" (13-14). But, of course, the financier is warned against forsaking the principles of justice, civilization and humanity while dealing with his own race (15-16). In this "double morality," advocated as it is by Sukra as by Aristotle, we should perhaps detect the prototype of modern international duplicity, which justifies the spoliation, exploitation and strangling of "backward" races by their "natural" masters, while at the same time it is anxious to promote the growth of democracy, fairplay and equity among the "superior" races themselves. We may then take it that the "robbing of other's wealth" is no mean virtue in statecraft in Sukra's theory of public finance (V, 67-68).

This undoubtedly is a "non-tax" revenue, and we must, therefore, have to modify our general proposition enunciated above that *Sukra-niti* does not know of any non-tax revenues [Vide sec. 3 (b)]. We should also count the second non-tax revenue in the "tribute" which Sukra expects from conquered enemies. In his estimation indeed a state which does not have recourse to any other source except the wealth of the tribute-paying enemies is certainly the most enviable (IV, ii, 35-36). This item may be compared to Bodin's conquests from enemies and *pensions* from subject peoples. Further, we shall not be justified in ignoring a third non-tax revenue contemplated by Sukra. It is quite conceivable to him that a state may adopt the practices of a Vaisya, e. g., cattle-raising, farming, banking, etc., for its revenues. This item, which is the regular "economic or quasi-private" income of a government and which is identical with Bodin's public traffic" is, however, appraised by Sukra as of a rather derogatory character (37).

Although Sukra can find a place for expropriation of inferior races, tributes

or indemnities from vanquished enemies, and commercial transactions, and even for exactions from holy places (38) in a scheme of national finances he is inclined to regard them as not very dependable ways and means for state house-keeping. The fundamental sources of public income are, as we have seen, the compulsory charges which the *prajā* pay to the *saptāṅga* organism in its character as a sovereign corporation. His principles of taxation, therefore, deserve our scrutiny.

In the first place, Sukra does not consider any class to be privileged. No one is exempt from taxation. The ruler "should enjoy fruits everywhere" (259). We have seen that he has provided for levying a contribution on every form of earning whether from land, from labor, or from capital.

In the second place, the elementary principle that the levies are to be realized as soon as they are due, has not been ignored. The land revenues, wages, duties, interest, fines, etc., are to be collected "without delay" (245-246), i. e., as soon as "they become ripe," in the Kautilyan language.

In the third place, likewise, is the principle of certainty too obvious to be overlooked. Sukra's tax-collectors are to go by definite deeds and documents with tabulated tariffs in regard to each species of property.

Fourthly, an important principle is enunciated which is of profound significance to the economic interests of the taxpayers. Sukra would see to it that the standard of living and efficiency of the *rastra* be not jeopardized by any reckless scheme of "fleecing." He is an advocate of the maxim of a minimum profit. No matter whether it is an excise on sale or purchase (218-219), or a tax on the cultivation by peasants (236), the settlement officer is to exempt a certain amount of earnings from the government's demand. In regard to agriculture, this amount is determined by the rule that the "profits of the peasant must be double the expenditure" (224-226). In regard to new lands cultivated or improvements effected by the

excavation of canals, tanks and wells, we are likewise told that the government must not demand anything until twice the expenditure has been realized by the peasant (243-244). The same rate of exemption from a tax is recommended also in the case of industries newly undertaken by the people (242). In this two instances the principle for "protection" for "young industry" is evidently at work.

The principle of an assured profit is graphically stated by Sukra with special reference to land-tax in the following terms: the revenue is to be "realized in the fashion of the weaver of the garland and not of the charcoal merchant" (223). The coal merchant sets fire to the woods in order to make charcoal and thus destroys the property. But the weaver of garlands plucks from the trees only those flowers which are full blown and preserves the rest as well as the plants for future use. Only when the financier follows such a principle can the taxpayer be saved from ruin.

It would be observed finally that Sukra's maxim of the minimum earning is identical with that of the exempted rates of income in the modern theory of "graduated" taxation. Possibly we should notice a hint of this idea of graduation in the statement in *Sukra-niti* that "subjects whose wealth is little should be maintained, but the rich men whose wealth is excessive are to be denied this consideration" (41).

(g) *Currency and the Medium of Exchange.*

Does Sukra know of any "standard of value," or is he familiar with a "common denominator" by which all values are estimated? In other words, does his polity provide for the mechanism of "money"-economy?

Were we to go by one or two considerations we might almost have been tempted to conclude that the conception of money is absent in the *Sukra-niti*. For, when Sukra speaks of the revenues, his rates are quoted in proportions or fractions of the yield (IV, ii, 212-254). We are to presume that contributions are levied in kind and not in money, although, of course, the ex-

cise, the house-tax, the site-tax, and the road-cess, are sure to be raised in money. One of the suggested schedules of public expenditure is likewise given in proportions which may be converted into percentages (I, 631-635). The tariff of wages is not, as a rule, described in figures. Where the subject is discussed in terms of necessities, comforts and luxuries of life (II, 791-835), the question of prices has automatically been avoided, and instead of a money wage we are presented with the ideas of "real wage". And, where figures are given at all, as in the instance of jewellers (IV, v, 653-659), or of musical troupes (IV, v, 606-609), we have once more the proportions. The same remarks apply to profits of business and interest on loan-capital (IV, v, 628-632). In all these valuation, however, there is nothing in Sukra's thought to argue against the use of money.

Let us next consider the prices. The price of diamond is given in terms of the gold coin (IV, ii, 134-136). The prices of pearls are given in terms of diamond (IV, ii, 134-136). Thus while the idea of currency is quite manifest in the former instance, in the latter one might be led to suspect "barter." Again, emerald is priced in terms of ruby (IV, ii, 157), but topaz, corals, and sapphire in terms of gold (IV, ii, 159, 161). Further, we have pearls evaluated on the gold standard also (IV, ii, 166-170). But, the metals themselves are evaluated in terms of one another (IV, ii, 181-184). Evidently, although a common denominator is recognized, comparative valuation of the minerals in terms of themselves indicates *pari-passu* the exchange of goods for goods.

This double system is evident also very clearly in the quotation of prices of animals. The price of the cow is given in terms of the silver money (IV, ii, 188). But, the prices of the she-goat, the buffalo, and the camel are given in terms of the cow or of one another (189, 193, 198). The prices of other animals, however, are given in silver coin. The price of the horse of superior qualities is given in terms of the gold coin. (199-200).

In regard to other appraisals in *Sukra-niti* we are on thoroughly reliable ground. The financial gradation of states is calculated on the *karsa* (silver currency) basis (I, 568—574). It is on the same basis that the *grama* or rural jurisdiction is defined (I, 385—386). The penal code in describing stolen properties also employs the language of money (IV, v, 487). And lastly, the detailed list of disbursements that is suggested for the unit state is made out in terms of money (IV, vii, 47—58).

On the whole, we cannot conclude that Sukra's ideas of exchange are predominantly governed by the institution of a common and universally used medium. The medium is known and is in circulation, but it is apparently scarce. Under these conditions, money-values, i.e., prices of commodities are bound to be low, but a scandalous depreciation is prevented by the institution of barter which keeps their genuine worth high in terms of themselves. The barter, however, although a common practice, is modified by the recognition of a definite metallic standard of value. That is, although each commodity is a standard of appraisal for the others as in an exclusively barter-economy, the introduction of the gold and silver currency is not without its effect on prices.

With all these provisos we may then assert that the "legal tender" in Sukra's state is both gold and silver. For whenever he mentions exchange value in terms of currency he uses figures in gold or silver indifferently—a fact of bimetallism. The gold coin is known as *Subarna*, which is sixteen times the value of the silver coin called *karsaka* (IV, ii 138—139). It would appear that in Sukra's currency the face-value of the coins is identical with their weight-value. For, the comparative value of gold and silver as bullion or ingot is identical (VI, ii, 181). It is implied that the statesmen are not to place any restrictions on the market value of the precious metals affecting the exchange-rates in the currency. It is not, however, easy to conceive how the equation of identity between the "nominal" value and "intrinsic" value of coins can be maintained for any length of time, while the metals are exposed to the law of demand and supply in the open market.

It remains to add that the word for "money" in *Sukra-niti* is *drabya* (II, 712—713), which is distinguished from *dhana* or wealth (714).

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

Aux Soins American Express Co.
11, Rue Scribe, Paris, France.

JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION

COINCIDENT with this age of specialization in all industry is the movement to put all professions, likewise, on an efficiency basis, and to utilize for this purpose the best trained men, where a decade ago any layman could be put. This tendency is clearly illustrated in journalism, too. Until recently there were few men who did not think themselves qualified for the profession. All that was necessary was a slight knowledge of business, an indomitable spirit, and a few dollars with which to start a paper. To this very

day there are newspaper men who still believe that training for the newspaper profession is only a fad and not a necessity of the times. To this argument the late Joseph Pulitzer, founder of the New York "World" once declared:

"The shop idea is the one that used to prevail in the law and in medicine. Legal studies began by copying bills of costs for the lawyer—medical training by sweeping out a doctor's office. Now it is recognized that better results are obtained by starting with a systematic equipment in a professional school. Now the doctor begins only after he learns principles—the experience of others. He

then must work in a hospital to acquire the art of practically applying his theories. In journalism the newspapers are the instruments and the newspaper office the hospital, but the student must come to them knowing the principles and theories, if he is to succeed."

Since the time when Pulitzer made his first plea for professional schools for journalists, they have sprung up with amazing rapidity. Slowly it became recognized that the successful journalist is not he who with a haphazard education and great hopes, goes into the field, but he who is trained to think logically, to understand the significance of world events, and to express himself clearly on these. This ability to think clearly, to write fluently and to know basic facts, a college training gives to the prospective journalist a thoroughness which fits him for his profession just as a medical course fits a doctor for his practice.

For those who choose journalism as a profession there are no regrets. Infinite possibilities and rewards present themselves. The very opportunity of doing things, of being in the forefront of the world's activities, of occupying the front seat on every stage, of meeting the leaders and workers in every movement—these are prospects which few can resist. It is easy to say that there are few chances for financial success. The truth is that, comparatively, there is as great remuneration as in most other professions. And for the man of distinction there are sometimes greater gains. Salaries are liberal, work is perpetually interesting, and opportunities are numerous. The profession of the publicist leads to politics and civic prominence in many cases. Even the routine duties of the reporter bring him in contact with men in all walks of life, and his business ability is often recognized and put to use by these men. It has been said that the editorial office is the recruiting place for great commercial corporations which are continually requisitioning men in their offices. These then are the opportunities for those who wish to use journalism as a stepping stone to other work. For the man who

intends to devote his life to the profession, the prospects are equally bright, although the results are not as tangible. At the present time we are facing the hitherto unheard of phenomena of a universal education and a self-conscious world of understanding people. The little revolutions of the past were effected by a few leaders working upon an ignorant mass. Now the populace is becoming conscious of its powers and its potentialities. Now people are, more than ever before, beginning to understand their grievances and are making themselves heard. How to make this powerful mass act in an understanding and profitable manner is as much the duty of the newspaper and its workers as it is the duty of the schools. What the nature of society will be in 20 years from now depends upon the influences at work now to mold the minds of the younger generation of to-day. In the efforts of the men and women of to-day can be found the realizations of the men and women of to-morrow. These efforts for the good of society will reflect on the society of the future. The negligence of the workers of to-day will be the sufferings of to-morrow. The newspaper writer is burdened with the task of instilling in the minds of its readers the best and most beneficial thoughts, and this task of guiding the men and women of the future into channels of right thinking and right acting is the heaviest responsibility that can be undertaken. Public opinion as a moral and political force finds its expression in the press and the platform. A newspaper has the ability to drop the same thought in a thousand minds at the same moment. To see that this thought is a worthy one is the duty of the newspaper man or woman.

With such immense responsibilities the newspaper writer must be highly trained and well informed on every subject and progressive thought. He must have courage to write as he believes, and in time of danger must be strong enough to suffer for his beliefs. He must likewise be sincere and honest with his

readers and himself. He must realize the grave responsibility of his position and must put the best that is in him to be a worthy educator of the public. He must be accurate and conscientious, never letting himself descend to carelessness. He must be alert and willing, and above all, optimistic in his thought and action. He must have physical endurance to face the irregular hours and unusual circumstances in which he finds himself at times. He must have intelligence and understanding of people and a sense of values. He must be a good mixer—capable of easily gaining the confidence of those whom he meets.

On the cultural side he must be an animated encyclopedia. He must have a thorough knowledge of politics and history—of his own country as well as of the world. He must know the principles of law, must understand the basic principles of political economy, must be conversant in at least two languages and must be able to appreciate the finer things in life—art, music and literature. This knowledge the university will give him, if he is, but willing to learn.

In preparation for his profession the student in journalism is first required to complete the cultural work of the curriculum. This gives him a background for his special preparation. Instruction in journalism at the reputable universities includes a study of the English language, literature and composition. Next comes the instructions in the technical sciences, the work of the reporter and the editorial writer, the methods of gathering news, the technique of newspaper making, the general management of newspapers, the history of journalism together with courses in economics, sociology, psychology and political science. College work in journalism is accompanied by actual practice on papers published in the city in which the university is situated, or by work on the college publications.

There are at present about twenty universities which have departments or separate schools of journalism in the United States. Most of these are located in the states of the West and Middle West. In

all of these, although the presentation of the subject may vary, the fundamentals are the same throughout. A presentation of the courses of study of a few of these universities may be profitable.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Admission.

Admission to the College of Commerce and Journalism as a candidate for a degree is open to any person who has completed two full years of work in any college of the Ohio State University or the equivalent amount of work in any college of approved standing.

Courses.

Courses in the department of Journalism include instruction in news collecting and writing, newspaper history and comparative journalism, newspaper organization and practice, editorial writing and interpretation of news, newspaper ethics and principles, and newspaper law.

Candidates for admission are subject to examination and inquiry into the general intelligence, moral character and fitness for work in journalism. Pre-requisites are general knowledge of history, English Economics or Politics, Natural Science and French or German.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Admission.

Admission to the curriculum in journalism is restricted to persons who are candidates for a degree in the college of Literature, Science and the Arts.

In the selection of studies and the apportionment of hours two classes of students are taken into account. (a) Those who wish to pursue a general course and (b) Those who wish to fit themselves for a particular kind of writing or special department of a newspaper.

Courses.

Courses include instruction in the modern newspaper organization and methods, with practice in the preparation of news material; a study of the editorial policies of important papers, with practice in the writing of comments on current news; practical newspaper work in connection with one

of the student publications; a study of the critical principles as applied to literature with emphasis upon the writing of reviews for periodicals and newspapers.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

Admission.

The school of journalism in Columbia aims to train for and attract to the journalistic profession young men of character and ability and to help those already engaged in the profession to acquire higher moral and intellectual training.

Admission is granted to candidates who are at least 18 years of age at entrance. A certificate of good moral character must be presented before admission.

Courses.

The course consists of two years of collegiate work and two years of professional studies. The courses in the first year of journalistic work consist of:

- Practice Course in Special Writing
- Essentials in Newspaper Technique
- Social and Administrative Statistics
- The Modern World
- Political Writing
- Questions of Business and Finance
- Modern European Drama.

In the second year the curriculum embraces:

- Reporting and Interviewing
- Handling and Heading News Copy
- Editorial Writing
- Feature and Short Story Work
- History of Journalism
- Critical Writing
- Elements of Law
- International Relations.

The equipment and laboratory for journalism students are almost perfect. In the journalism building and library there are over 5000 books and 1000 volumes of bound newspapers. In the reading room are periodicals especially strong in sociology, economics and modern European literature. Newspapers from all over the world, numbering 100, daily, are on file, and in addition there are about 500,000 newspaper clippings. Actual work in journalism is done in connection with the publication of the college paper.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

Admission.

Admission to the school of journalism is granted to all students who have been regularly admitted and are following the course of study required for the degree of Bachelor of Journalism, and to special students who are unable to meet the requirements for admission as regular students and who are not candidates for degrees. Such students must be over 21 years of age.

Training is given both in the lecture room and on the staff of a newspaper in the city of Columbia, where the University is located. Students in some of the classes write the news and feature stories, students in other classes edit these stories and write the headlines, students in still other classes write the editorials and discuss questions of editorial policy.

Courses.

The curriculum in the school covers a wider range of subjects than in many other universities. In addition to the study of the methods of gathering news, of the work of press associations, the preparation of the editorial page, feature writing and newspaper law, there are also courses in the writing of advertisements for the papers, involving a study of the principles of advertising, special courses in agricultural journalism, with emphasis on the presentation of news for the agricultural press, and preparation of special articles for the newspaper in connection with illustrations, for which purpose cameras are used.

To supplement the work of the school a series of bulletins on special subjects in journalism are issued frequently. These are distributed among newspaper people already engaged in their profession as well as among the student body.

Expenses.

The cost of attending the University of Missouri is quite moderate. Tuition is free to residents of the state. Non-residents and others are required to pay \$15.00 a term, for the three terms into which the university year is divided. In addition there is also a laboratory fee of \$15.00

which includes library, hospital and incidental service. The total expenses for a year are, then, \$ 75.00.

To aid students who wish to earn part of their expenses the University maintains a free employment bureau. There are also numerous prize offers for proficiency in studies.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

Admission.

For admission to the classes in journalism at Kansas 30 hours of college credit are necessary, except in cases of unclassified or special students. The degree of A. B. is given to those who complete 120 hours of work in the college. No special degree is given in journalism outside of a certificate of work satisfactorily completed.

The department of journalism uses for its laboratory practice in the publication of the University publication, the *Daily Kansan*. The paper is completely under student control, with reporters, copy-readers, a business office and editorial room. The department is equipped with a printing outfit including three linotypes, a monotype, and book and news press.

The University paper, the "*Daily Kansan*," goes to press every day and five times a week and has a staff of about 50 sophomore reporters. The editorial staff is recruited partly from the class in interpretation of news and the class in editorial problems. The reporter has three hours of class work and six hours of laboratory work in each subject. If the course is a two hour one, there are four hours of actual work on the paper. The instructors are the general overseers of the staff of the "*Daily Kansan*" and guide and offer suggestions to the students whenever necessary.

Courses.

The courses cover the general range of subjects—writing and collecting of news, organization of the paper, comparative journalism, mechanics of the profession, interpretation of news, with study of politics and science of the present day. Special courses are also offered in advertising and in pictorial arrangement of

materials, in the business aspects of newspaper publishing, including the question of circulation, advertising rates, expenses of publishing, etc. For those interested in the mechanical side of the profession there are courses in the setting of type, judging qualities of paper, the graphic art of printing, and outlay.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

Courses in journalism here are given in conjunction with the departments of Commerce or of Liberal Arts, the first giving a degree of Bachelor of Commercial Science, and the other a degree of Bachelor of Science.

The courses include work in newspaper practice and writing, editorial writing, magazine and special feature work, literary and dramatic editing, and newspaper law. Courses in advertising, business management and the like are offered in the department of Commerce and Finance.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

The curriculum at the school of journalism at Wisconsin, aims to (1) familiarize the student with present social, political and industrial conditions in the light of their history and development, as well as with the literature of the present time in English and in other languages.

(2) Develop the power of the student to express his ideas on the subjects studied effectively and comprehensively.

(3) To give the student technical instruction and practice in the writing and editing of news.

A newspaper office with typewriters, files, indexes and reference books is maintained as a laboratory for work in journalism. Leading newspapers are kept on file, among them a large collection of foreign newspapers from the countries of Europe and Asia. These serve as a basis for the study of comparative journalism. For those interested in agricultural journalism a well equipped laboratory is provided in which are filed agricultural papers. Actual practice in agricultural journalism is afforded in connection with the official college publication of the College of Agriculture. For students in advertising, opportunities are

offered in the offices of the three dailies of Madison, Wisconsin, in which city the college is located. Theory is taught at the university, the subjects embraced being the psychological principles of advertising, retail and national advertising campaigns and the writing of advertising copy for newspapers and magazines.

Courses.

The courses cover:

General survey—including the character and scope of journalistic work in general and work on agricultural, technical and trade journals also.

The technique of printing, with machines, presses and printing devices from which to study.

Current political topics, and the law of the press, embracing libel, literary property, privileges.

Special articles, for the newspaper and the magazine, and agricultural journalism, with emphasis on the preparation of farm news, agricultural campaigns and the writing of feature articles for rural readers.

These are but a few of the subjects in the whole curriculum, in which are included all of the technical and cultural subjects necessary for the pursuit of the profession.

CONCLUSION.

The extraordinary events through which India is now passing demand now, more than ever before, that the young men of the country turn their efforts and their time to the service of their country. In politics, in social reform, in education, they should be the first and foremost. The regeneration of the country lies in the strength and the spirit with which the fresh blood of the country applies itself to the multitudinous tasks which lie before us if India is to become a world power. No better opportunity can be offered than this time for the progress and development of the country. For a great deal of this development the newspapers of the country—the molders of public opinion—are responsible. It is plainly the duty of every young Indian who is able to, to enter some profession of worth. For those who have the ability of expressing themselves, there is no better field than Journalism. The universities in America are anxious to have Indian students and the training they will give is of the best quality. For the young man of ambition there is an unlimited field for work in journalism, and every one who can leave India and come to study at an American university should take advantage of the opportunities that they offer.

MINNIE MILLER.

THE POSITION OF SHANTINIKETAN IN RELATION TO CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

By C. F. ANDREWS.

A VERY interesting and thoughtful article in the February number of the Modern Review, entitled "Student Unrest," calls for certain modifications with regard to some of its allusions to Shantiniketan.

The passage reads as follows: "Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan is a national college, but it has kept touch with the modern world by every year sending its highest form boys to the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta

University. Surely nobody can charge Rabindranath with encouraging the 'slave mentality.' In the education of our youth, you will miss the goal of perfect culture, if you revive the mediæval system of monastic seclusion and timid avoidance of the outer world. No: let our boys live and learn in touch with the broad, free and ever-moving modern world: do not confine them in a well. Make not your ashram a prison, just as some Government hostels,—as

types of the other extreme,—have been prisons. After passing the Matriculation of our so-called official University, the Shanti-Niketan boys read further in the ordinary colleges, and gain the highest education possible in India, and then many of them return to their Ashram as *fully qualified* workers. This is the right method: this is *true* national service." The modifications needed with regard to this statement are as follows:—The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, never liked the Calcutta Matriculation Examination. He felt, that his own pupils suffered much in his School from the atmosphere of text-books and cramming which Calcutta University had produced. He also regarded the University course of studies, in its two earlier years of the 'Intermediate,' as a 'somewhat soulless grind, which took the life out of his own students. But the evil nearer home affected him most. 'It spoilt the educational work in the upper classes of the School, and weakened the spirit of the school itself. Up to the second class, the boys remained natural and simple in their studies; but the two top classes,—the 'Matriculation Classes,'—were educationally value-less, if not positively harmful. For many years, the Poet had been trying to find a substitute. The only reason for continuing to allow the Matriculation in his school, was the obsession of the guardians and parents, that a degree in Calcutta University was a necessity in after life. I can state, from my own personal knowledge, that, year after year, he desired to abolish the examination from his school, feeling its dead-weight oppressing his own educational ideal. The Poet's own picture describing graphically what I have written may be found in his lecture, entitled 'The Centre of Indian Culture.'

About two years ago, Rabindranath Tagore finally determined to start a University of his own, called 'Vishwa-Bharati.' He has now done this, and Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Sastri, is its first Principal. Since the founding of this Vishwa-Bharati, it has been his wish, as soon as possible, to abolish entirely the Calcutta Matriculation Examination from his School, and to make his School organically one with this new Vishwa-Bharati. Some months ago, a request was sent to him for permission to abolish the Matriculation suggesting that the time was come to carry out his own wish. His reply was terse. It ran as follows:—"You ask my permission to abolish the Matriculation. Let it go. I have no love for it."

It had always been the unanimous desire of the Teachers, along with the Poet, to abolish the Matriculation from the School. It was, however, felt by some of them, last year, that it might be difficult to carry out the Poet's intention during his absence. They were afraid of a panic among the parents and guardians. But these fears have now been removed, and the decision has been arrived at, (with only one

dissentient vote), to abolish the Matriculation course from the School now, instead of waiting till the Poet's return in the autumn of this year.

I think I have made clear, that the question has been throughout *primarily* an educational one with us. We have all agreed, that both the preparation for the Calcutta Matriculation Examination, and its after-effects (as witnessed in the Intermediate Classes of the Calcutta Colleges) are educationally unsatisfactory. These are our main reasons for desiring its abolition.

I would add, that we have been in complete agreement with the Editor of the 'Modern Review' when he has pointed out the unfairness to parents and guardians, if no provision is made for those boys, whose guardians and parents have paid fees for many years, on the understanding that their boys would be prepared to appear for the Matriculation, and who are then told, at the last moment, (when there is no opportunity to prepare their boys elsewhere) that their boys will not be sent up. If this ever happened, it would certainly appear to me very like taking money under false pretences. We have decided at Shantiniketan, that, wherever an obligation of this kind could be clearly proved, it would have to be met; and arrangements would have to be made for preparing boys outside the School curriculum during the current year, whose *parents or guardians still desired that their boys should appear and could not make arrangements for them elsewhere*. It may very likely happen, that all our parents will be ready to allow their boys to read for our own Vishwa-Bharati, and thus release us from our own obligation. But if, in certain cases, the obligation still remains, it will be met.

Meanwhile, we have immediately set about the work of changing our curriculum; and we intend to give far more space for manual training than we were able to do before. I should explain, however, that, what was the heaviest burden of all, in previous days, was not so much the special subjects to be taught, as the atmosphere which the fever of examinations engendered. It was like a miasma; and boys, who were bright and intelligent up to the 3rd class, having a healthy contempt for all examinations, got buried in an intellectual fog during their last two years.

No one could wish more than the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, that his pupils should come out into the modern world, and not live in any 'medieval system of monastic seclusion.' But the Calcutta Examination has not appeared to us from our own experience always to lead out into that modern world,—which the writer in the 'Modern Review' has called "the broad, free and ever-moving modern world." It has more often seemed to bring our own students into a narrow atmosphere of text books,

and cram-books, and test papers, and what English boys vulgarly call 'cribs,' i. e., keys to exercises and translations.

I trust that I have not been unduly hard on Calcutta University, in what I have written above. I know how the Poet himself valued the research work, which has recently been initiated in the post-graduate University courses, and also the greatness of the teaching given by such a 'Doctor Mirabilis' as the recent University Professor of Philosophy, Dr. Brajendranath Seal. All this, I know well, he would have most

gladly acknowledged. But the Matriculation Examination itself, and the Intermediate classes, were a continual disappointment to him. It had thus become the Poet's wish, for many years past, to get rid of the Matriculation from his school, and I know how glad he will be, that his desire has been accomplished.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The recent abolition of the Matriculation Classes at Shantiniketan not having been publicly announced before now, our contributor could not be expected to know the fact.]

THE PLACE OF URDU IN THE INDIAN VERNACULARS

BY ABDUL MAJID, B.A., M.R.A.S.

IN view of the misconceptions and misunderstandings prevalent among a large section of our countrymen as well as outsiders regarding Urdu, or to use its modern appellation, Hindustani, it seems desirable on this occasion to make a brief statement of its claims. To associate it with the name of Sir Ashutosh, who has done so much to raise the status of the Indian Vernaculars is also in the fitness of the things. The *bonafides* of Urdu are impugned on the grounds of its linguistic inadequacy, the poverty of its literature, and defects of the script in which it is written. It would be well to say a few words with respect to the three charges separately.

(a) THE LANGUAGE.

Language may best be defined as the medium through which symbolical knowledge can be transmitted from one to another. It is the system of symbols by means of which it is possible for any human mind to be known to others. In education, its function is to symbolise ideas, concepts, feelings, and sentiments with as much convenience, precision, and clearness as possible, and the more a language satisfies this condition the nearer approach does it make to the ideal of perfection.

But what are the requisites of a perfect language. A little exercise of commonsense is enough to tell us that as regards their form the words must be—

1. easy to pronounce,
 2. easy to assume the derivative forms,
- and

3. easy to combine with other words.

As regards the function of symbolisation it is essential as has been pointed out by Mill, that

1. every general name should have a meaning, steadily fixed and precisely determined, and

2. there should be a name wherever one is needed, that is, wherever there is anything to be designated; the implication of the last pre-requisite being that there should be words for every sensation, every distinguishable degree of sensation, every thought, every feeling, in short, for every little nicety that human mind is capable of conceiving or feeling.

It is clear, however, that the above conditions cannot be fulfilled except by a highly developed language. The development of a language, depends in its turn, upon the mental development of the people who speak it,—is proportionate to the degree and extent of culture of the nation which expresses its mind through it. Those whose culture is of a high order necessarily require a language more developed than that of those who have not reached that stage of civilization. The language used by the latter is naturally poor and crude, not copious enough to respond to the high development of concepts and feelings possessed by an advanced community. Witness the linguistic poverty of the uncivilized and semi-civilized communities all over the world.

Now to the bearing of these observations on the merits of Urdu language. The origins

of Hindi are not definitely known to history. Yet from a consensus of opinion among eminent linguists it may be safely concluded that Hindi was originally a general name applied to the various primitive dialects of the Northern India in contradistinction to the Prakrits of the Eastern and the Western India. It is worthy of note that the language we now call Hindi was the language of the aborigines of India, and not an offshoot of Sanskrit. In fact it existed long before the advent of Sanskrit, co-existed with it, and has survived. The late Mr. Beames, who made a special study of the Indian Vernaculars, says :—

"Sanskrit was not intended for the people..... The local dialects held their own; they were anterior to Sanskrit, contemporary with it, and they finally survived it."

Dr. Fallon the eminent lexicographer has said in the preface to his Dictionary :—

"It seems far more probable that the rustic Hindi of to-day is the rustic Hindi, more or less changed, of the illiterate ancestors of illiterate millions now living."

Philological experience leads one to believe that in the course of time this Prakrit or Hindi, the most ancient language of the people of the country, assumed two forms. One form of it came in direct contact and fused with the numerous incoming languages of India. Before the advent of the British there had been the exodus of numerous peoples to India,—the Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Arabs, the Moghuls and the Afghans,—and all these peoples brought their own languages with them, none of which, however, was powerful enough to supplant the language of the land. A process of mutual influence, adoption and elimination, action and re-action, naturally ensued. One form of the old Prakrit freely imbibed these foreign influences,—Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Scythian, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian—the extent of influence in each case being largely determined by the length of sojourn that each people made in India. Mohammedan influence is thus inevitably seen to be the most dominant. This form of Prakrit is, in current parlance, the Hindustani or Urdu language.

The other form of Prakrit which was peculiar to the rustics and had thus fewer opportunities of being "contaminated" imbibed little of foreign influence, and even that little remained almost entirely confined to Sanskrit.

This "undefiled" and puristic form of Prakrit is now known as modern Hindi.

Urdu and Hindi are not, therefore, essentially different. Both of them spring from the same mother stock. Urdu chanced to adjust itself to the varying needs and conditions at each successive stage of its life and to draw for its nourishment upon various civilising sources. Hindi on the other hand, chose to remain pure and puristic. Of course no language can possibly remain absolutely pure and unaffected by external influences, yet speaking relatively it can be affirmed without doing an injustice, that Urdu is an engraftment on the original stem of Prakrit of the Sanskrit, Greek, Iranian, Arabic, Turkish and Persian influences, while Hindi represents the old and pure vernacular of Northern India with only an admixture of Sanskrit.

To sum up. The following propositions seem to the present writer incontrovertible :

1. In the pre-Aryan India numerous spoken languages were current to which the general name of Prakrit was given.

2. Sauraseni was the form of Prakrit spoken in Surasena, the country round Muthra.

3. The term 'Hindi' is a Persian word conveying two distinct meanings. In its wider sense, it was meant to cover all the dialects spoken in Hind (India). In its narrower sense, it denoted Sauraseni or that form of Prakrit which was the Northern *lingua franca* and with which the foreigners first came in contact.

4. This Hindi, in its stricter and narrower sense, the Northern common language of the masses came in the course of time to assume two different forms, one of which remained crude, coarse and poorly developed ; the other one freely imbibed foreign influences.

5. The former retains the old appellation 'Hindi' ; the latter came to be known as Urdu.

The conclusion is now obvious: Urdu having incorporated with it the quintessence of several cultures is more fitted as a medium of instruction, better equipped as a vehicle of literary expression, and more suited to the needs and requirements of civilisation than the less fortunate vernaculars of the land.

As a corollary to the above, the vocabulary of the Urdu language is seen to be enormous. Derivates of Iranian, Greek, Persian, Tur-

kish, Arabic and laterly of English also are found in it in overflowing numbers intermingled with words of Sanskrit and indigenous origins. This greatly facilitates the work of coining new technical terms. The Urdu writer on modern Western sciences can with perfect ease draw upon the vast resources of Arabic and Sanskrit, Persian and English, of course with due regard to the proprieties of adoption and in consonance with the genius of his own language.

Another distinctive merit of Hindustani language allied to its virtue of adaptability just hinted at, is its universality, in respect of which no Indian vernacular can even approach it. Mahratti in Kashmir, Gujrati in Behar, and Tamil in Oudh, would sound quite as foreign as Bantu; while Hindustani, as every one can testify by his own experience, can be understood throughout the length and breadth of India, in the remotest parts of the country,—nay even beyond it, in such places as Aden, Port Said and Malta. Other Indian vernaculars, one may be pardoned for holding and without meaning any disparagement to them, are at best provincial; Hindustani alone is *inter-provincial*. A very considerable portion of Hindustani is common to all the Indian vernaculars, and it is therefore that even the people of those provinces where Hindustani is not habitually used, do not find it absolutely foreign.

It may not be amiss at this juncture to cite the opinions of one or two well-informed European students of the Indian vernaculars, which might have the effect of further elucidating and confirming some of the conclusions arrived at above.

George Campbell, the author of "India As It Might Be," in the course of a long dissertation on the desirability of having a common educational medium for the country observes as follows :—

"Hindustani is commonly used by considerable classes throughout the whole country and is still more commonly understood. Even the Mohammedans whose immigration was infinitely larger than ours and who made Persian to a great extent the written business, have universally adopted Hindustani as their spoken language and the general language of India, infusing into it a great mass of Persian words as we may from time to time infuse into it English terms.

"Even to people who do not perfectly understand Hindustani, it is an infinitely easier task to pick up a language habitually used by many around them, and of which a very large portion is common to all the tongues of India than it would be to learn one which is utterly and totally foreign

"I would propose that in all the High Schools Hindustani should be the common language, the vernacular languages also being used so far as necessary. It is almost impossible to get on well without some common medium, and if as I believe the idea of making English general is out of the question, it must be a great object to render Hindustani as common as possible. There may be arguments in favour of Bengali in the province of which it is the proper vernacular, but in truth Hindustani is so commonly understood by all the classes.....that I do not think it would be desirable to make an exception."

Speaking in another connection the same writer has made the following remarks :—

"Hindustani being as I have said, a *lingua franca* throughout India, is common to all the higher and I may say to all the ambulatory classes (Sepoy, servants, &c.), to all Mohammedans and to all European residents and it has a peculiar principle of adaptation to a degree far beyond any other language of which I have ever heard. If a word cannot be easily and exactly translated into Hindustani, no periphrasis is attempted, —it is at once adopted, be it Persian, Arabic, Portuguese or English and it is wonderful how convenient and useful the practice is. We can use Hindustani for anything."

M. Garcin de Tasse, the renowned French scholar, delivered an address on Indian languages at the Imperial Special School of Oriental Languages (Paris) on December 9th, 1869. Some pertinent observations from his Address would bear repetition after the lapse of half a century :—

"Urdu has taken throughout India the same position as French has done in Europe ; it is a language most in use ; it is employed both at the Court and in the city ; literary men compose their works in it, and musical writers their songs, and it is a medium of conversation with Europeans." "It is said that Urdu is not everywhere understood by the Hindu population, but this is the case with all the languages in general use in a country ; thus the Breton peasants, whether Provencals or Alsations do not understand French, but should this be a reason for ceasing to employ it at the law courts and Government Offices of the provinces".

"Urdu is understood in all the towns and in every village throughout India notwithstanding that many other dialects may be spoken there, and it is the sole language employed in the N. W. P. and Oudh. It is not only confined to the four corners of India but is understood in Baluchistan and other countries adjacent to the Indian Empire. This fact has been proved by eminent tourists."

The following remarks by J. Beams (the author of *Indian Philology*, &c.) pithily sums up the result of a long and deep study of the Indian vernaculars :—

"I consider it (Urdu) as the most progressive and civilised form of the great and widespread language of the 'hordes'. Not only is it compendious, eloquent, expressive and copious, but it is the only form in which the legitimate development of the speech of the Gan-

getic tribes could show itself." (*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Volume 35, 1866, Page 1.)

In these days of Hindu-Muslim unity and inter-Indian solidarity it is also well to remember that Urdu language is *not* a relic of the Muslim dominance, but a symbol of the Hindu-Muslim entente. It is a happy mean between Arabic and Persian on the one hand and Sanskrit and Prakrit on the other. The stock of every language has only two fundamental elements, the noun and the verb; other parts of speech having only secondary and derivative significance. Now in the stock of Urdu vocabulary (barring exceptions on either side) while all nouns are, as a rule, either Arabic or Persian, all verbs are, as a rule, of Sanskrit or Prakrit origin. *Anā*, "to come"; *Ĵānā*, "to go"; *Chalnā*, "to walk"; *bolnā*, "to talk"; *mārnā*, "to kill" or "to strike"; *marnā*, "to die"; *khānā*, "to eat"; *pinā*, "to drink"; *uthnā*, "to rise"; *uthānā*, "to raise"; *baithnā*, "to sit"; *baithānā*, "to seat"; are the kind of indigeneous words which it is impossible even for the most confirmed pedant to eschew. While foreign words like *Ĵungle*, "forest"; *māl*, "wealth" or "property"; *maidān*, "open ground"; *makān*, "house"; *hāl*, "condition" or "state"; *kāgaz*, "paper"; *tamāshā* "fun" or "spectacle"; *sāl*, "year"; *darwāzā*, "door"; *sarkār*, "government"; *shikār*, "game" or "hunt"; *chāku* "pen-knife" are such which it would be equally difficult for even an illiterate rustic to avoid. In fact it was the genuine spirit of unity and self-sacrifice that induced both the Hindus and the Muslims to forego their respective languages and to adopt as their own a language essentially Indian in origin, but fully nourished and developed on foreign resources. Urdu was the practical outcome of this spirit of mutual cordiality and is still faithfully reflecting this spirit.

(b) THE LITERATURE.

It is generally believed by the non-Urdu-knowing world that Urdu does not possess any literature worth the name. Even some of the most well-informed foreign students of Urdu, like Sir Charles Lyall and Sir George Grierson, do not express their dissent from this view in a strong and clear language. (*Vide* their respective articles on "Hindustani Literature" and "Hindustani Language" in 11th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, specially the article by Sir Charles

Lyall). The belief, though so common, is very far from the truth.

True, Urdu does not possess a very extensive literature in comparison with the classical and the advanced Western languages, but when in relation to the vernaculars of India the poverty of Urdu literature is maintained, the assertion is sure to be seriously challenged. For after all, the wealth of a literature is always a comparative thing. No literature in the world can be said to be absolutely rich and copious.

Literary activities are of two varieties: (i) creative, and (ii) re-productive. By the former is meant the original out-put; under the latter heading is included the stock borrowed from other literatures by means of translation, adaptation and compilation. Let us look at each of these two aspects of Urdu Literature.

To take the re-productive side first. In poetry and drama, most of the world-classics have found their way into Urdu. Homer's 'Iliad', 'The Mahabharata'; 'The Ramayana' (Valmiki's as well as Tulsi Das's); Kalidās's 'Sakuntala', 'Meghdut', and other works; Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and Tagore's 'Gitanjali', 'Chitra', and several other pieces are easily accessible to the Urdu-knowing public. Shakespear is perhaps the most popular. Most of his plays have been translated and are being staged. 'Othello', 'Hamlet', 'King Lear', 'The Tempest', 'Romeo and Juliet', 'Cymbeline', 'The Merchant of Venice', 'Winter's Tale', 'Measure for Measure', 'The Comedy of Errors', and 'As You Like It', have long been available in Urdu. Some of Sheridan's plays, like 'Pizarro', and selected poems of Sophocles and Sappho, Dante and Goethe, Longfellow and Southey, Shelley and Byron, Wordsworth and Tennyson have also been rendered into Urdu.

In fiction, next to Reynolds, who it seems has a peculiar fascination for the Indian youth, Scott, Marie Corelie and Conan Doyle are the most favourite. A good many of their works are being read with greater assiduity in Urdu character in the valley of the Ganges than on the banks of the Thames in their original. Almost the complete works of Bankimchandra and most of Tagore's tales have been rendered into Urdu. Latterly R. L. Stevenson, Rider Haggard, Oscar Wilde, Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells have begun to come in favour.

Among general prose-writers the Urdu-speaking public have found their favourites in Macaulay and Carlyle, Smiles and Lubbock.

In regions of philosophy and psychology, Urdu possesses several dialogues of Plato, selections from Aristotle, Chanakya's 'Maxims', Seneca's 'Reflections', Berkeley's 'Principles' and 'Dialogues', Le Bon's 'The Crowd', 'The Psychology of the Evolution of Peoples', and 'The Psychology of the Great War'; and portions of the works of Bacon, Hume, Kant, Mill, Spencer, James and Stout.

In general history and biography, the names of Plutarch's 'Lives of Eminent Greeks and Romans', Rollin's 'Greece', Bury's 'History of Greece', Thacker and Schwill's 'General History of Europe', Dozy's 'Islamic Spain', Wallace's 'Russia', Abbot's 'Napoleon', Green's 'History of the English People', Vincent Smith's 'Ancient India', Elphinstone's 'History of India', Macolm's 'History of Persia', and portions of Gibbon's 'Roman Empire' may be mentioned as illustrative of many others of equal weight and authority.

In the domain of Politics and Economics the following typical names would suffice:—Aristotle's 'Politics', Mill's 'Liberty', 'Representative Government' and 'Political Economy'; Bell's 'Laws of Wealth'; Morley's 'Machiavelli' and 'Reminiscences'; Curzon's 'Persia'; Mazzini's 'Duties of Man'; Schuster's 'Strangling of Persia'; Blunt's 'Future of Islam'; Vanberg's 'Future of Islam'; and portions of Seeley and Bluntschelli, Wilson and Pollock, Sidgewick and Jevons, Marshall and Morison.

Allied to political science is the department of philosophical history and in this department may be named the translations of Guizot's 'History of Civilisation', Buckle's 'Civilisation in England'; Le Bon's 'Civilisation of the Arabs', and 'Civilisation of Hindustan'; Lecky's 'European Morals'; Draper's 'Intellectual Development of Europe'; and Dutt's 'Ancient Indian Civilization'.

In education, besides several manuals like Todd's, Urdu is not unfamiliar with the works of Spencer, Bain, Froebel, Pestalotzi, Herbert and Montessori.

In science, in addition to numerous popular treatises of a general character like Draper's 'Conflict between Religion and Science', the Urdu-speaking public is fairly well acquainted with the works and researches of Darwin and Wallace, Hecckel and Huxley,

Lyall and Geikie, Tyndal and Bose, Kelvin and Maxwell, Crookes and Lodge.

To allude to the translations of standard works on law, jurisprudence and medicine is superfluous since quite a large number of them have as a matter of necessity found their way into Urdu.

It should be noted that in the above lists slightest attempt has been made to be exhaustive. The names given are taken at random and only with a view to give the reader an idea of the kind of the foreign wealth that Urdu literature possesses. To prepare even a fairly complete list of such works would require hundreds of pages.

Another important fact worthy of notice is that the above lists, sketchy as they are, are mainly confined to the literature of the West. The Arabic and Persian stock of Muslim literature, almost entirely, and the sacred Sanskrit and Hindi literature of the Hindus, to a large extent, have been reproduced in Urdu. The Koran, the Gita, the Puranas, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana have each of them several translations in this language. The lives and teachings of the Prophet, of Jesus Christ, of Sri Krishna, of Sri Ram Chandra, of Gautama Buddha, of Guru Nanak and of Kabir, as also the works of Hindu Divine and Yogins, like Vashistha; of saints and mystical poets, like Maulana Rumi and Hafiz; of ethicists and theologians, like Sadi and Ghazali; of epic poets, like Firdausi; of philosophers, like Avicenna; of historians like Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Khallikan and Farishta, are some of the best gems in the treasury of Urdu literature.

The creative aspect of Urdu literature need not detain us long. No objective test can be laid down whereby the relative merits of various authors are to be adjudged. Here taste alone is to be the final arbiter. Now the race of poets that has had amongst it—Mir and Dard, Galib and Hali, Anis and Dabir, Atish and Dagh—cannot surely be found lacking in poetical genius. Among the living, preeminent stands the name of Akbar in whom wit and humour are so admirably blended with the greatest profundity of thought as to present an almost unparalleled phenomenon in the whole world of poetry. Next to him comes the forceful Iqbal who has long been propounding his philosophy of action—the theme of *Gita*—with marvellous effect and originality, and some of whose Persian poems have been translated into English by the

Cambridge *Savant* Professor Nicholson. Then again we have Hasrat and Riáz, Aziz and Josh, who cannot suffer in comparison with any poets of any language.

In fiction the works of Nazir Ahmed, Mirza Ruswā, Abdul Halim Sharar, Ratan Nath Sarshar, Rashid-ul Khairi, Khwaja Hasan Nizami and Prem Chand require only to be read to be immensely admired,—to mention nothing of the older voluminous story books. Not a few of this masterpieces have been rendered into English and Hindi.

Among serious prose-writers Urdu can rightfully boast of Sir Syed Ahmed, Nazir Ahmed, Mohammed Husain Azad, Chirāg Ali, Hāli, Shibli, Karamat Husain, Syed Sulaiman and Abul Kalam Azad. Mohammed Husain Azad's poetical prose and his fine imagery have been a standing marvel. Nazir Ahmed's personality was unique in his ready command of Urdu or Persian and Arabic. Shibli was great as a historian; but he was even greater as a literary critic and a man of letters. His encyclopædic 'Life of the Prophet' (to be completed in 6 big volumes) stands as a permanent tribute to his erudition. His compendious "History of Persian Poetry" (5 Vols) has evoked feelings of very warm admiration in that famous orientalist Professor E. G. Browne, who very copiously quotes the said work in the third volume of his 'Literary History of Persia.' Karamat Husain (an ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court) was a profound philologist and also a keen student of sociology. Syed Sulaiman is the inheritor of Shibli's historical and literary legacy and is devotedly treading the footsteps of his late Master. As far religion, theology and mysticism are concerned, the record of Urdu literature is decidedly *not* poor.

Three central institutions during recent years have come into existence with the diffusion of Urdu literature as their primary object. The biggest of these is the Usmania University Translation Bureau of Hyderabad, Deccan, where the work of translation, adaptation and compilation from English Text-books on nearly every conceivable subject—history, political science, logic, ethics, psychology, metaphysics, economics, mathematics, biology, physics, chemistry, etc.—is going on with a rapid pace. Another one is Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Association for the Promotion of Urdu) with its head quarters at Aurangabad (Deccan). It has so far published some

dozens of books chiefly dealing with Western arts and sciences, e.g., zoology, geology, psychology, botany and economics. Yet another is Dar-ul-Musannifi (literally "Authors' Home") or Shibli Academy, founded after the name of that scholar at Azamgarh (U. P.). It deals mainly with orientalia, yet has also produced some books treating of European philosophers and psychologists like Berkeley and M. Le Bon.

A perusal of the foregoing facts and observations is likely enough to convince all unbiassed readers that Urdu literature, though it may not be exceptionally rich and extraordinarily extensive, is not so poor and so scanty either as is generally believed, and is well able to hold its own in the face of other Indian Vernaculars.

(c) THE SCRIPT.

The most serious obstacle to the proper recognition of the claims of Urdu, however, is the alleged defective nature of its script. It is said to be cumbrous, difficult, puzzling to the learner, and liable to misreading and misspelling. This sort of objection is based on a series of misconceptions and can be very easily disposed of.

The merits and demerits of a script can be adjudged on two grounds: (i) phonological, and (ii) caligraphical. We shall look at each of these separately.

By the common consent of philologists, in a perfect alphabet (1) every separate elementary sound ought to have a separate character to express it, and none but separate elementary sounds ought to have separate characters; and (2) mark off different combinations, modifications and modulations in elementary sounds radically the same, there ought to be sufficient means and contrivances, but not characters wholly different in form.

The letters of every alphabet are primarily intended to represent by ocular signs the articulate sounds that are generally employed in speech. They are in relation to the written language—what the articulate sounds are in relation to the spoken language. The main purpose of an alphabet is to represent the spoken language by means of adequate science. So the merits of an alphabet are proportionate to the accuracy and exactness with which its letters can represent the articulate sounds. Unnecessary multiplication of letters and possession of diphthongs and compound consonants, viewed phoneti-

cally, are faults and hindrances rather than helps and advantages.

Judged by these criteria Urdu alphabet scores an easy victory over its rival. It contains letters and symbols to represent all the elementary long and short vowels and simple consonants, and at the same time does not possess any letter to represent a diphthong or compound consonant. Unlike Nagri alphabet, it is not made cumbersome with the introduction of intricate and unnecessary letters to represent diphthongs and compound consonants. Unlike Nagri, it is also not burdened with double series of forms, viz., one, the primary forms or letters, and the other, the secondary forms or symbols.

Urdu alphabet has ten vocal sounds in this way :—

1. Three primitive vowels not represented by separate letters but by diacritical marks; *fatha*, *zumma*, and *kasra*. 2. Three corresponding long vowels formed by introducing the homogeneous letters of prolongation immediately after the preceding short vowel. For instance the letter Alif inert preceded by a letter moveable by the vowel sign *fatha* forms a long sound like "a" in "par" and "hall." Similarly the letter Waw inert preceded by a consonant moveable by the vowel sign *jumma* would form a sound like "oo" in "pool" or as "u" in "rule". Next again, the letter Ya inert preceded by a consonant moveable by the vowel *kasra* would form a long vowel like "ee" in "kneel" or "i" in "machine".

3. Two diphthongs. The letter Waw inert preceded by a consonant moveable by the vowel sign *fatha* forms a diphthong nearly like "ou" or "ow" as in "found" and "crown". And the letter Ya inert preceded by a consonant moveable by the vowel *fatha* forms a diphthong like "ai" in "Kaiser".

4. Two long vowels peculiarly Persian known as Majhul (meaning unknown) formed by Waw and Ya; the former sounding like *o* in 'sole' and 'pole', and the latter like *ai* in "pain" and "fail".

In its essence the Urdu alphabet is Arabic. But the tendency towards eclecticism in order to achieve comprehensiveness and completeness which we have seen to be a distinctive feature of the Urdu language has also manifested itself in the domain of script in as much as the present Urdu alphabet is an admixture of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit letters and contains several letters of non-

Arabic origin, such as Pe, Te, Che, Dāl, De, Je (to be pronounced as in French), Gāf, and two eyed He.

The result is that Urdu alphabet is phonetically perfect; at any rate, as perfect as it has been hitherto possible for any human language to be. Sir William Jones speaking of Arabic alphabet has said, "A perfect language would be that in which every idea capable of entering human mind might be neatly and emphatically expressed by one specific word, simple if the idea were simple, complex if complex; and on the same principle a perfect system of letters ought to contain one specific symbol for every sound used in pronouncing the language to which they belonged. In this respect the old Persian approaches to perfection; but the Arabic alphabet, which all Mohammedan nations have inconsiderably adopted, appears to me so complete for the purpose of writing Arabic that not a letter could be added or taken away without manifest inconvenience."

The remark applies with much greater force and truth to Urdu alphabet.

Now to view the question from calligraphical stand-point. A very important fact generally disregarded in other alphabets is that the written symbols representing the articulate sounds are essentially of two varieties, vowels and consonants. Vowels are the basis of all kinds of sounds and are utterable at the opening and closing of the organs of speech. Consonants represent the vibrations and modifications of the sound forming the base line. The function of vowels is simply to govern, to direct, the pronunciation of consonants. This distinction between the two sets of letters has been lost sight of by many languages. Urdu is almost unrivalled in this respect, that it has kept this distinction by refusing to recognise vowels as separate letters. In it the primary vowels are only represented by diacritical marks and not as letters. Vowels are strictly speaking no independent sounds; they merely signify the tone, the grade, the shade of those sounds. Urdu calligraphy therefore, quite rightly, does not assign to vowels any place as letters but relegates them to the position of diacritical marks.

The objection that the same words can be read in different ways in the absence of diacritical marks in ordinary writing is singularly superficial. As well put by an eminent scholar, 'the omission of diacritical

marks implies in the reader a sufficient familiarity and practice in reading the written character as to enable him to proceed without the help of diacritical marks. These marks are not omitted for the purpose of bewildering strangers or beginners or those who are unfamiliar with the language. It is one of the objects of the Urdu system of writing that the labour of reading and writing may be lightened and simplified during the process of education. It is a part of the training and culture of the Urdu scholar that he should be able to read and write accurately even in the absence of these marks, and he is soon capable of doing so. But the Hindi system does not vouchsafe any training like this. Omit any mark and the poor Hindi scholar is as helpless as a blind man.

To say that the *Ghasit* hand of Urdu writing is extremely illegible and hard to decipher is to put forward a very puerile objection. Like the colloquial of every language the running and broken form of writing is common to every system of writing and is not a peculiarity of Urdu script. Its utility lies in

its facility and fluency and its use is meant only for those who are very well conversant with Urdu language.

Urdu calligraphy is a sort of natural shorthand writing, every letter having got a short form as well as a full one and it is the method of combining these short forms into words that has made Urdu writing extremely easy. It has ensured for it—

1. economy of space,
2. economy of time, and
3. economy of energy, both for the writer and the reader.

Urdu script with slight modifications is common to all Muslim countries. It extends from the eastern corner of Bengal to Tripoli and Morocco in the west. The international advantages of adopting a script which is used not only in India but is current in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Muslim Turkistan, Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Turkey, Egypt, and some other African states are not so insignificant as can easily be ignored.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF RESEARCH-WORK IN CHEMISTRY IN BENGAL*

By CHUNILAL BOSE, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

I PROPOSE to make a very brief survey of research-work in Chemistry in Bengal from its beginning down to the present time, with a passing reference to the work being done in other parts of India.

I think I am right in claiming that the first research-work, so far as Bengal is concerned, started in the Calcutta Medical College.

In the forties and early fifties of the last century, we find Dr. O'Shaughnessy teaching Chemistry and Pharmacology to the students of the Calcutta Medical College and holding before them a bright picture of what a systematic study of Natural Sciences was capable of accomplishment in the matter of the development of industries in India. He had great faith in the capability of Indian students, and dwelling upon the difficulties

that beset the path of a research-worker, he gave expression to his opinion in the following memorable words in 1842:—

"Difficulties will beset his progress, it is true, but to overcome them all, he requires only the qualities which the Indian youth possesses in a most pre-eminent degree. He is quick of perception, patient in reflection, adroit and delicate in experimental manipulation, and with these endowments, his full success in this study may be confidently foretold."

We congratulate ourselves that we have lived to see his prophecy to a large extent fulfilled. Dr. O'Shaughnessy's work in connection with the Telegraph in India is of historic interest. He is also remembered as the author of the *Bengal Pharmacopœia* which contains much valuable information based upon personal investigation of some important Indian drugs.

In the sixties and seventies of the last century, there was little or no enthusiasm

* Opening Address in the Chemical Section of the Science Convention, 1921.

for the study of Science in the Calcutta University, for the simple reason that the majority of the students were not in favour of scientific education and the Calcutta Colleges were very ill-equipped for imparting instructions in science to their students. Even the students of the Presidency College used to attend lectures in Chemistry, Physiology and Biology in the Calcutta Medical College. The name of Dr. F. N. Maenamara may be mentioned as one of the most successful teachers of Chemistry of that time. In those days, it was a Bengali doctor, the late Rai Kanny Lall Dey Bahadur C. I. E., who made a special study of Chemistry and taught it first to the students of the Campbell Medical School and afterwards in the Calcutta Medical College where he also carried on the duties of the Chemical Examiner to Government for some time. He devoted himself mainly to the study of the indigenous medicinal plants and made valuable contribution to our knowledge of the constitution of some important drugs. His discovery of an important test for Porphyroxyn in Indian opium in 1867 has been very helpful to the identification of the drug in medico-legal cases.

In 1868, Waring issued the Indian Pharmacopœia to which Moodeen Sheriff published a supplement in 1869. In the field of Pharmacology, as observed by Sir George Watt, no names are more distinguished than those of Kanny Lall Dey and Moodeen Sheriff.

They were followed by Wood, Warden, Waddell and Ram Chandra Dutta who in the eighties and nineties of the last century continued their investigation into the chemical composition of the medicinal and poisonous plants of India. Wood was the author of an ingenious and economical process for the extraction of Quinine from Cinchona bark which was adopted by Government in their Quinine factories. Warden, with the assistance of Hooper of Madras and Dymock of Bombay, published the three interesting volumes of the Pharmacographia Indica which constitute a most valuable work of reference in regard to the history, botanical character, chemical constitution and medicinal virtues of indigenous drugs of vegetable origin found in India.

Much of the original chemical work recorded in this book of reference was done in the laboratory of the Calcutta Medical College and the writer had the privilege of assisting Dr. Warden in carrying out the investigations

to which he could claim a humble share. Babu Ram Chandra Datta distinguished himself by the discovery of kurchicine in the Kurchi bark (*Holarrhena Antidysenterica*). The writer, in working out the chemistry of Karabi (*Nerium Odorum*), discovered a new active principle in the plant which he named as Karabin. A brief resume of the paper was published in the Journal of the Chemical Society.

Sir David Prain, now Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew, investigated into the chemical and physiological properties of the Ganja (flowering tops of *Cannabis Sativa*) in the Chemical Laboratory of the Calcutta Medical College. His interesting results were published in a special report issued by the Government of Bengal.

Sir Alexander Pedler made some original investigation himself while he was a Professor in the Presidency College and was for sometime a collaborator of Dr. Warden in his investigation into the chemistry of some of the indigenous drugs. Pedler and Warden succeeded in isolating a neutral constituent from Bengal opium.

Warden and Waddell carried on in 1884 their investigation into the poisonous properties of the *Abrus Precatorius* seeds (Jequirity or Rati seeds) which are introduced hypodermically in the form of a needle (Sui) for killing cattle in India. Before this, the toxic action of the seeds was believed to be due to the presence of a bacillus, but Warden and Waddell were the first to disprove it. They discovered a proteid substance in the seeds which they named Abrin (a mixture of globulin and albumose) which was responsible for the poisonous properties and which acted somewhat like snake-poison in the animal system.

It was Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., D.Sc., the distinguished Indian Chemist and our esteemed colleague, who laid the foundation of higher research-work in Chemistry proper in Bengal while he was the Professor in that subject in the Presidency College. Before he joined the college, he wrote a paper on "Conjugated Sulphates of the Copper Magnesium group" which was published in the proceedings of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, in 1888. It was followed by his most valuable contributions on the constitution and behaviour of the Nitrites of various metals and organic radicles. Subsequently, Dr. Ray, with the help of his

devoted students, organised and started the Indian School of Chemistry in the Presidency College. This School has, up to the present time, contributed nearly 200 original articles which have been published mostly in the Journal of the Chemical Society and also in other scientific publications in India, England, America and Germany. Dr. Ray himself is responsible for about 50 per cent of these valuable original communications.

Dr. Nilratan Dhar, D.Sc. (Lond. and Paris), one of the most brilliant students of the Indian School of Chemistry now occupying the Chair of Chemistry in the Muir Central College, Allahabad, has followed in the footsteps of his master and has already succeeded in associating with him a good number of pupils in higher research-work in Chemistry in the United Provinces.

It is satisfactory to note that original contributions by Indians to the Journal of the Chemical Society in 1919 were 18 in number as compared with 10 in 1918, and of these, 94 per cent was contributed by Bengal alone.

Dr. E. R. Watson when he was the Professor of Chemistry in the Dacca College was able to inspire a number of students of his own college with his love and enthusiasm for research-work in Chemistry, and he and his small band of devoted followers have made material contribution to the progress of Organic Chemistry. He is now engaged in organising a Research Institute at Cawnpore.

With the advent of the New Regulations in 1908, the facilities for the study of Science in the Calcutta University have greatly improved. Science-courses are being regularly taken up now by a large number of our students. The University Science College and the Post-Graduate classes (the latest development of the Calcutta University) have helped still further to advance the study of Science in its higher branches. The Science College has already made valuable contribution to research-work in Chemistry during the last two years. In 1919, nine original papers were presented by the Professors of Chemistry and their Research-scholars attached to this institution. We heartily congratulate Dr. J. C. Ghosh of this College on his brilliant achievement as the discoverer of a Law which has since been christened after his name.

The research-work in Chemistry has not been of theoretical interest only. Some of the results obtained possess high practical

value and have found application in Industrial Chemistry. Dr. K. L. Dutt alone has taken no less than 22 patents for the simple and economical manufacture of various elements and chemical compounds, such as chlorine, bromine, iodine, chromate and bichromate of potash, sulphur, saltpetre, nitro-compounds, caffeine, etc. I heartily congratulate him on the successful practical application of his research-work.

The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science has been silently working towards the same goal and has made its humble contribution to the general progress of research work in Science. Although it has not been able to achieve such marked success in the Chemical section as in the Physical department, it is hoped that when the Chemistry department is properly re-organised, it will be able to show creditable work in that branch of science.

In the other provinces of India, the progress in chemical research-work is also satisfactory. Much important work is being done in the Punjab by Bawa Kartar Singh and others. In 1919-20, twelve original papers on Physical Chemistry and allied subjects were contributed to various Indian and foreign scientific journals by this eminent professor and his enthusiastic pupils. In Bangalore, in Pusa, in the School of Forestry at Dehradun, in the Government Opium Factories, in various Colleges and Technical Institutions under Government control in this as well as in the other Provinces, valuable work is being done by experts, professors and research-scholars which are likely to prove very helpful to the development of some of the important industries of India.

The Chemical Service Committee have finished their labours and their recommendations are before the Government of India for consideration. Let us hope that the best results will come out of their deliberations which will advance the cause of Chemical Research-work and contribute to the development of the vast material resources of the country. We hope to see our countrymen occupy prominent places in the newly organised Chemical Service of India.

The progress of research-work in Chemistry in all its branches has exercised its influence for good in stimulating various industries in the country. Our young men are visiting England, America and Japan to learn the technique of those industries which are

likely to grow successful on Indian soil and are piloting them on their return to India. Thus industries relating to the manufacture of chemicals and drugs (of which the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd. and the Calcutta Chemical Works Ltd. deserve honourable mention), pottery, paper, paste-board, soaps, leather, glass, etc., have been started in many towns in India, and Indian capital, which was before long very shy of such enterprises, has become less reserved and is coming forward to meet the crying

needs of the country. One should not be so sanguine as to expect that all of these new enterprises will stand the test of time and competition, but I have not the least doubt that many of them will survive, wherever there is singleness of aim, honesty of purpose and business experience.

This Science Convention is a hopeful sign of the times. May it grow and prosper and help in advancing the cause of Scientific Research-work in India.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE DAWN OVER ASIA. By Paul Richard. Translated from the French by Aurobindo Ghose. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1-8-0. Pondicherry, 1920.

This is a collection of short addresses delivered by M. Paul Richard in Japan. He claims for France that equality and fraternity are not mere words there, but it is in the French Parliament alone that deputies from the dark skinned peoples have an honoured place. On the whole however European idealism consists in giving its egoism an ideal name. "When injustice is perpetrated, if there is one to be pitied, it is not he who suffers, but he who commits it. For he alienates from himself the future. He makes of the future his greatest adversary. He prepares his own retribution." "If the Christ were now to come again upon the earth, he would be excluded from America, not being enough of a 'gentleman' to possess the needed number of dollars; he would be excluded from Australia, he the son of a working man and an Asiatic, if he could not pass an examination in a foreign tongue. And in the colonies of South Africa, he could not even sit in the trams side by side with the Christian Europeans. That is how Christians would treat the Christ! And they call that civilisation—a civilisation of barbarians!" The author exhorts the Japanese to liberate Korea, so that she may gain the confidence of Asia, the moral sovereignty of Asia. Japan's answer is the recent bloody suppression of revolution in the Hermit kingdom.

In other essays the author speaks of the Coming Man, free to follow a higher law than others could bear, who lives in the harmonies of the inspired silence, and has no religion, or rather has them all, and something yet more. He is one of the sons of Heaven, who are

creators of the future, and greatest of them all, the chosen of the future, the solitary, is Aurobindo Ghose. Around him are young men, young gods. He is the leader, the hero of tomorrow. "He came to the South of India, to Pondicherry, where ten years ago, by a providential course of events, I met him for the first time. There he entered in the silence of Yoga which deepened during five years. When I met him again after these five years, he had gained the light, he had gained the power. The light owing to which nothing more henceforth, in heaven or on earth or in any world, can remain hidden from him. And the power through which everywhere his sovereign thought, without desire, without trouble, without haste, without fear, realises the will of the Eternal Truth.

"Five other years have passed since then. Five years in the course of which, at my request, he has exposed, in five volumes of a monthly publication, the most masterly, the most magnificent teaching of philosophy, of human and divine wisdom, that men have ever received. Now, the day is coming when, after having been in the obscurity of his silence and retreat the saviour of India, he will become in the full light of day the Guru of Asia, the teacher of the world. For it is always from Asia that have come the Saviours and the Teachers of this world.

"Today for the first time I proclaim in public his name. For it is without doubt you [Students' Asiatic Union, Waseda University, Tokio, where this address was delivered on May 3rd, 1919] who should hear it first. Let this name be henceforth to you, to your association, to the youth of Asia—to Asia, a symbol, a rallying cry, a programme.

"For this name signifies Asia free and one—Asia resurgent, Asia in her glory!"

A valued friend of the reviewer reading this book, observed that he would have liked it better if it had been translated by another person than Aurobindo Ghose himself. Great as is his admiration for Srijiut Aurobindo Ghose, the reviewer is bound to say that he agrees with this opinion.

The appendix contains the programme of the League for the Equality of Races, which first took its birth in Japan, and a branch of which has been organised by the author in India.

THE EVOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT. By A. F. Pollard, M. A., Litt. D., Professor of History in the University of London. Longmans, Green & Co., 1920. 21 shillings net. Pp. 398.

In the preface the author modestly says that the book is less a history of parliament than a suggestion of the lines upon which it should be written. To all who do not however want to make the study of the history of the British Parliament the business of their lives, the book is quite sufficient. It is interesting to learn that 'commons' is a form of 'communes' or 'communities' and that the liberty granted to the Barons by the Magna Carta was deeply resented by the commons, because, in the language of their petition to the King, it led "to the great oppression of the people and hindrance of the common law." The author says that "results which took the mother country, centuries of painful labour to achieve were secured by the colonies within a generation and sometimes within a decade." And yet we in India are never tired of hearing that responsible government is a plant of slow growth, and can only come by successive stages of protracted experimentation. "The people," says the author with reference to the talk of democracy, "have never been able to govern themselves except in the sense of choosing between two or more sets of governors and two or more party programmes." Lecky, in his "Democracy and Liberty," has repeatedly shown how government by universal suffrage leads to misgovernment and worse. But here in India we are already beginning to give too much importance to the question of the suffrage. "No one," says the author, "would dream of entrusting the determination of foreign policy, of educational problems, or questions of public health or finance to a referendum, because not one in a hundred of those could understand the issues at stake." The fact is, elementary education, and the ability to read a newspaper, though undoubtedly better than ignorance, do not carry political wisdom with them. "A Parish Council [cf. our Panchayats] is allowed to do little because it is a real parochial democracy; a county Council can do more because it is further removed from the man in the street." "Government by the people can, under existing circumstances, mean no more than govern-

ment by agencies which are responsible to the people and regard their authority as a trust to be exercised for the people as a whole and not in the interest of themselves or of the class to which they belong."

The author truly says: "Man is a great deal more than a political animal; and the best parts of the best men are those with which Parliament has nothing to do. Politics are a second-best business of second-best men, and we do not rank our politicians with our poets and philosophers." In India, however, we have to remember that in every field of our national activity, intellectual and otherwise, we find that our rise beyond a certain stage is hampered by our political subjection, and hence some of our most highly gifted men have sometimes to take a hand in the second-best business of politics.

In the chapter on 'The British Realms in Parliament,' which is the concluding chapter of the book, the author barely mentions India though he talks glibly of Empire, and repeats the parrot cry that democratic expedients which suit the colonies would not suit India. "We doubt the expediency of giving a vote in Indian affairs to an Indian electorate which cannot read or write." Here the popular vote is given an importance which is denied to it in an earlier part of the book already referred to. To what a low level the political sagacity of the British thinker descends when he has to deal with India will appear from the fact that the author considers Lord Haldane's proposal of holding periodic sessions of the judicial committee of the Privy Council throughout the Empire as "one of the most fruitful suggestions for Empire-building." The Englishman will simply not understand that no attempt to consolidate the Empire can succeed without giving India her rightful place in it, and it is foolish to try to evade the settlement of the Indian question by tinkering with minor problems.

"Second chambers are the political failure of the British Empire." The bicameral legislature of the Government of India has nevertheless been brought into being, and we have no doubt that it will add another corroborative illustration to the author's dictum quoted above.

The book ends with a boastful reference to "the parliamentary principles" upon which the British Empire is said to be based. "It stands for the force of argument against the argument of force, for the rule of law against the rule of the sword, for popular consent against the will of monarchy or militarism masquerading as the state." How far this vainglorious claim is justified by events we leave the student of recent affairs in the Punjab to ponder.

To the student of English constitutional history the book is invaluable, and its interest has been further enhanced by some illustrations depicting the Parliament in sessions in the sixteenth century and later.

RECONSTRUCTING INDIA. By Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K. C. I. E., M. Inst. C. E., Lately Dewan of Mysore, &c. London, P. S. King and Son, 1920. 7s. 6d. net.

In the new age dawning upon us the distinguished author has taken it upon himself to suggest the problems which confront India, and on the solution of which her future, no longer given to the futile task of destructive criticism, must depend. No one can dispute the author's fitness for the task undertaken in this small volume of 326 pages. He is not only a successful administrator, but a daring innovator of vast industrial and engineering undertakings which have left their stamp on the assured prosperity of the progressive state of Mysore. And throughout the book there is ample evidence that no sphere of national activity and enterprise, however minute, has escaped his lynx-eyed patriotism, and he has spared neither the bureaucracy nor the indigenous social system, both of which are responsible for the present low stage of the country's evolution as compared with the countries of the West, among which he specially selects Canada for comparison and contrast, because it is a British colony. But this very worthy desire of the author to touch on every point of national and administrative activity is responsible for what we consider to be the main defect of the book, viz., its failure to rouse the interest of the average reader, to whom it will be apt to appear as a mere catalogue of the country's needs, varied by statistical extracts and comparative tables. The better plan would of course have been to tackle some of the fundamental problems of prime importance, and deal exhaustively with them. To the sweeping vision of the author this would perhaps seem unsatisfactory, as so many things of almost equal importance, from the point of view of national development, would have to be left out. But human nature being what it is, it is difficult to create a lasting impression when the mind travels rapidly from one subject to another and the current, which is flowing in one channel, is suddenly switched off in another direction. As a compendium of everything that is required to make India take her place among the progressive nations of the world, this book will be extremely useful; though when one thinks in how many and various ways the country must needs advance to attain that position, a feeling akin to despair is apt to creep into his mind, as he looks around him and observes the ignorance and inertia of his own countrymen and the apathy and indifference of their foreign rulers and exploiters bent upon making the most of their present opportunities. We give below a few extracts by way of introducing the reader to the author's line of thinking, but he must go to the original for illuminating suggestions on any point of national and administrative reconstruction in which he is interested.

"The universities are utterly inadequate in number for so large and populous a country, and fall far short of modern requirements in equipment. The provision for technical and commercial education is meagre in the extreme. Lack of liberality in this respect, and absence of official encouragement of indigenous enterprises, have kept Indians from developing new and expanding old industries and extending commerce..... Had Indians received support and encouragement from Government, they, with their old skill at handicrafts, might have produced manufactured goods at a rate that would have made them formidable competitors in the modern industrial world. Substantial success in trade and commerce is impossible to-day without large capital and combines. In the United Kingdom [the author has written his book in London] such combinations are assisted and encouraged by Government. In India on the contrary, they are regarded as a menace to British trade and, therefore, to British supremacy, and discouraged. Industry is even penalised. Excise duty is, for instance, imposed upon cotton manufactures [this is no longer the case]. Nowhere else in the world would such an obvious attempt to handicap industry be tolerated. Indians engaged in trade and commerce in foreign countries have no financial or political backing, and foreign intercourse is discouraged.The present system of governance aims at preserving order rather than ensuring progress. Peace and security are maintained, moreover, by autocratic methods, and the activities of the people are restricted and their national growth stunted in the process..... The social customs of India promote a fairly rapid growth of population..... India has still to learn that it is better to have a small, well-trained, prosperous population, than to have millions of half-starved, inefficient people retarding the progress of the country by their deadweight. Hope is to be derived, however, from the fact that India possesses potential energy of unparalleled magnitude. Her greatest asset is the inherent intelligence of the people....."

"The average death-rate for all India for the past ten years has been 31.8 per thousand. The corresponding recorded death-rate in other countries is 21.9 in Japan, 15.12 in Canada, 14.6 in the United Kingdom, 14.0 in the United States of America, and 10.5 in Australia. The average life of an Indian is estimated at 23 years, as compared with 45 to 55 in Western countries....."

"Of the total British forces engaged in the recent great War, the United Kingdom gave 75 per cent., all the overseas dominions together 12 per cent., and India 13 per cent."

"The old shipping industry has gradually died out and the construction of new shipping is not encouraged." [There was some talk of starting nautical schools under government auspices, to give Indian *lascars* and *serangs* a

chance, but we hear nothing more of them now].

"In the forefront of the reconstruction problems should be put the expansion of the urban populations, the extension and improvement of educational facilities, and economic development. The problems are interrelated and interdependent. More urban population is essential for carrying on the work of civilization. Without increasing the urban population it will be impossible to relieve the soil of the pressure under which it is groaning or to have economic development on a large scale. Similarly, any real advance in material progress is impossible without more and better education. Without considerable increase of urban population in the immediate future, it will be impossible for India to expand her industries, trade and commerce on a scale that will enable her to hold her own in the world. The economic interests will not be sufficiently safeguarded until the urban population is at least doubled."

".....that awe of authority which is peculiar to India and stands in the way of co-operation and progress. An Indian who has travelled in foreign countries is struck with the difference between the official attitude towards the people in those lands and in India. Whereas in other countries officials regard themselves as public servants and make it easy for the public to approach them, in India far too many officials look upon themselves as rulers, and make approach difficult. This criticism, it is to be feared, applies with almost as much force to Indian as to British officials."

"The people should abandon the idea once for all that development [in self-government] will come in the course of time without study, preparation, effort, or the expenditure of money, and should be prepared to pay taxes and to make sacrifices."

"British trade with India is not left to follow its own course, but by means of council bills, telegraphic transfers and reverse drafts is financed through the Secretary of State. The gold exchange and paper currency reserves, running into something like £100,000,000, are held in London instead of being retained in India to promote Indian credit and to help Indian trade, and loans at low rates of interest are made therefrom to British traders. It has been truly said that the Secretary of State is both the ruler and banker of India. All departments of Indian finance are interpenetrated by the influence of British trade..... The financiers with whom the writer has discussed the question consider the system of finance followed in India as highly prejudicial to Indian interest....."

"During the war, on account of her dependent position, the monetary affairs of India were controlled from London. The people suffered from high prices. The war profits went to a very small percentage of business men. Many commodities were purchased very much below

the world prices. Food control was exercised secretly, without the public being aware of the extent to which food was exported. Great mortality was caused through lack of proper sustenance during the influenza epidemic. The export of articles such as hides was controlled in order to secure them for Britain and her Allies below the market value. In order to maintain artificial conditions of exchange, ordinary trade in rice, jute, timber, wheat, hides and other articles was prohibited on private account, and in some cases stopped. India lost heavily on her investments in England, and her own money in the currency reserves remained locked up in England. Large purchases of silver were made through commercial agencies instead of in India itself. A self-governing Dominion would, while all the time loyally helping England, have greatly added to her own wealth. Canada, as one of her statesmen told the writer, in spite of the sacrifices she made for the War, is at present "rolling in wealth." Japan and the United States have immensely strengthened their economic and financial position... Under capable Indian, or even pro-Indian, management, India's economic position could have been immensely strengthened and what she lost within the last fifty years might have been restored to her during the five years of the War."

"In the budget for the year 1920-21, £41,000,000 has been set aside for purposes of defence. This amounts to nearly half the net revenue of the country. Military expenditure on such a scale in peace time is without parallel in any country in the world. Britain spent much less on her army in pre-war times. Even the Japanese empire spends only a fraction of this sum."

"The report of the Esher Committee on Indian Army Reform just issued reveals the dangers to which Indian finance and the Indian constitution is exposed in the future. Even the *London Times* considers the report very extraordinary since in a sense the proposals amount to handing over the army in India, and half the Indian imperial expenditure, to the direct control of the British War Office. Under the scheme, all that the Indians have to do is to find the money. One wonders what a Dominion Government would say if such a proposal were placed before it."

"While; during the twenty years ending 1913-14, the revenue in India increased by about 36 per cent., during the same period it expanded 115 per cent. in the United Kingdom, 245 per cent. in Canada, and 640 per cent. in Japan. These figures, sufficiently accurate to serve as a basis of comparison, show that while those countries have been making rapid progress [in developing their internal resources], India has practically stood still."

"When so industrially advanced a country as Britain finds it necessary to make breaches in

her policy of free trade, how can the policy of *laissez faire* be continued in India, which is still in the agricultural stage?"

"Official reports exaggerate the value to the country of its foreign trade, since they make no distinction between the trade carried on by the indigenous population, the profits of which are retained in India, and that by the British and foreign agencies. The people have long been convinced that without political power and Government support, adequate progress is impossible. Substantial transfer of the control over the economic policy of the country into Indian hands is inevitable if conditions are to be improved." "As was remarked by a leading London conservative daily in May, 1920: 'you may have either flourishing industries, or a flourishing bureaucracy, but never both.'"

"There have been numerous protests against the owner's risks notes under which railways charge the full freight rate without assuming liabilities. No civilised country permits carriers to do this. The entire policy of fixing rates should be revised so that railways will not appear to exist primarily to assist the export trade, largely in non-Indian hands, rather than to increase the prosperity of the indigenous population."

"When all is said and considered, the greatest resource of the country and the one hitherto least utilized is the energy and intelligence of its people. A way must be found largely to associate Indians with the work of developing the country's resources."

"In these days of labour-saving and time-saving appliances, domestic economy has become a fine art, and it should not be necessary for women to spend so large an amount of time in domestic work as they do now. With suitable appliances and arrangements, even the ordinary non-domestic man can prepare, cook, serve and consume a meal, and wash up and put by the utensils, all in the space of little more than an hour; whereas in India the women of the household make several hours' work of cooking even for a small family."

"Thirty years ago, the average income of a family in India or Japan was about the same. To-day, it is safe to say that the average earning power in Japan is three times what it is in India."

"The general outlook upon life in India, as things are now, is too gloomy to permit sound individual or social development. Far too common is the belief that life is merely a transitory stage in the passage of the soul to another world. That notion chills enthusiasm, kills joy, and promotes fatalism. The enervating climate and lack of proper nourishment react upon the nerves and accentuate the pessimistic tendency,.....while Indians feel that life is a burden, people in the west are full of hope and intensely active. They

believe that the world is capable of indefinite improvement, and have faith in individual and collective effort. In India, too, with education and the new possibilities of responsible Government, the inherited pessimism of the people will gradually be dispelled by the new forces of Hope and Faith for the future. Indians not only have a morbid outlook upon life, but are divided into rigid groups known as castes and subcastes. Social distinctions exist in every country,—distinctions based upon wealth, birth, or occupation. No country outside India has, however, a social system which cuts at the very root of human brotherhood, condemns millions of persons to perpetual degradation, makes people hyper-exclusive, magnifies religious differences, and disorganises society..... Whatever its origin, caste enters into every detail of individual life, and everywhere plays havoc with it. Considerable time and energy is consumed in conforming to its requirements and progress above a certain standard rendered impossible."

"The time has come when Indians must seriously consider whether the passive life, to which they condemn women with a view to preserving the so-called proprieties and decencies of life, is worth the appalling price the country is found to pay in the shape of loss of work and intelligent effort from half the population of the country."

"The Press is in chains, anti-sedition laws flourish; the young minds in college and school learn nothing of the real facts of national development, and their thoughts dwell in a world too far from life's realities."

The book concludes as follows:—

"No right-thinking Indian who has correctly understood the comparisons instituted in an earlier chapter can escape a feeling of humiliation at the low international standing of his country. The question we have to meet is this:—Can the Indian be made to realize that his condition is capable of improvement—not for a season or two, but permanently—in ways that may give to his children opportunities of making good in the world? The task, it must be admitted, is of appalling difficulty and magnitude, but unless we believe that it is capable of accomplishment, we shall be driven to the pessimistic conclusion of a Western writer that India is 'the dying East.' That conclusion assuredly every Indian will repudiate. A consciousness should be roused in the Indian mind that a better state of things exists outside, and a vastly better state of things could be brought into existence in India itself if the people only willed and worked for the same."

POLITICUS.

HOW TO GROW RICHES. By Shiv Dass, B.A., B.T. Published by Capital Industrial Bureau, Delhi.

Says the author in Preface, "In the following few pages we have endeavoured to show, how, taking into consideration the comparative poverty of India, an ambitious young man with small amount of capital can start an independent and lucrative business of his own." The book contains much useful advice, and the publishers profess to know the formulae and processes for the manufacture of many different kinds of articles in common use, the secrets whereof they are prepared to tell applicants "on receipt of 8 as. in half-anna stamps for the first and 4 as. for every subsequent formula."

BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1918-19.

The report for the year 1918-19 follows the same general lines as that for 1916-17, reviewed in the last January number of this magazine. The prosperity of the year was marred by a severe famine, followed by an epidemic of cholera, which devastated considerable areas of the Gaekwar's Dominions and reduced the land revenue receipts of the state by nearly a third of a crore. The most remarkable event of the year under report was the visit of H. E. Lord Chelmsford to Baroda early in 1919, the various ceremonies in connection with which are fully described. The year saw the passing of an Arbitration Act by the Baroda Legislative Council, giving extensive powers to arbitrators. It is hoped to diminish litigation before the Courts in this way. The Infant Marriage Prevention Act, passed some years ago, does not appear to have become an unqualified success, chiefly owing to the ignorance and prejudices of the backward classes whom the state is now trying to educate. Another noticeable development of the year is the growth of the Boy Scout movement, under the direct patronage of the Maharaja Gaekwar. We are also glad to note that the re-organisation of the Sanitary Department promised in the Report for 1916-17, has been sanctioned and "the work of extending medical relief to villages and hamlets is being successfully organised" with the help of a munificent grant from the Maharaja. The state is passing through a period of industrial revival and "several cotton spinning and weaving mills, oil mills, cement factories, factories for the manufacture of alkalis, tanneries and a number of other industrial concerns are being started in consequence of this industrial revival." We wish all success to these new enterprises!

REPORT ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE BARODA STATE FOR THE YEAR 1917-18.

In 1917-18, there were altogether 3,113 educational institutions of all kinds in Baroda, giving an average of about one institution per town or village. The number of pupils (male and female) attending these institutions exceeded 200,000, or more than 75 p.c. of the total population of school-going age were receiving education. The state spent nearly one-sixth of

its revenue on education. Natural calamities were responsible for a slight reduction in the number of elementary schools and of scholars attending them during the year under report, but in other directions normal progress was maintained. In the educational world of Baroda the year 1916-17 was famous for the appointment of a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. A. B. Clarke, Commissioner of Education, "to suggest measures for the improvement of secondary and collegiate education, and to consider and report on the possibility of founding a University in Baroda."

REPORT OF BARODA ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE, 1918-19.

In 1918, the Maharaja Gaekwar, following the example of the British Government in India, appointed a small Committee to investigate the economic resources of his state and to submit practical recommendations for their development. The report is an able document covering nearly 300 octavo pages. It is mostly taken up with detailed discussions of the various kinds of vegetable and animal products of the state and the industries that have already been, or should be in the near future, started to fully utilise them. There are also recommendations for the development of the state's commerce with neighbouring states and with British India. Questions of economic policy are hardly touched on, except to request the Government of the State to try to persuade the British Indian Government to adopt such a tariff policy as would develop the resources of India (including of course, the native States, which, situated as they are, cannot pursue a distinct tariff policy of their own) to the best advantage of her people. State initiative and help in the establishment of new industries has long been the accepted policy of Baroda state and consequently no new enunciation of policy in this direction was called for. Some of the industries started by the state have, however, met with scant success, owing, we are told, to the incompetence of the companies or individuals in whose hands their management was finally entrusted. The Committee are strongly in favour of the extension of financial facilities to industries by founding agricultural and industrial banks at all convenient centres. They are anxious to avoid the worse features of western industrialism, such as the growth of slums, and one of their recommendations on the subject urges that industries using coal and employing large numbers of labourers should be located outside towns and permission to build factories should only be given after the employers have satisfied the authorities that proper provision for housing the labourers has been made. We are glad to note that there is no recommendation in the Report for the constitution of highly paid industrial services, as in British India. The Com-

mittee follow the much more practical and prudent course of recommending the temporary appointment of industrial experts when their advice is required and likely to be practically useful. The Report gives a clear idea of the present economic situation in one of the most advanced of Indian native states.

ECONOMICUS.

REPORT OF THE BENGAL GENERAL LOAN COMPANY, Ltd.

This Company has been incorporated in 1918 for doing general Banking business and the Calcutta Agency Work for the several hundred similar concerns scattered over Bengal and the adjoining provinces. The Promoters and Directors are mostly gentlemen connected with Banks and Loan Companies. The aims and objects of the Company are very laudable. If properly conducted the concern is likely to take a prominent part in financing the inland business of the provinces and bringing in a co-operation between the several hundreds of Banks and Loan Companies doing business in and around the province. The progress in the course of two years is encouraging. The Company has paid 15 per cent dividend consecutively for the years 1919 and 1920 and has transferred more than half of the profits to the Reserve Fund. Those who desire to know more of the concern may write to the Managing Director at 2 & 3, Lall Bazar Street, Calcutta.

GUJARATI.

BHAGYA NA SHRASHTAO (भाग्यना दृष्टावो). By Ratansinh Dipsinh Parmar, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound pp. 688. Price Rs. 2. (1920).

"Architects of Fate" by O. S. Marden is a fascinating book. The straight talk in it appeals to every reader. The translation of this book under the above title, though it lacks the strength of the original and the grit underlying it, both due to the language in which it has been written, yet affords a sufficient glimpse of the truths intended to be told by Mr. Marden. It is therefore an addition to our serious literature.

VIR ANE VIRPUJA (वीर अने वीरपूजा). By Manishankar Dalpatram Joshi, B. A., (Sanskrit Hons.), printed at the Purandare Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, with pictures, pp. 200. Price Rs. 2-8 (1920).

It need not be observed that Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero-worship" has furnished the basis for the writing of this book. It is a laudable effort on the part of this young writer to produce something for Gujarat on the lines of that famous book. Of course India does not lack Heroes, both ancient and modern, and hero-worship is ingrained in the life of an Indian. The number of Heroes is so large that it is difficult for any one to pick and choose without danger of leaving out "worthies"; so that many would find that the list of the author, comprising the late Mr. G. M. Tripathi (a well-known author of Gujarat), Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Rana Pratap, Nana Fadnavis, and Shri Krishna, is neither exhaustive nor selective. But whatever shortcoming one may find in the omissions, the justice done to the lives and the characteristics of those included in the list is ample. The treatment of the subject is original, and is based on a serious study of the materials. The enthusiasm which the writer has thrown into his work certainly deserves appreciation and encouragement.

K. M. J.

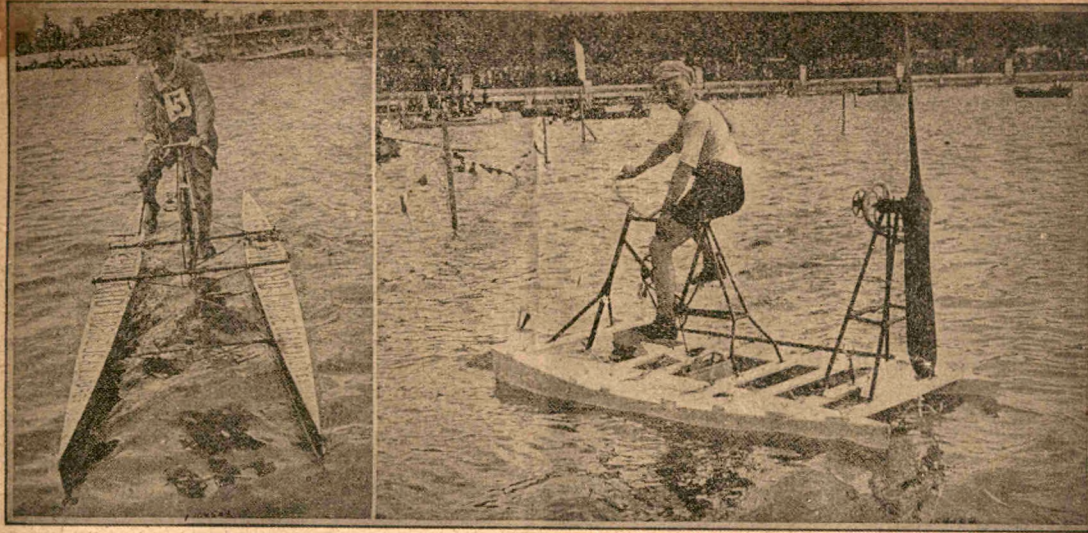
GLEANINGS

The Water Bicycle.

France has always been partial to new and odd methods of locomotion. It was France which first fostered the automobile when it was feeble, balky, uncertain and unpromising thing; France placed her faith in the airplane even before the Wrights gave their practical demonstration of heavier-than-air flying, and now France is playing with water bicycles, winged bicycles and other toys so to speak—but these are toys which may yet prove practical in the no distant future.

A water bicycle race was recently held at

Enghien, just outside of Paris. As in previous contests of this sort, all kinds of queer contraptions participated in the race. Some contestants used crafts driven by airplane propellers, others made use of the usual marine screw, while others made doubly sure of their locomotion, so it would seem, by using airplane propellers and marine screws in combination. But the simplest form of machine won. The pedals of this sort of water cycle serve to drive the propellers, while the handle bars operate one or two rudders for steering purposes.



Water-Bicycle Race Winner and another contestant with his combination marine screw and airplane propeller machine.

Smoking makes the whole world kin.

The people smoke all over the world; but their way of smoking is different in different countries. Here are some pictures illustrating the manner of smoking prevalent in some countries.

the sea. The early motor boats were exposed affair, such as the sailor man would naturally adopt; but now motor-boating, whose joys are untold, is being taken up by another class who consider, and rightly consider, that if comfort and sport can go hand in hand, they should be



JEW WOMEN SMOKING.

In Bethlehem, Palestine, the women have coffee every morning and afternoon, and smoke the hookah. It is a pipe with a long, flexible stem and a water-tank attachment. The smoke is water-cooled before reaching the smoker's lips.

Water Motor-Car.

Land luxury is being sought by travellers on



KOREANS SMOKING.

These aged Korean shopkeepers sit and smoke and smoke all day—except when a customer arrives. The Korean pipe is so long that the bowl rests on the ground. In shape they are not unlike the old English church-warden pipe.



BURMESE WOMEN SMOKING BIG, THICK CIGARS.

"An' I seed her fust a-smokin' of a whackin' white cheroot—" That's what Kipling said about the Burmese girl on the road to Mandalay; and that's how we see her in the picture above, resting in the woods.



BELGIAN WOMAN SMOKING.

She has just joined the old ladies' pipe-smoking club of Liège. She carries her own pipe and tobacco to the meeting and, between puffs, talks about the good old days, before the war, when the H. C. of L. was unknown.

made to do so. Hence we have various models to-day of what can only be described as "limousines of the sea."

The illustration shows one of these, described as "a Catamaran with an automobile coupe body, driven by an airplane propeller." That is a one-sentence description of as curious a watercraft as has yet been designed to meet the uni-



AFRICANS SMOKING.

Bokumbi village, Belgian Congo, is the home town of these three blacks. They very obviously belong to the leisure class. The bowls of their pipes seem ridiculously small in comparison with the stems, but the smoke apparently is satisfactory.

versal demand for speed and comfort. The new boat, exhibited at the recent exposition in Paris, classes as a hydroplane, by virtue of the flattened, upturned ends of its two cylindrical floats, which rise in the water as the speed increases until they barely skim the surface.

The body, entirely enclosed in glass, is entered by sedan doors of regulation style, and has upholstered motor-car seats. The wheel



WATER MOTOR-CAR.

steer and controls, too, are of a type familiar to motorists. At the rear, however, this cabin of land-craft form deviates decidedly from the standard shape, and runs out into a long, upward-curving tail, like the caudal appendage of a skate, or the stern of an ancient viking ship. The floor of the body is supported above the pontoons by braces, and is clear above the water.

The engine is installed conventionally in the

hood at the front. It may be of 8 to 10 hp., or 16 to 20, as desired. The big air screw is mounted just back of the cabin roof, steadied by an A-shaped brace. A pair of eyelike headlights completes the whole machine's fantastic resemblance to some incredible antediluvian monster or to a limousine afloat. This invention will certainly find a field of its own.

THE CATTLE-PROBLEM OF INDIA

By NILANANDA CHATTERJI, M.A., B.L.

HON. SECRETARY, BENGAL HUMANITARIAN ASSOCIATION, HOWRAH.

OF the many complex problems which one has to face here in India today the cattle-problem is perhaps one of the most important and at the same time the most neglected of all. Ours is a pre-eminently agricultural country. The Census Report shows that about three-fourths of the population depend for their living upon agriculture. Our agricultural operations are being entirely carried on with the help of cattle, and it is a matter of grave concern that both the number and quality of cattle, which form, so to say, the life and soul of agriculture, are gradually becoming more and more inadequate and dissatisfactory.

It is difficult to obtain reliable figures as to the total number of cattle in India during previous years, as no regular cattle-census was ever taken throughout the country at one time, and the agency employed was too inadequate and unsuited for the purpose. The first reliable cattle-census throughout India was taken in 1913-14, and the figures for this year alone appear to be a little reliable—the previous as well as subsequent figures are based more or less upon guess or approximation. (Vide Agricultural Statistics of British India published yearly by Government).

Although there is no accurate basis upon which it can be said that the number

of our cattle is growing or diminishing, still most of our readers, who are in touch with the mofussil, will be able to judge from personal experience what the true state of things is. However that may be, this much can be said with certainty that the number of cattle in this country as compared with the same in other agricultural countries of the world, is altogether inadequate: thus while the number of cattle per 100 population in India is only 61, it is 74 in Denmark, 79 in the U. S. A., 80 in Canada, 120 in Cape Colony, 150 in New Zealand, 259 in Australia, 323 in the Argentine Republic and 500 in Uruguay. (Vide Table below).

PROPORTION OF CATTLE TO POPULATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

(From Agricultural Statistics of India 1914-15 V. I., p. viii; Dictionary of Statistics by Mulhall; New Dictionary of Statistics by Webb; New Hazel Annual and Almanac, 1920; Whittaker's Almanac, 1920.)

| Name of Country. | No. of Cattle. | Population. | No. of Cattle per 100 Population. |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------|---|
| India (British) | 147,336,000 | 244,267,542 | 61 |
| Denmark | 1,840,500 | 2,500,000 | 74 |
| U. S. A. | 72,534,000 | 92,000,000 | 79 |
| Canada | 5,576,500 | 7,250,000 | 80 |
| Cape Colony | 1,270,000 | 1,100,000 | 120 |
| New Zealand | 1,816,300 | 1,200,000 | 150 |
| Australia | 11,956,024 | 5,500,000 | 259 |
| Argentine | 25,844,800 | 8,000,000 | 323 |
| Uruguay | 6,830,000 | 1,400,000 | 500 |

Next let us see if the agricultural cattle

that we have in India are sufficient to till the land brought under cultivation. The latest Agricultural Statistics published by the Government of India goes to show that the total cultivated area in British India is about 228 million acres, and the total number of bulls and bullocks are about 49 millions. Now from these 49 million if we deduct 25 per cent as being employed for breeding purposes, for drawing carts and the like, and another 25 per cent as being old, infirm, sick and young, there is left about 24 million of cattle only for cultivating about 228 million acres, that is to say, a pair of cattle has to till about 19 acres each season. But experts are of opinion that the area which a pair of Indian plough-cattle can till on an average during a season is 5 acres. So we require at least 4 times the present number of cattle to bring properly under cultivation the arable land of our country.

The inevitable result of this deficiency in the number of plough-cattle has been a markedly poor rate of out-turn of crops in this country as compared with that of other countries of the world.

Wheat is almost universally cultivated, and the following figures relating to wheat cultivation in the world in the year 1917 collected from the New Hazel Annual and Almanac 1920, and the Agricultural Statistics of India V. I., p. ii, (1916-17) would show that the rate of out-turn in India is about a third of that of Denmark, Holland, Great Britain, Switzerland, Japan and even Egypt, about half that of Norway, Sweden and Canada, and about two-thirds that of Spain, France, Italy and the U. S. A.

WORLD'S CROPS IN 1917

| Name of Country. | Area in acres under Wheat cultivation. | Wheat produce in Bushels. | Rate of Out-turn in Bushels per Acre. |
|------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Denmark | 131,000 | 4,287,468 | 33 |
| Spain | 10,336,000 | 142,376,740 | 14 |
| France | 10,393,000 | 134,293,756 | 13.5 |
| Great Britain | 2,103,000 | 59,623,650 | 29.8 |
| Italy | 10,433,000 | 137,324,000 | 13.7 |
| Norway | 19,000 | 429,484 | 23 |
| Netherlands | 122,000 | 3,699,718 | 30 |
| Sweden | 329,000 | 6,849,663 | 23 |
| Switzerland | 139,000 | 4,545,666 | 32.5 |

| | | | |
|---------------|------------|--------------|------|
| Canada | 14,795,000 | 233,256,994. | 17 |
| United States | 45,922,000 | 635,314,091 | 14 |
| British India | 33,067,000 | 381,258,250 | 11.5 |
| Japan | 1,457,000 | 32,658,622 | 32 |
| Egypt | 1,116,000 | 29,772,285 | 29 |

The number of milch-cattle also is scarcely enough to supply one-eighth of the present population of India with a fair quantity of milk. Taking the average yield of milk of the Indian cow (as shown in the Cattle-Statistics published by Government) to be 2 pints per head per day for an average period of 7 months, the milk that is produced by 50 millions of milch-cattle per day for the 254 million people comes to about 60 million pints per day, that is to say, each individual gets on an average less than one-fourth of a pint, whereas he needs at least 2 pints a day.

Let us now consider the quality of our cattle. It does not require much argument to convince even a casual observer that the quality of all kinds of cattle has very much deteriorated and is still deteriorating. We find in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that in Akbar's time Indian milch-cattle "used to give 20 quarts of milk a day and draught-cattle could walk faster than horses." Only 25 years ago country cows used to yield about 5 seers of milk per head per day on an average, while they now yield only one seer (=2 pints), and the bullocks could do about double the work that they can do now.

This unsatisfactory state of things both as regards the number and quality of cattle has led to an abnormal rise in the price of cattle, crops, milk and milk-products on the one hand, and on the other to the weak physique, prevalence of wasting diseases and an abnormal death-rate among the people, especially amongst the women and children.

The rise in the price of milk and milk-products is sometimes attributed to the current tendency to an all-round rise in the price of all commodities, but this view is not sound as the following statistics would show; for while in the course of the last 60 years the price of food-grains has risen from 5 to 7 times, that of milk has risen more than 40 times, and further

while the price of most other commodities in England and the U. S. A. is double and sometimes even four times that of the same in India, milk sells there at the same price as here and sometimes at an even cheaper rate.

PRICE OF FOOD-STUFFS 1857-1918.

| Name of Food. | 1857 | 1890 | 1918 |
|--|------|------|------|
| (Figures are given in seers per rupee) | | | |
| Wheat | 39 | 25 | 5.5 |
| Gram | 51.5 | 28 | 7 |
| Rice | 18.5 | 12 | 4 |
| Milk | 160 | 64 | 4 |

When we come to consider the rate of mortality amongst infants in India we find it is simply appalling, being nearly double that of the United Kingdom, Denmark and Japan, about 3 times that of Norway and Sweden, about 5 times that prevailing in Holland and the U. S. A., and nearly 9 times that of New Zealand. The death-rate of infants under one year in India is 26 per cent and most deaths are reported to be due to preventable causes, especially to mal-nutrition, and it is evident that "by cheapening the price of milk so as to bring it within the reach of the poorer classes, more would be effected," as Colb Mactaggart, Sanitary Commissioner of the United Provinces says, "towards reducing infant mortality than the presence of any number of trained *dhais* would accomplish."

The death-rate of Indians as a whole is high enough, in fact the highest on record in any civilised country of the world, but that of females between the ages 15 and 30, i. e., during their child-bearing period is still higher in comparison with the death-rate of males in the corresponding period (Vide Table below), and this is no doubt due mainly to a want of healthy and nourishing food such as milk and ghee which they urgently require at this period, but seldom get them.

DEATHS ACCORDING TO AGE.
RATIO PER 1000 POPULATION.

(From Statistics of British India—Public Health, Vol. III.)

| Year | 1908 | 1911 | 1914 | 1917 |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 15 to 20 years | | | | |
| Male | 15.84 | 14.74 | 11.31 | 12.79 |
| Female | 17.75 | 17.03 | 13.67 | 14.65 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 20 to 30 years. | | | | |
| Male | 18.52 | 15.76 | 12.60 | 14.30 |
| Female | 19.66 | 18.56 | 15.34 | 16.76 |

We are all practically vegetarians; the quantity of fish and flesh consumed by us are so small as to be altogether negligible. Milk, ghee, chhana and other milk-products form our chief source of nutrition. The growing shortage in the supply of milk and the consequent abnormal rise in its price is largely responsible for the rapidly increasing cases of tuberculosis amongst us. The Government statistics shows that there were in 1902, 38,435 such cases in India, while by the year 1917 the figures rose to 1,00,192—an increase of about 200 per cent in 15 years.

The urgency and importance of the problem, which strikes at the very root of our existence as the above facts and figures go to show, demand the immediate attention of the people as well as the rulers towards the whole question of cattle and milk-supply in India with a view to place them on an improved and satisfactory basis.

Direct enquiries in almost all the important districts, and official and non-official reports regarding the condition of India, all indicate the growing diminution in the number and deterioration in the breed of cattle, and ascribe them to the following causes in order of importance, viz.—

(a) A lack of pasture and fodder. Pasture-lands are already inadequate and they are being gradually encroached upon: fodder-crops are also very scantily grown.

(b) Want of good breeding-bulls: diversion of Brahminibulls for scavenging and other purposes: and the indifference of the well-to-do classes towards cattle-keeping and breeding.

(c) Unrestricted slaughter and export of cattle resulting in the depletion of the best breeds of cattle.

(d) Want of proper treatment in health as well as in disease: uncontrolled outbreaks of rinder-pest epidemics, cruel neglect of owners resulting in heavy death-rate of calves and the practising

of the *phooka* process unchecked, resulting in the sterility of good young cows.

Let us now proceed to consider these items one by one and see what the actual state of things is and wherein lies the remedy.

PASTURE AND FODDER.

From time immemorial, and the Institutes of Manu and Jainavalkya bear abundant testimony to it, the practice in India has been to lay aside a tenth part of every village for grazing purposes. But unfortunately in the course of time the zemindar as well as the ryot slowly began to usurp this useful land until at the present day one finds that the proportion of grazing grounds to total area is the poorest of all countries. Thus in the U. S. A., the proportion is 1:16, in Germany and Japan it is 1:6, in England, in the United Kingdom and in New Zealand it is 1:3, while in India it is 1:27. Again if we consider the average quantity of grazing land that is available per each head of cattle, we find that in the U. S. A., the average is about 13 acres per cattle as against 1.3 acres in the Bombay Presidency and 17 acres in Bengal.

PASTURE-LANDS ALL OVER THE WORLD.

| Name of Country. | Total Area. | Area of grazing ground. | Ratio of Total area to grazing ground. |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|--|
| (Figures given in million acres) | | | |
| United Kingdom | 77.5 | 23 | 3:1 |
| England | 32.5 | 10 | 3:1 |
| Germany | 133 | 21.1 | 6:1 |
| New Zealand | 6.7 | 2.7 | 3:1 |
| U. S. A. | 1903 | 117 | 16:1 |
| Japan | 105.6 | 17.6 | 6:1 |
| India | 960 | 35 | 27:1 |
| Bengal | 59.5 | 3 | 17:1 |

PROPORTION OF GRAZING AREA TO CATTLE.

| Place | Area of grazing grounds in 1000 acres | No. of cattle in 1000 | Area (in acres) of grazing land per cattle. |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| U. S. A. | 1,903,000 | 146,308 | 13 |
| Bengal | 2,929 | 17,079 | 17 |
| Bombay (Kaira and Ahmedabad) | 406 | 316 | 1.3 |

N. B. The figures are taken from the Statistical Abstract of the U. S. A., Census and Survey of Cattle Bengal, and Mr. Keatinge's Note on the Cattle of Bombay.

It is often argued that economic causes lead to the conversion of pasture grounds into cultivated areas, and this process should not be interfered with as it serves the more useful purpose of raising crops for human consumption. This argument though apparently plausible, does not stand careful scrutiny. Do we really get more crops by extending our cultivated area by this process of conversion? The statistics published in the Government Season and Crop Reports show that we do not. (Vide Table below.) Then what is the good of depriving the dumb cattle of their claims?

TABLE SHOWING DECREASE IN THE OUT-TURN OF CROPS WITH INCREASE IN CULTIVATED AREA.

| | Bengal. | Bombay. | N. W. F. Province. |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|--------------------|
| Year | 1902-3. | 1904-5. | 1910-11. |
| Cropped area in 1,000 acres | 59,314 | 61,034 | 30,742 |
| Out-turn of crops in 1,000 tons | 26,377 | 24,676 | 7,415 |
| | | | 6,898 |
| | | | 724 |
| | | | 671 |

Besides it has been found that a want of pasturage undermines the health of the cattle and permanently impairs their breed. The District Gazetteers all over India show that wherever there is good pasturage the breeds of cattle are comparatively improved, whereas a deficiency in pasturage is invariably followed by a marked inferiority in the number and quality of cattle. The method adopted in other countries to meet the growing demands of increasing population is to raise more crops from the same areas by taking recourse to intensive methods of cultivation and *not* by encroaching upon pasture-grounds. In fact the tendency in highly congested countries like Great Britain is to "gradually throw more and more land into pasture." This ought to be followed here. Grazing grounds should be protected by legislature, and District Boards, Municipalities and other public bodies should be authorised to devote a portion of their income for the acquisition and proper upkeep of pasture-lands. The Zeminders and ryots should also co-operate in setting apart sufficient lands in every village for pasturage of their cattle.

The position as regards fodder-crops in India appears to be worse than that as regards pasturage. The total area of British India is 617 million acres, the total cropped area is 261 million acres and the area under fodder crops is 6.4 million acres. In other words fodder-crops occupy only 1 per cent of the country and support 22 head of cattle to the acre. In the U. S. A. fodder-crops are grown on 3.5 per cent of the total area and give an average of 1.16 acres per head of cattle. It is high time that fodder-crops should be more extensively cultivated. The Government and the landlords should provide facilities to the ryot in this matter by arranging supply of seeds of fodder-crops free or on nominal charges, and by abatement of revenue of lands where fodder crops are cultivated, if necessary.

DETERIORATION IN THE BREEDS OF CATTLE.

The breed of Indian cattle as already stated is on the whole deteriorating, with the result that the average daily yield of milk per cow in India is at present only one quart or two pounds, while the daily yield of milk per cow is 20 lbs in England and Denmark, and 10.2 lbs in U. S. A. The want of good breeding bulls and the apathy and negligence of public bodies as well as private individuals towards cattle-breeding are directly responsible for the present inferiority of Indian breeds of cattle. Breeders who according to the last Census Report form only 2 per 1000 population consist mainly of certain aboriginal tribes and ignorant and poverty-stricken cultivators, and as such little improvement can be reasonably expected from that quarter. Stray individual efforts will be of little avail in improving the breed of cattle in the country. Concerted action on behalf of the State as well as the well-to-do classes can alone do any appreciable good. We have in India about 147 millions of cattle. Milch-cattle form about half the number, and we have only 75 Government bulls, 973 District Board bulls and 6 cattle farms with which to carry on our breeding operations on improved lines. The proportion is ridicu-

lously small and their number should be very largely multiplied to produce any appreciable effect on the country. Every District Board should have a model breeding stud and every municipality and village union should be made to keep an adequate number of high class breeding bulls whose services would be available free or on payment of nominal charges.

Formerly Brahmini bulls, i. e., bulls dedicated by Hindus during the funeral ceremonies of their relatives were permitted to roam at large, and served the purpose of good breeding bulls, but their number is steadily on the decline, mainly as the result of certain judicial decisions (I. L. R. XVII, Cal. 852; VIII, All. 51; IX, All. 348; and XI, Mad. 145) which declare Brahmini bulls as *res nullius* so that anybody may take and kill them or put them to scavenging or any form of work. The time has come when the evil effects of these rulings should be counteracted by some direct legislation for the protection of Brahmini bulls, which would at the same time vest them in certain public or semi-public bodies, who should be reasonable for their proper use and maintenance.

SLAUGHTER AND EXPORT OF CATTLE.

The unrestricted slaughter and export of cattle have perhaps done more harm to the development of the cattle-resources of the country than all the other causes put together. It has been already pointed out that we have not sufficient cattle for tilling our lands or supplying us with milk. The continual slaughter and export of the best breeds of our cattle in spite of this deficiency, has been telling very heavily upon the economic resources of our country, especially when we find that there is no adequate system of good breeding to produce cattle which can take the place of those killed and exported.

Cattle are killed mainly for 3 purposes viz.—(a) for food, (b) for the export of dried meat known locally as *biltong*, and (c) for the trade in hides. The figures that are available go to show that the number under all the 3 heads has been steadily on the increase. The income of Municipalities in British India from octroi on animals taken for slaughter, as also

from slaughter-houses has increased about 70 per cent in the course of the last 10 years, while the increase in the export of hides has been 20 times in the course of the last 50 years. The figures of slaughter that have been collected by the All-India Cow Conference Association indicate that the number of cattle annually slaughtered for food within British India come to about 10 millions. Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Sinha collected figures of slaughter of cattle for the dried meat trade from a number of districts in the U. P. The All-India Cow Conference Association has got figures of dry meat exported via Howrah from the Agent E. I. R., and the writer has also made independent enquiries. All these go to show that about 10 lacs of cattle are slaughtered every year for the dry meat trade. The figures are very high indeed and slaughter of milch and agricultural cattle should be in the interests of the country stopped at once by penal legislation. Recourse to such methods have been taken in Afganistan, Baroda and many Indian States, and there is no reason why this should not be done in British India also.

The following picture drawn by the Hon'ble Sir Charles Payne, ex-Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, is worth reproduction in this connection: "The *goala* usually buys his cows at the beginning of their second lactation period. He then sells away the calf and begins to practise the abominable *phooka* on the cows and obtains milk for 6 to 8 months at the most. By the end of that time the cow ceases to give milk and becomes unfit for breeding purposes for at least 2 or 3 years. The butcher is in waiting, and however fine the animal may be, she is sold away for slaughter without scruple for a small sum. This is a process which is constantly going on with the best cows in the country. The cruelty of it will probably appeal strongly to my hearers, but what appeals to me even more strongly is the *abominable wastefulness* of the system."

The question of export of cattle is of considerable importance. The cattle of India were formerly one of the best breeds of cattle in the world and they were re-

quisitioned by almost all other countries. Their export, though it had been going on, on a very small scale for over a century, never assumed such proportions as now. There appears to be a scarcity of cattle in many parts of the world, due mainly to the war and it is also keenly felt here in India. The result of the increase of export from India has been in the words of the Board of Agriculture in India, that the "best breeds of cattle have been considerably depleted. In the case of the Ongole breed the export has taken place mainly to Java, and it is understood that the Java Government contemplate a continuance and increase of this export. The animals exported are young bulls and female stock and the breed is exported to Java for breeding for meat" (vide *Proceedings of the Board of Agriculture in India*, 1916). Although the figures of export are not complete, still those available (vide table below) show that it had been increasing until the outbreak of the war, when there was an appreciable falling off. Present enquiries go to show that the export is again on the rise. Ten dealers from Brazil are reported to be exporting Kankreji and other good breeds of cattle from the Bombay Presidency each exporting about 1500; several veterinary officers of the Dutch-Colonial service export Ongole breeds from the Madras Presidency about 800 in each consignment, while in the course of the last few months two dealers from Java have sent two batches of excellent Punjab cattle about 500 in each batch via Calcutta to Java. Such export would have given a stimulus to good breeding if there were proper-breeding farms and the number of cattle was more than was needed for the country, but in view of the existing deficiency of cattle in the country, and in the absence of proper and adequate breeding facilities for producing good breeds of cattle in sufficient numbers and also "as the Indian cattle-owners have not become sufficiently aware of the true value of well-bred cattle and usually part with them at a price which represents hardly half its value," and further in view of the fact that cattle-owners are often obliged to part with their

best milch-cattle or agricultural cattle on the temptation of getting ready-money, which they are always in need of, even if it be to their future detriment, the indiscriminate export from the country of the best breeding bulls and milch cattle without any prospect of replenishment is simply ruinous.

The Government should, in the words of Mr. Coventry, President of the Board of Agriculture in India, "carefully look into the matter and exercise control and discrimination in the working of the trade." Many Indian States, the States of Bansda, Barwani, Chumba, Sarila, and Sayla (*Indian Humanitarian*, November, 1919, page 8) have already taken the lead in this direction and there is every reason to expect that the British Government will take similar action also.

NUMBER OF LIVING ANIMALS EXPORTED OUTSIDE INDIA.

(From the *Indian Humanitarian*, February, 1920).

| Year | 1901. | 1906. | 1911. | 1912. | 1916. |
|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Number | 3,20,835 | 3,16,996 | 5,27,706 | 5,44,588 | 3,34,310 |
| Value in £ | 1,42,634 | 1,50,878 | 1,82,787 | 2,22,200 | 1,59,287 |

TREATMENT OF CATTLE.

As India has been the home of cattle diseases, it has also been the home of veterinary science. From the time of the Atharva Veda down to that of Chakrapani Duttā of Asōkan times, the indigenous system of cattle treatment appears to have reached a high stage of perfection; and that knowledge has been preserved to some extent by the *gobāids* (cattle surgeons) of the country. The present Government veterinary colleges are limited in number and the graduates turned out by them are too few to deal with any outbreak of disease. The Statistics collected for the Parliamentary Report (vide Table below) though not complete, indicates to some extent the high death-rate among cattle and the proportion of deaths from Rinder-pest to those from other diseases. It appears that proper and timely segregation is not resorted to and that there is no opportunity of treating a major portion of the cattle affected. The indigenous system of treatment, which was inexpensive and suited to the constitution and conditions of the Indian cattle, was of considerable help in checking and

curing cattle-diseases. The system has practically died out owing to neglect and want of patronage. In view of the comparative inadequacy of doctors versed in the modern system of veterinary science, it would seem to be necessary to revive in some way the indigenous system by some form of State patronage.

NUMBER OF DEATHS OF CATTLE. (From East India—Progress and Condition—Parliamentary Report)

| Year | Rinder-Pest | Other Diseases | Total |
|---------|-------------|----------------|---------|
| 1904-5 | 92,123 | 118,996 | 211,119 |
| 1909-10 | 158,425 | 144,333 | 302,758 |
| 1914-15 | 111,629 | 124,731 | 236,360 |

CONCLUSION.

We are just at present passing through a momentous period of our national life—momentous alike from a political as well as economic and other points of view. Upon our alertness, responsiveness and co-operation depend our fate in future. Shall we rise to the height of the occasion and converge all our energies for the abiding progress of India, or shall we take life easy, sink in sloth and indifference and help the extinction of our race from the face of the globe?

In our life's struggle our cattle form our primary mainstay. Their milk constitutes our principal food from the day that we are born to the day that we die. It also forms our chief source of nutrition. The cattle forms practically our only beast of burden. It carries us from place to place, and carries our loads and merchandise as well. Our agriculture is also wholly dependent on our cattle.

This useful class of animals is threatened with two mighty evils—Degeneracy and Extinction. The writer has been enquiring into the matter for the last fifteen years. He has had opportunities of studying the problem from a theoretical as well as a practical standpoint through his connection with the Bengal Humanitarian Association and the All-India Cow Conference Association. He has given in the foregoing pages his views on the subject, and he will consider his labours amply repaid if public attention is seriously attracted to it and steps taken for the amelioration and improvement in the condition of our dumb companions.

THE TWO CONGRESSES OF 1920

BEING SNAPSHOTS, IMPRESSIONS AND REFLECTIONS.

BY MUKUNDI LAL, B.A. (OXON.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

I ATTENDED my first Congress in 1906 at Calcutta, when the word *Swaraj* was first introduced into Indian politics, as a visitor in my early student days. After the Surat split and Moderate Convention I did not attend it even as a visitor, though it was held once in my own town. And it never occurred to me that I should ever become a Congressman. In



Lala Lajpat Rai, the President of the Calcutta Congress, with Mr. Girdharilal and a Khilafat Volunteer, at the Calcutta Congress.



Srimati Saraladevi Choudhurani at the Calcutta Congress.

fact during my sojourn in England I used to jeer at my compatriots who were Congressmen in the making. I remember having criticised and ridiculed the policy and mendicancy of a patriot like Lala Lajpat Rai, to his face, in our *majlis*, at Oxford. If I may be pardoned for this personal reference, which I make with a view to explain myself, I may add that I



Two Bengalee lady-delegates entering the Congress Pandal at Calcutta.

was the first Indian abroad who exposed the hollowness and camouflage of *Montford Reforms* in a British weekly in a series of articles in London. I did not know then that papers like the *Hindu* and a few other Indian journals had exposed and condemned the *Reforms*. When a party of Indian journalists came over to England in the winter of 1918, I came to know Sjt. Kasturiranga Iyengar of the *Hindu* and learnt all about him and from him about his attitude towards the *Reforms* from the very beginning. And since then I began to change my opinion of the movement in which men like him and Lokamānya Tilak were to be found.

On my return early in the spring of 1919 I was reminded by the Bombay police by thoroughly searching my belongings and boxes and by depriving me of my

freedom of movement for three days at Bombay and by sending me under armed police escort to my destination, that I had set foot on the land of a subject race. It was 6th of April when I landed. But I did not know what had happened in my country and that my countrymen were opposing the *Rowlatt Legislation* tooth and nail, until I reached Allahabad on the 13th of April when I was allowed to move about, shadowed. A few days' stay in my own country convinced me that during my absence since 1913 India had changed and awakened, fear had been driven out of the hearts of my fellow-countrymen and that



A Madrasee lady-volunteer (Calcutta Congress).

my fellow-countrymen were ready to make a bid for freedom by the means at their disposal !

Now I was on the look out how to work and through what organisation to work for our country's emancipation. I went to the Amritsar Congress of 1919 as a pilgrim-delegate to the National Shrine of Indian Independence. I attended both the Subjects Committee and the open Congress very attentively and solemnly as a student. The Amritsar Congress made a great impression on me. I was convinced that the men who were leading the movement were such that they would leave nothing undone to work for the cause of India's freedom and that if necessary they would change the creed (the object) and



Sir Ashutosh Choudhury (Calcutta Congress).



Mr. Satyamurti and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar entering the Congress Pandal at Calcutta.

constitution of the Congress. Satyamurti, among the younger men, made a profound impression on me and I was convinced that a man like him would never mislead the country ; among older men as an independent thinker and level-headed politician Mr. Jinna impressed me very much. The Amritsar Congress made me a convert—a devotee of the Congress. I was thoroughly convinced that Congress is the only movement in the country through and in which we can work for our political salvation. Though I thoroughly believed in Non-cooperating within the councils and considered it more effective, yet in view of the Calcutta Congress decision withdrew my candidature ; and I have come to my original attitude that we can do more work outside the councils than inside.



Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar outside the Subjects Committee, Nagpur Congress.

The two men that impressed me most at Calcutta were Sjt. Chittaranjan (C. R.) Das and Lala Lajpat Rai. It also struck me that change in the constitution of the Congress had become absolutely necessary. Limiting the number of delegates and formulating a certain basis of scientific representation of all interests and geographical units is another essential feature of a deliberative representative body. The change of the constitution and composition of the Congress was left for the Nagpur Congress and it has performed its task—though there is much yet to be done both in the constitution and reorganisation of the Congress.

The Nagpur Congress was the largest and most important that was ever held. In numbers it was attended by full 30,000 people, about 20,000 of whom, I think, were delegates. In its achievement it was the greatest. It has changed the creed (object) of the Congress. It has reconstituted it. It has made provisions to make it really representative and a deliberative body of the Indian Nation. The Nagpur Congress

has declared the intention of the nation to be free and self-governing in language simple and intelligible. It has placed a political ideal before the Indian Nation worth working for and dying for.

The Nagpur Congress brought to light the Grand Old Man of Salem. The powers of control, management, tact, wit and legal acumen and acquaintance with constitutional procedure which Sjt. Vijaya Raghav Acharyar exhibited in conducting the business of the Congress, both at the open Congress and the Subjects Committee, made a profound impression on those present. His authority was obeyed and felt by even the most pugnacious and influential Congressman and he was listened to and obeyed in the interpretations of rules and constitution with the utmost respect. And he always happened to be in the right. If India was a Republican State, in him it would have a President competent to



Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, the President of the Nagpur Congress, walking with Mr. Wedgewood during recess of a sitting of the Subjects Committee.

control and guide one of the largest Republics of the world. The Nagpur Congress made two discoveries. It discovered a President for an Indian Republic, and, secondly, we discovered Republicans in the Reception Committee of Nagpur.

The Nagpur R. C. had in its draft resolutions a resolution which proposed that the object of the Congress was to establish an Indian Republic and liberate the nations of the world from the tyranny of Capitalistic States. But for the latter part of the proposed resolution, which excited laughter among serious-minded people, the draft resolution deserved a better fate than what it met with in the Subjects Committee. Is not India practically a republic in a sense, except that the head of the Indian Government is not elected and is not called the representative of the people but of a



Left to right—Col. Wedgewood ; Mrs. Wedgewood ; Mr. Vijiaghavachariar ; Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar ; Mr. N. C. Kelkar.

The President Mr. Vijiaghavachariar wanted to cover his face while I was going to snap him. He said jocularly : I will not let you snap me unless you pay for it.

person living across the seven oceans ? It may be premature to talk of an Indian Republic, but who can question the fact that the future form of government all the world over is bound to be republican, whether it be a Congressional Republic like that of America, or it be the Parliamentary Republic like that of France or it may be like the Confederated Republic of Switzerland or whether it be the Soviet Republic like that of New Russia ? When the people have the right and power to decide how they will be governed, it is for them to settle how they wish to be governed. And for the present *Swarajya* is a most suitable word which included every conceivable form of government.

THE WORK OF THE NAGPUR CONGRESS.

The Nagpur Congress has placed an



Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar—Editor of the Hindu, at Nagpur Congress.



Left to right—Mr. S. R. Bomanji ; Mr. Pichthal of Bombay Chronicle ; Mr. Pichthal ; and Col. Wedgewood, (Nagpur Congress).

ideal before the Indian Nation and shown the way to attain it. Indian politics were, so far, considered wanting in a constructive programme. The Congress has placed a constructive programme before the nation and has given a lead to the country.

The object of the Congress has been declared to be "the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." No more comprehensive and liberal object could be aimed at for the present.

The resolutions that have been passed in the Nagpur Congress chalk out entirely new lines and touch upon the most vital subjects connected with the life of the Indian Nation, and also make India take part in the joys and sorrows of the world at large. The passing of the resolution about the late Irish Patriot Macswiney in the following words : "This Congress pays its homage to the sacred memory of the great Irish patriot Macswiney and sends its message] of

sympathy to the Irish people in their struggle for Independence," the acceptance of the resolution about the *Indian States* which "requests the Princes of India to take immediate steps to establish full responsible Government in their states" are both far-reaching and cosmopolitan in their character.

The resolutions about Trade Unions and Indian Labour movement give a lie to the charge that the Congress is a bourgeois and capitalist body.

The world was looking to the Nagpur Congress for its verdict on Non-Cooperation. The enemies of the Indian Nation were expecting a split in the camp.



Mr. Jinnah—Speaking on the resolution *re.* the Change of Creed at Nagpur Congress.



Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Mahamad Ali and a kisan delegate coming out of the Subjects Committee at Nagpur.

The result of the deliberations of the Congress and the statesmanship of the leaders of the movement is too apparent to be discussed here so far as the Non-Co-operation resolution is concerned. The resolution has a positively constructive side which has laid a programme before the nation with a view to work for the attainment of Swaraja. The next Congress according to the new constitution will be and ought to be the National Parliament of India.

The Congress enters into a new phase now. It will have time and facilities to deliberate, discuss and legislate for the Indian Nation.

We will want whole time Secretaries and a regular staff of clerks and Under-Secretaries. The Congress work will go on throughout the year.

The next step will be to construct a permanent building for holding the sessions of the Congress and a home for the staff. It means the National Parliament of India and will have to be fixed once for all. The place should be easily accessible to all provinces. No other place is more central than Allahabad. It is a happy idea that the office of the All-India Congress Committee, which hereafter becomes the executive body of the Congress, is located at Allahabad.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

THE following letter has been received from the Poet in America :—

"It has given me great consolation to read in your letters what Mahatmaji is doing in the way of constructive work. Such a positive programme of duties requires no special stress of necessity to justify itself. The stars light up their flames, not because of their despair at the sun's absence, but because it is their nature to shine. One need not wait to find some cause for anger from other people's country, in order to be able to serve one's own. Let us do what we can for our

brothers, but never as a movement of retaliation against our cousins. Self-help loses a great deal of its merit when it is resorted to, as a desperate measure, by the importunate beggar thwarted in his expectation of outside help.

" 'You are wicked : I shan't have anything to do with you,' sounds quarrelsome. 'I shall manage my own affairs, whatever you may think or do,' sounds all right. Non-co-operation appeared to me to be the progeny of the union of rejection from one party and dejection from the other party ; and therefore

though I tried to shed upon it my best smile, I long hesitated to welcome it to my heart.

"Why do we not feel the miserable shame of uttering in a tear-choked voice, or, for the matter of that, in a sullen growl, to our Governors—'We are sorely disappointed in you, and therefore we have no other alternative than to come down to our own people.' It is like the exclamation of a malcontent dog to its neglectful master, 'I was willing to guard your door and beautifully wag my tail at you, if you had provided me with the remnant of your dinner: but as you never cared to do so, I go to join my own species.'

"Not very long ago, we said to our rulers,— 'We are willing to sacrifice our principles and to persuade our men to join in a battle about whose merit they have not the least notion; only, in exchange, we shall claim your favour.' It was pitifully weak: it was sinful. And now we must acknowledge our responsibility,—to the extent of our late effort at recruiting,—for turning our men into a mercenary horde, drenching the soil of Asia with brothers' blood for the sake of the self-aggrandisement of a people wallowing in the mire of imperialism.

"I am mighty glad that any reward was refused, or, at least, what was flung to us was deemed inadequate. It was ordained that we should go through our penance at Jallianwala Bagh and at the debates of both the Houses of Parliament. Let India also accept and carry out the Esher Commission recommendations, for her sackcloth and ashes!

"The word 'Non-co-operation' still chokes me. I cannot get over the shame that it carries. It will always proclaim the fact, that our co-operation came to us by a road of ignominy,—that it missed its true route and did not enter into the heart of our country through the great triumphal arch of love.

"I have ever cried myself hoarse in trying to convince our people that self-government for us is simple,—like the eye-sight to the eyes,—it is already there, only the lids have to be opened.

"The most vitally valuable part of Self-government is the 'Self.' When it comes to us as a *gift* packed in a tin from the outside,

then that very 'self' is smothered to death, and its tortured ghost becomes for us an eternal incubus.

"For a man to be kept fettered in a prison-house, is inconvenient, but not incongruous—but for him to be left fettered in an open road is tragic and ludicrous at the same moment,—for it is inappropriate. Borrowed self-government is that fettered self-government,—it has the open road, but not the free legs.

"And yet, what was it that hindered us from taking upon ourselves the full responsibility of our own education, sanitation, prevention of crimes, and such other duties that God Himself, and not Montagu or British Parliaments, had given us to perform entirely according to our own way? The sacred responsibility had been lying before our own door wearily waiting, not for any passing of a Bill, but for real sacrifice from ourselves.

"The *power* is there where there is right, and where there is the dedication of love. It is a *maya* to imagine that the gift of self-government is somewhere outside us. It is like a fruit that the tree must produce itself through its own normal function, by the help of its inner resources. It is not a Chinese lantern, flimsily gaudy, that can be bought from a foreign second-hand shop to be hung on the tree to illuminate its fruitlessness.

"All this I tried to explain in my 'Swadeshi Samaj'—and when I found that nobody took me at all seriously, and when pedants discovered to their utter disgust discrepancies between my proposal and some doctrine of John Stuart Mill, then I took up, unaided, my village organisation work, which at the present moment is throbbing out its last heart throbs in a remote corner of Bengal. Certainly, I was more successful in writing the song on that occasion,—

"If nobody cares to come in answer to thy call, walk alone.

"Of course, turning out songs is my proper work. But those, who are unfortunate, cannot afford to limit their choice to the works they *can* do; they must also bear the burden of tasks they *can not* do!"

THE ENGLISHMAN IN HIS TIGHT LITTLE ISLAND

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

THE English are right. They cannot be understood by a foreigner. I have, however, found them to be far from being reserved, as is frequently alleged. Judging by the men and women I have met in hotels, streets, "tubes", parks, and other public places, the English are among the most talkative people of the world. Indeed the trouble is not that they are too reserved, but they are too talkative. "Subscribers", the London telephone directory finds it necessary to warn its patrons, "should not engage the telephonists in long conversation."

As a conversationist, the Englishman is earnest and fluent, though not always convincing. It is, however, difficult to understand him at times. His accents are so peculiar, and his habit of slurring over certain letters is so common, that a newly arrived American is not always sure as to what the Englishman is talking about. A cigar store in London, which is located in Oxford Street, has put up the following sign: "AMERICAN IS SPOKEN HERE."

The English are not very much of a newspaper reading public. With many of them, the newspaper is a luxury and not a necessity. During the Christmas holidays the whole Fleet Street went to sleep for three days. England, the controller of the destinies of nearly one-half of the human race, had no newspaper for practically four days. The British people, in spite of such fine press bandits as Lord Northcliffe and Horatio Bottomley, had to depend for four long days on gossip and rumour for their news. What a mediaeval life the British have still to live!

Contrary to the prevailing notion in India, the natives of England are not all haughty and arrogant. Your average Englishman does try to be polite. Instances of his politeness are to be found frequently. How courteous is the conductor of the

London bus! You give him three and half pence pronounced "thru pence hefnie" and he says: "Thank you, sir." He hands you up the ticket and again he says: "Thank you sir." There seems to be no reason why he should say, "Thank you Sir;" but it is rather pleasant to have him say that.

No doubt some of this politeness is formal, artificial. I heard a man disagreeing with a lecturer at a Hyde Park meeting exclaim, "It is a damned lie, sir." I also heard a London cabdriver near Russell Square scold his horse, "Move on, please."

Inconsistency is a prominent trait of the English character. At Oxford and Cambridge Universities there are many regulations which appear to me a bit puzzling. One of their rules is that they must not frequent public houses. Does this mean that they are expected to be teetotallers? Not much! Students can not only have as much liquor shipped into their rooms as their pocket-books will allow, but even in the college dining halls, presided over by professors and tutors, they can drink to their heart's content anything they like.

Another instance of inconsistency. While I was being entertained at a luncheon by one of the Master's at Eton College, I was told of the democratic ways of the young Prince Henry, son of King George. This young man on entering Eton was asked to sign his name in official books. Without a moment's hesitation Prince Henry shed his royalty and wrote over the dotted lines, "P. Henry". As an inmate of one of the College houses, he was required to "fag". The fagging consisted in running such errands for the boys in the upper classes as mailing letters, carrying trousers to the tailor for pressing, or taking shoes to the Cobbler for repair. So far, so good.

Now, at Cambridge I came upon a sit-

uation which appeared to me very undemocratic. There degrees are still withheld from successful women students. They are members of the Cambridge university in the very real sense of the terms; but it simply ignores their academic existence. I was informed by several professors and students that the object of such a policy is to discourage women from entering Cambridge. To us who have been brought up under the more liberal co-educational American system, the Cambridge plan of excluding women just because they are women seems to be very illiberal and undemocratic.

It is true that there is no iron-clad caste system in England; but marked cleavages of social distinction do exist. Class distinctions are deeply imbedded into the English consciousness. Indeed, an Englishman seems to be as incapable of getting along without his social labels as a South Sea islander without his tattoos. Then, too, the English are very particular about the right tag on the right person. "Who are some of the most important gentlemen in this place?" I asked my landlord in one of the southern English villages I happened to be in. "No gentry here, Sir," he replied with a solemn shrug of his shoulder. "The rector might have been a gentry, but he is not. His wife, sir, was a nurse."

After such experiences one is tempted to say that the only word which describes what the English people fondly call their democracy is humbug, and no word is perhaps more flourishing in England than humbug.

From interviews with scores and scores of public men in and out of Parliament I do not hesitate to say that democracy or no democracy, Englishmen almost without an exception is an imperialist at heart. The world and the fullness thereof belong to the Englishman and to him alone. Don't mistake about that. He is the best man alive. His government and institutions are the finest. He must extend the boundaries of the empire. He must rule the waves. He is not the person to have much compunction in claiming other people's property as his own. "I must first visit my Indian possession," said a

little girl of seven when asked by a friend of mine what she would do when she grew up. Imperialism is in the very blood of the Englishman. You can no more make an internationalist out of him than you can make black white.

This leads me to say a word about the Indian propaganda in England. The Indian National Congress has been spending in this work, on an average, about three thousand pounds a year. It is now budgeted to raise the amount to four thousand. This is not a very large sum, perhaps; but from an attentive study of the subject I am convinced of the futility of trying to win English sympathy for the Indian cause. The British people take little interest in affairs of India, and much less in her political emancipation. Indian political meetings in London, meetings which are usually described in papers at home as "crowded up to the doors", as a "huge success", are meetings which are often attended only by Indians and a handful of English people. They are already convinced, or are beyond conversion and redemption.

In any case, even when the Indian meetings are "largely attended" by the British, they are almost sure to be socialists, laborites, and other radical elements. The rank and file of the British voters, as a rule, keep aloof from such gatherings. Last year two meetings were arranged for Indian delegates,—one at Manchester and another at Liverpool. How many were there at these meetings?—There were 89 people at the Manchester meeting, and 29 at the Liverpool. Again a meeting was called at Bristol, August, 1920. The expenses of the meeting ran to eighty pounds and the audience numbered by actual count 79, mostly laborites, a class of radicals who are already with India. Of what earthly benefit is it to convert the converted? Besides, is it not too much to spend a pound for each man that comes to the meeting?

In some of the localities the British people go so far as to prevent, by hook or crook, an expression of Indian opinion. At the time I was in Glasgow I came to know that the Indian colony in that city,

time and again, found it hard to rent a room to hold public meetings. Even such a "non-denominational" institution as the Glasgow Y. M. C. A. positively refused the use of its halls for a fair price to hold a memorial meeting in honour of the Lokamanya Tilak. And the Indian people in Glasgow had to go without a meeting for want of room.

Compare this attitude of the Britishers to India with that of the Americans to the Philippines. In 1918 the Philippine legislature decided to send a delegation to the United States asking for complete independence. The delegation was brought over to America in a special United States gun-boat. And when the members of the delegation reached Washington, the Congress met in a joint session to listen to their pleas for full self-government. Nor was this all. Public meetings were held up and down the continent, and every facility was afforded to present the Philippine question from the Philippine point of view.

Arnold Bennett in his latest book, *Our Women*, blandly asserts that "intellectually and creatively man is the superior of woman." Is that so? I wonder if an American man of letters of the front rank could be guilty of such a masculine vanity. But perhaps Englishmen have ample reason to be dissatisfied with their women. As I went along Piccadilly, up Regent Street, and along Kingsway, I was impressed by the fact that in comparison with American women, very few of the English women were well-dressed. They lacked something in the way of exquisite taste in dress. The general impression forced on my reluctant mind was that of dowdiness.

Slovenliness in dress is not, however, confined to women alone. At Cambridge I saw a noted professor appear before the class in a seedy patched-up coat.

To return to English women. Arnold Bennett is by no means the only man in England who says that women are men's inferior. Moreover, there are English laws in the statute books which say practically the same thing. Even to this day, according to the English law, it is much safer to beat one's wife than to kill preserved game. A man

may show outward deference, or even argue with you if you suggested that his wife is not his equal, yet he has at heart one law for himself and another for the wife. As an instance of this, look at the English divorce laws, which are nothing if not one-sided. It is difficult to see how they can fail to encourage immorality. Here are some of the actual facts of the English matrimonial law as presented in a recent issue of the London *Illustrated Sunday Herald* by Gilbert Frankan, a gifted writer and a man of the world :

"A man may live with another woman from Monday till Saturday. Provided he returns to his wife on Sunday, she cannot divorce him. Her only remedy is a "legal separation." And a legal separation means that she has no right to marry.

"A man or woman may be a confirmed drunkard, a testified lunatic, a reprieved murderer doing twenty years in gaol. That man or woman's legal mate has no redress whatever under the law.

"A man may beat his wife black and blue every night; may torture her mentally, morally and physically. Provided he has not proved "unfaithful," his wife cannot claim a divorce."

When the Pilgrim Fathers landed in America early in the seventeenth century, it is said that they had no end of troubles with the Red Indians. So to this day a common saying in America is that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." When I landed in England, one of the first persons I called upon was Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. "The soul of England," she told me with a touch of sadness in her eyes, "is in the Westminster Abbey." I wonder what she had in her mind.

England's heart—if it has any—must be in cold storage. I am forced to distrust its sham "fair play". One cold morning I noticed a poor old woman digging into a garbage can in front of our hotel, and hungrily picking up scraps of discarded food. The sight was too much for me. I went and gave her a little money. When the hotel residents discovered what I had done, they had little but ill-concealed scorn for me. "These beggars are all wretches. They should never be helped," was the gratuitous advice offered me.

Ye land-grabbers and bible-mongers!

A few days later I "folded my tent" and started for a trip to the continent. As I was leaving my hotel, the proprietor asked:

"What do you think of our country now?"

No answer.

"What is your general impression of England?" he repeated.

"Oh, it is n't so bad."

I seized my hat and coat, and turned to go. He followed me to the door, and as my taxi started for the Victoria Station, I heard him plead:

"If you ever come to England again, if ever you come back....."

"If I come back! Oh, indeed, if I come back....."

PARIS, FRANCE.

January, 1921.

THE COLONIAL SUGAR REFINING COMPANY AND FIJI

WHILE working among the returned Emigrants from Fiji, who had settled beyond the Kidderpore Docks, I came across two old friends, whom I had met in Fiji itself among the Indians out there. They came to visit me in Shantiniketan, and I asked them to give to me, in Hindi, an account of their own experiences. The following portions of their evidence seem to me to be of peculiar value at the present time. The former of the two statements shows, how utterly unprotected the Indians have been, who have gone out, and how ruthless the C. S. R. Co. is in its business methods. It should be remembered, that the indenture, which is signed, is a contract to undertake 'agricultural work'. The work of fireman of the railway engines, is skilled mechanical work; for the firemen are expected to know how to drive an engine. I think I am right in saying, that the Australian engine drivers in Fiji received 15 shillings per day in August 1917. They will probably be receiving much more today. This Indian fireman (who had also to drive the engine from time to time) received 8 shillings and 6d. per week! And yet, when he had lost a leg, while doing his daily work for the company, his employers very soon had no more use for him. They threw him away, as it were, like the skin of an orange is thrown away, when the juice has been sucked out of it. This is his story:—

My name is Ram Prosad. I was born in Misrikh Tahsil in the Sitapur District. Once, when I was sixteen years of age, I went to Lucknow to see the fair of Ram Lila. An *Arkati* (recruiter) met me there. How I was deceived by him and sent to Fiji under indenture is a long story. Though I was only sixteen, the recruiter wrote my age as 18 years in the "agreement" paper.

On my arrival in Fiji, I had to work at the Rarwai Mill in Ba District. The Mill belonged to the C. S. R. Company. There I had to work on a system of tasks. If I could finish the whole task allotted to me, I was paid at the rate of 5 shillings 6 pence per week (i. e., 4 rupees 6 annas.—C. F. A.).

If the work done was less than the full task, then the wages were also proportionately less. For the first 9 months I worked in the field. My overseer was a very good man. He was kind to me and he gave me the work of a fireman on an engine of a railway train. This was also the work of the C. S. R. Company, for in Fiji the Railway belongs to the Company. When I was working as a fireman, I used to get 8 shillings 6d. per week. By an accident near the Tunukh hill I lost my right leg. The engine was to go down a slope. I was told by the driver to throw sand over the railway line, so that the engine might not dash downwards too quickly. There was the danger of the carriages being upset if the engine came downwards with a dash. When I was doing this work, the engine slipped down and it cut my leg off half away. I had to remain in the hospital for twelve weeks. After that I lived in the coolie 'lines' for six months, and I was given food by the company. When a new overseer came, he told me,—"You will have to work now, and you cannot get any food free. On account of your leg being cut you

will be able to do only half the work, and therefore you will get only 4 shillings 6 d. per week." I told the overseer:—"As a fireman I was getting 3 shillings 6 d.; now, when I have lost my right leg in the service of the Company, you are giving me only half the wages! I have lost half of my leg but surely I have not lost half of my stomach! My appetite is as good to-day as it was before." The overseer did not pay any heed to my objection and I had to work on the wages of 4 shillings 6 d. per week. I found the work very hard, as I did not get sufficient to eat. I ran away and reached Lautokar. I was caught there, and brought back to Ba again. The Company took me to the court and I was fined 10 shillings. I had a ring with me given by a friend. I had to sell it to pay up the fine.

Then I asked the overseer for the cancellation of my agreement. He told me,—"Very well, I will ask the *Bara Saheb* (manager of the mill) about it." The overseer consulted the manager and told me that I should have to pay £10 for the cancellation of the agreement. I told him, that I had not a single penny with me. The overseer told me,—"Very well, I give you leave for three weeks. During this period you can somehow collect £10." Then I begged the people in the coolie lines. As I was a lame boy they had pity on me. Some of the coolies gave 6 d. others 1 shilling, and some even 2 shillings. Thus a sum of £3-5 shillings was collected. With this amount of money I went to the overseer, who sent me to Mr. Lamb, the Coolie-Agent (i.e., inspector of the District.—C. F. A.). He took the money and cancelled my indenture. As I was now a free-man, I was turned out of the Coolie-lines.

The Company did not give me any thing at all for the loss of my leg in their service. Not only did they give me nothing, but they even took £3-5 shillings from me before they set me free!

I would like to relate, in connexion with this fireman's story, an incident told me, if I remember rightly, by the manager himself. The Australian Engine Drivers had gone out on strike in order to obtain 15 shillings per day, instead of 12 shillings and 6 pence. The Company manager ordered the Indian fire-men to drive the engines. These railway trains go out very early in the morning, and come back in the afternoon and evening loaded with sugar-cane. The cane is often badly stacked on the open trucks, and these trucks sway from side to side in a most dangerous manner. The Australian engine drivers, having

nothing to do, sat, with their pipes in their mouths, on the wall of the station yard near the Mill, where there is a very difficult curve to negotiate, thinking that they would see a spill when the Indian drivers came back. But one train after another came in without any accident. The last train in, that day, was driven by an Indian, whom they called 'Jim' (I think his proper name was Ram Narayan). He had been given an almost impossible load of *ninety-six* trucks full of cane. He had been delayed, while these trucks were loaded up, and there was talk among the Australian engine drivers of an accident having occurred to Jim's engine up the line. But just after six o'clock in the evening, 'Jim's' whistle was heard; and when the Australian saw him come round the last difficult curve quite safely, bringing his engine and ninety-six trucks into the yard without a spill, they took their pipes out of their mouths, and gave him a rousing cheer! Yet it was men like 'Jim', that the C. S. R. Co. treated so disgracefully, when they received a life injury in the Company's service.

The second narrative gives an account of the treatment of Mr. Manilal M. Doctor by the Europeans. The Indian, who related this, is a trustworthy person. While I was in Fiji, on my last visit, I found that Mr. Manilal had been so bullied and boycotted and insulted by the Europeans, that he had very nearly ceased to practise as a Barrister. He contented himself with drawing up deeds, and with conveyancing, for his Indian clients. In that way, he did not come so much into contact with Europeans and so avoided insults. Recently, he has written to me from Auckland, New Zealand, saying that the persecution, from which he suffered in Fiji, has followed him even there.

The second statement is translated as follows:

My name is Chhedi. I was living in Suva at the time of the riot or disturbance. My land was just near the land of Dr. Manilal. There was not even the difference of one chain between our houses.

During the days of the Fiji disturbance, Dr. Manilal was always in danger of being

assaulted. I will give here an example. Once the white volunteers had a talk among themselves in the *Viti House Hotel* to beat Dr. Manilal at his house. A friend of mine named Amjad Ali who was serving in the hotel overheard them. He informed me about their conspiracy. I told this fact to Maulvi Shamsuddin at 6 O'clock in the evening. The Maulvi had a night pass in those days of Martial Law.

The Maulvi told Santa Singh Chowla about it. Dr. Manilal was informed. I had sent

word to Dr. Manilal to go to Dr. Braugh' or to the Governor himself. Dr. Manilal told the Maulvi "The son of Dr. Braugh is volunteer and I, am afraid he will not spare me and as regards the Governor, well these things are due to him. God alone can help me in this difficult situation." I heard afterwards, that Dr. Manilal removed himself to some place and thus the attempt of the white volunteers, who went to his house failed.

INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY

THE appointment of the Indian Railway Committee and the discussions that its sittings have called forth have once again brought to the fore the question, whether railways in India should be managed by the State or through Companies. We in this country are not concerned at the present moment with the settlement of the question whether Railways should be nationalised. That question has long been decided by Government. Railways in British India are gradually being acquired by Government and are mostly owned by them. This has been done in accordance with the policy laid down by Government that they would acquire all the Railways at the time when the option resting with them under contracts with Railway Companies falls due.

Indian Railway Policy has passed through various vicissitudes. When the foundations of the Railway system were first laid in India, English Companies were formed on the principle of a Government guarantee amounting to an interest at five per cent per annum, coupled with the grant of the land required, it being stipulated that the Companies should share the surplus profits with Government after the guaranteed interest had been met and that the railways should be made over to Government on certain terms at the close of 25 years. The policy of constructing and working railways by State agency commended itself to the Government of India when Lord Lawrence was Viceroy and Governor-General. This policy was, however, revised a decade later when it was laid down that "the State should divest itself of the task of working railways." The superior fitness of Joint Stock Companies, it was then urged, would so improve the income of the railways as to prevent any important loss of the profits reserved for the State. Some further modifications in the conditions of management were made later. But although the main trunk lines now belong to the State in consequence of the

policy that the railways would be acquired at the time when the option resting with it under contracts with railway companies falls due, the majority of them are yet leased to Companies for purposes of working.

Now the question before the country is, which of the two systems of management of State owned railways, management by the State or management through Companies, is more advantageous to the people of India? Comparison may be of three kinds, namely, first, management through Companies domiciled in England with a Board sitting in London; secondly, management through Companies domiciled in India, and with a Board sitting in India; and thirdly, a system combining the methods of management through Companies domiciled in England and through Companies domiciled in India.

As is well known, informed Indian opinion favours management of State-owned railways by the State. In fact, the appointment of the Indian Railway Committee is due to the demand of Indians that such a system of management should be adopted in preference to the system of Company management; and the experience of other countries strengthens the position taken up by the supporters of State management. In spite, however, of the example of countries where State management has been found to be a success and to be advantageous to the people concerned, English opinion in India whether official or non-official, appears general to favour Company management. The controversy that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah's advocacy of State management in the Imperial Legislative Council has provoked proves this in an abundant measure.

The Government of Madras have, it is found, just come forward to put in a plea for State management. Colonel Bernard Shaw, Secretary to the Government of Madras, P. W. L. (Railways), in his evidence before the India

Railway Committee suggested on behalf of his Government the abolition of the system of Company management as, he said, it had been found to be defective. This is no doubt a welcome change in the usual official attitude towards the question. But the great influence that Company interests exercise, the preponderating representation that they have secured on the Railway Committee, and the powerful support that they have so far received from Europeans both in India and in the United Kingdom, make it incumbent on the advocates of State management that no effort should be spared to press their views on the notice of the authorities.

Among the causes of the bitterness often felt by Indians against Europeans, one of the most potent is the humiliating treatment to which the former are generally subjected on Indian Railways. It is the lot of Indians, whether they are well-to-do or poor, whether they are passengers, traders, promoters of industry, or railway employees, to experience racial discrimination of a most degrading nature at the hands of railway officials, and the Railway Administration has failed to take proper steps to remove this most deplorable condition of affairs. The Railway Administration has, in fact, been found to be powerless to put a stop to the degrading and differential treatment which is meted out to Indians. This has been the natural consequence of the form of Government that has hitherto existed and of the present system of railway administration.

The Government of India being a foreign bureaucracy, the higher Railway appointments being held almost wholly by Europeans, and the management of the railways being mostly entrusted to English Companies with Boards domiciled in England, railways in India are run principally with the object of furthering the interests of European passengers, traders, companies, and businessmen. Although the State owns by far the largest portion of the capital invested in railways and the remaining capital is raised on the guarantee given by it, the railway policy is practically determined by the various Boards of Directors of companies located in the United Kingdom and by railway officials in this country who aspire, on retirement from service, to appointments on English Boards. The Government of India, of course, exercise a sort of general control. That this control is more a fiction than a reality is shown by the fact that in the case of railways under the direct control of Government the conditions are not much better than of railways managed by Companies:

Indian employees who generally occupy the lowest rungs in the Railway service cannot be expected to go against their powerful superiors, especially when the former find that the attempts made by Indian leaders and businessmen to remove the present defect of Railway

administration have failed to make any appreciable impression upon the railway authorities. Indians have naturally come to the conclusion that it is only by bringing the management of railways under the control of the State, in such a way as to make the railway policy and administration amenable to Indian public opinion, that they may expect to remove in an effective way the various indignities and inequalities to which Indians are subjected on railways. It is true that the Government of India still remains bureaucratic in character, but the Indian legislature has been enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government have greatly increased.

The most important feature of the Reforms that have been just inaugurated is the acknowledgment of the right of the people of India to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The railways are one of the principal instruments of progress and development. And in India these railways are owned by the State, the tax-payer supplying mostly the capital invested in Railways and being held responsible for the portion supplied by others. It is, therefore, the most natural thing for Indians to demand that it is not enough that the railways of the country should be owned by the State but that they should also be worked by it.

Having regard to the fact that a vigorous propaganda is being carried on by representatives of vested interests to secure the continuance of Company management in some shape or other, it may not be out of place to set forth the more important among the reasons that may be cited in support of State management of State-owned railways in India. The most outstanding argument in favour of State management appears to be the additional resources that the adoption of such a course would make available to Government. As is well known, considerable sums of money are annually received by the Railway Companies as surplus profits. These surplus profits came up to Rs. 115.57 lakhs in 1916-17, to Rs. 149.16 lakhs in 1917-18, and to Rs. 189.63 lakhs in 1918-19. This amount should be made available for such utilitarian purposes as the extension of education, the improvement of sanitation, the development of indigenous industries, etc., etc., purposes to promote which, funds sufficient for the needs of the country are not forthcoming. Nothing beyond a mere bland statement of the fact that more than 90 per cent of the capital invested in Indian railways has been provided by the Indian tax-payer is needed to convince one of the reasonableness of the demand that the benefit accruing from the railways should be enjoyed by those who have supplied this capital.

It may be pointed out that proposals are already under consideration that contemplate the raising of fresh taxes for promoting educa-

tion, sanitation, etc., matters which have been placed under the charge of Indian Ministers. The way in which the Government of India have of late increased public expenditure by raising the salaries of officials serving in the higher services in which the emoluments have already been more than adequate and by creating new appointments, while keeping undecided the question of providing proper remuneration to men in numerous lower services which are mostly manned by Indians has caused justifiable suspicion in the public mind about the motives and intentions of the authorities.

No Government which have the real interests of the people at heart would squander away the resources at their disposal by creating new posts many of whose holders either do not know what they are required to do or have been asked to do things which could have easily been done with a little readjustment and rearrangement of the present machinery, and then ask those who are anxious to launch on programmes of social reform to find out the funds required for such purposes by calling upon the tax-payer to come to their rescue by making additional contributions to the coffers of Government. On a par with this is the Indian railway policy which provides that British companies should be helped with large sums of money as surplus profits while the country cannot undertake much needed schemes of social reform and economic advance for want of necessary funds. This drain on the resources of India can be stopped by substituting State management for management of State-owned railways by Companies. Such a course cannot but have a very important bearing upon the taxation of the country.

An equally important reason in favour of State management of railways is the impetus that such a system may be expected to give to the development of indigenous industries and to the promotion of trade and commerce in the general interests of the country. The Indian Industrial Commission in their Report have shown how the policy pursued by Indian Railways tends to retard, instead of fostering, the growth of indigenous industries. The Commission refer to certain specific instances to prove their argument, and then observe: "There may be justification for these expedients in many cases, but it would appear that they often affect trade undesirably. They have accentuated inequalities and have, on the whole, tended to operate to the disadvantage of internal traffic and, therefore, of Indian industries." Mr. S. C. Ghosh, the well-known railway expert, formerly special Officer with the Railway Board, in his monumental work, "A Monograph on Indian Railway Rates," quotes numerous instances to show how the policy followed by Indian railways in the

matter of the fixing of goods tariff has prejudicially affected the development of indigenous industries and of the internal traffic of the country. "The public side of the case," Mr. Ghosh says, "is that in instances where the local industries of India are affected by the imports, whether it is right for railways owned by Government, to encourage imported traffic by low rates, which are not allowed in similar goods locally produced in India."

It has been pointed out repeatedly in the Imperial Legislative Council, in the press, and on the platform, how the present rates have encouraged imports to the detriment of indigenous industries, but these protests have been so many cries in the wilderness. When the railways are brought directly under the control and management of Government, if this Government is a popular Government, the present iniquitous system which favours foreign exploitation and sacrifices the permanent interests of the people with whose money the railways have been built and are maintained, cannot be expected to endure long. That is why frantic efforts are being made for the continuance of company management at the present moment. The vast amount of stores and machinery required for Indian Railways are mostly procured from foreign countries. This is done not in the interest of India but for the benefit of British merchants and companies. When the management of railways is transferred entirely to the State it would be possible to reverse this policy. This would materially help the development of Indian industries.

Among the other advantages that might be expected to accrue from State management one of the most important is a larger employment of Indians in the higher railway services. It is notorious that a very insignificant proportion of the appointments in the superior services are now held by Indians. An improvement in the conditions of railway labour and of the lower railway services may also be expected under the system of State management. It appears that the present deplorable conditions in these matters cannot last when the railways come under State management, especially at a time when the Indian legislature has been made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government have increased, when the policy of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration has been placed in the forefront of the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government and when the Indian element in the Executive Council of the Government of India has been substantially increased. Besides a system of State management will be of great help to the people in the promotion of technical education by affording facilities for technical instruction of certain types. This will remove one of the greatest needs of the country.

A sore cause of complaint of Indians is the utter disregard on the part of the Railway

INDIAN RAILWAY POLICY

authorities of the convenience and comfort of Indian passengers. Indian travellers, especially those travelling in lower classes, are not only put to very great physical discomfort, but are often humiliated and insulted by railway servants and not infrequently by European and Anglo-Indian passengers. I do not mean to suggest that the conditions in this respect in State managed railways are at present satisfactory. The present conditions of State managed railways may reasonably be expected to be improved under the influence of the reformed Indian legislature.

Economy in administration is another advantage that may be expected from the transfer of the control and management of railways to the State. It would be possible to effect economy in two ways. First, by doing away with the present system of multiplicity of managing authorities and vesting the work of management in a single central State department, and, secondly, by gradually replacing the existing highly paid foreign staff by properly trained Indians. When economy has been introduced in these ways it would be possible to bring about reductions in passenger fares and in rates for goods, which have become a pressing necessity.

If Indian Railway Policy is to be shaped in accordance with the needs and requirements of India, and in conformity with the wishes of the people of the country, the first thing necessary is to bring the railways directly under the management of the State. The removal of the evils of the Railway Administration complained of by Indians would be rendered easier when the management has been made amenable to public opinion and the railways are run not to satisfy particular interests but for the benefit of the people at large. The gain that will accrue from the resulting contentment of the people will be an asset of no mean value to the Government and the community.

I have indicated the more important among the reasons that may be urged in favour of management of railways in India by the State. The supporters of the system of Company management have put forward many objections to the transfer of management of railways to the State. Among these objections are that a system of State management is likely to give rise to political dangers and political intrigues; that it is less efficient than management through Companies; that it is more costly and that it is not possible for a Government to carry on the administration of railways on business and commercial lines. It is possible to controvert all these arguments against the introduction of a complete system of State management of State-owned railways in India.

The other day a European witness who appeared before the Indian Railway Committee did not feel any hesitation in suggesting that management of railways by the State was

undesirable because such a system would lead to the appointment of a larger number of Indians in the higher railway services. It has been proved beyond any cavil, that the rates for goods have in many cases been fixed in such a way as to help the import of foreign goods, a policy which has been found to be prejudicial to the development of indigenous industries in India. The less, therefore, the advocates of Company management sermonise on the special liability of the Railway administration under State management to be influenced by political motives the better. In fact the strongest argument in favour of State management of State-owned Railways is that such a system under the new conditions in India would help to free the Railways from the domination and control of a selfish clique, consisting of people who have generally been found to be anxious to advance interests that are detrimental to the people of this country and are guided by motives that are purely political.

It may not be known to many that Lord Lawrence when Viceroy of India advocated State management in an important minute on the subject. "In no single respect can I see," said Lord Lawrence, "that less efficiency is to be secured under direct Government control than under joint stock companies having their Boards in London." "The history of actual operations of Railway Companies in India," his lordship added, "gives illustrations of management as bad and extravagant as anything that the strongest opponent of Government agency could suggest." His own decided opinion on the point was, Lord Lawrence further said, that the direct agency of Government would certainly be more economical than that of railway companies. The view expressed by Lord Lawrence is supported by many others who are able to speak with authority on the subject. Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., a well-known expert in Railway matters, has once and again urged a similar view. And we find a correspondent of the London *Daily News*, an advocate of State management, declaring in respect of Company managed Railways in the United Kingdom that "millions are wasted that could be saved by unification and centralised management, as with the Post Office."

The relative advantages of the two methods were considered by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. In the Memorandum that they have presented to the Indian Railway Committee, they declare that the Committee of the Chamber "can observe no undue advantage on either side." Mr. T. Robertson, special Railway Commissioner, who came out to India in 1901, in his report published in 1903, put it on record that he did not think that the management of Railways by Companies in India was in any way superior to management by the State. It

will thus be seen how flimsy is the foundation on which the argument that Company management is more economical and more efficient than State management is based.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the Railways are almost entirely managed by the State in the following countries: Germany, Italy, South Africa, New Zealand, Japan, Belgium and Rumania. China, Chili, Switzerland, Denmark, and, Russia before the war, were countries where State Railways predominated, but where privately owned Railways also existed. In countries such as Canada and France, where company management has so far prevailed, measures have already been taken for bringing the management, as far as possible, under popular control. In the United States of America and the United Kingdom where the system of Company ownership and Company management has so far been almost a fetish, a great change in the railway policy and administration appears to be impending. President Wilson in his address to Congress on Federal Control of Railways said in 1918 :—

"It had become unmistakably plain that only under Government administration can the entire equipment of the several systems of transportation be fully and unreservedly thrown into a common service without injurious discrimination against particular properties. Only under Government administration can an absolutely unrestricted and unembarrassed common use be made of all tracks, terminals, terminal facilities and equipment of every kind. Only under that authority can new terminals be constructed and developed without regard to the requirements or limitations of particular roads. But under Government administration all these things will be possible, not instantly, but as fast as practical difficulties, which cannot be merely conjured away, give way before the new management."

In the United Kingdom not only Labour leaders but some of the most prominent and distinguished among the Liberal statesmen of the day have declared themselves entirely in favour of nationalisation of railways. In the course of an article entitled "The Problem of To-day, Industrial Unrest and Its Remedy", which he contributes to a recent issue of *British Dominion Trade*, an important trade journal, Lord Haldane says:

"There are certain great industries which we might nationalise—the railways for example. I think we are in sight of that."

In a speech that he delivered at Paisley in February, 1920, Mr. Asquith said:

"Experience shows that there are certain industries and certain services which in the interests of the community can be better and more safely carried on by the State or the Municipality than if they were left to private enterprise. They are for the most part of such a kind that, from the nature and necessities of the case, you could not have free competition between rival producers and purchasers without the danger—and there is always the danger—of creating a monopoly."

In his work, "New Liberalism", published in October, 1920, Mr. C. F. G. Masterman discusses the question at considerable length. Mr. Masterman says :—

"The present chaos combines the disadvantage of both individual and Socialistic schemes. It cannot endure, as and there seems no possibility of return to pre-war conditions, it is evident that the only way out will be unification under State ownership and working"

Mr. Masterman urges that the Railway administration must be ultimately responsible, through Parliament, to the community as a whole and neither to past share-holder nor present employee, for the working of the system in the interests of the community.

Sir Henry Tyler, the British Railway expert, remarked years ago that "if the State does not control the Railways, the Railways will control the State." Referring to this observation by Sir Henry Tyler the correspondent of the *London Daily News* referred to above writes thus in that paper:

"This prophecy is now fulfilled, the opportunist government is now yielding to vested interests. They learn nothing from Colonial, and especially from German State Railways, which since being nationalised, have yielded £ 150,000,000 of revenue, and saved taxation to that extent."

The results of the working of Railways in the United Kingdom should serve as a warning to the authorities in India. Having regard to the experience of countries like Germany, Japan, Belgium, etc., where State management of Railways has been a great success and in view of the fact that the trend of modern railway policy is towards government ownership and government management, the only logical conclusion to which the authorities in India should come is to decide in favour of direct State management in preference to any form of Company management.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI.

THE OPIUM CRIME OF GREAT BRITAIN, INDIA AND JAPAN

A CRIME is being committed today, which is more deadly, more hateful, more hideous in its hypocrisy, than even the Great War itself.

An insidious opium poisoning of China has begun all over again, and her population is again being debauched owing to the sale of opium from India.

No nation, in modern times, ever made a more wonderful struggle forward out of a national degradation than China did, between the years 1907 and 1914,—when, at last, the opportunity was given to her by Great Britain to get free from the opium curse which had been killing body and soul. This nefarious traffic had been forced by gun-boats and bayonets and rifles upon China, in two blood-thirsty and ruthless wars, waged by Great Britain against her with the help of Indian troops. These wars were directly fought, to maintain the power and profit, which come from keeping China defenceless against the opium drug, and from forcing that drug upon her.

In 1907, Great Britain at last, after a century of these criminal proceedings, agreed to limit the sale of opium from India, stage by stage. Each successive year, the amount of opium, that China was forced to receive and admit, was diminished. Those who visited China, before the outbreak of the European war, noted with admiration the change which had taken place. If only a few more years uninterrupted endeavour could have been guaranteed, it is probable that China would have set herself altogether free from this curse. One of the greatest moral victories of the human race seemed nearly within sight of achievement.

Then came, with the suddenness of a hurricane upon the whole world, the Great European War in all its fury. A deadly opportunity was then found, by a body of commercial criminals of various nations, to begin once more the systematic opium

poisoning of China. This was done, for monetary gain, by insidious underhand methods. In the North, the method employed was that of morphia injection. At the same time, almost unlimited smuggling was going on in the South. Meanwhile the Indian Revenue, from opium export, went up from £1,572,218 in 1914-1915 to £3,160,005 in 1916-1917.

The chief Governments engaged in this nefarious traffic were three, (i) the Government of India, as controlled by the British Parliament, (ii) the Government of Great Britain, (iii) the Government of Japan. It must be remembered, that there were international agreements; but these can easily be circumvented, when huge profits are to be made. It is the duty of Governments, who hold opium monopolies and are responsible for the cultivation of opium, to see that the opium grown is used for medicinal purposes. If it is clearly being used as a *poison*, the Government which holds the monopoly, and sells the opium to those who are using it as a *poison*, is clearly itself guilty, as a participant in the crime.

This is what has happened. During the war, the Indian Government has been selling opium abroad, which has been manufactured, far beyond all medicinal requirements, into morphine. This morphine has been shipped, chiefly from Great Britain, at enormous profits, to Japan. From Japan, this poison has been taken over, with the connivance of the Japanese Government, to China. There, in the North, the morphia injection habit has taken the place of the older opium smoking habit. It is far more deadly in its effects.

Let us retrace this chain of evil. The Indian Government has been making enormous profits from the cultivation and sale of opium. The British manufacturers have been making enormous profits by the manufacture of opium into morphine. The Japanese middlemen have

been making enormous profits by the hawking of morphine injection "shots" (as they are called) in China itself.

The coolie class in China are the victims. They have been tempted to spend their miserably small earnings in trying these injection "Shots" of morphine. When once the habit is formed, it appears almost impossible for these Chinese coolie to give it up so long as temptation is thrown in their way, even though death stares them in the face and their bodies become wrinkled, shrivelled and disfigured.

One anna per "Shot" is the rate of payment. Mr. Edmund B. Chaffee, of America, a resident in China, and a very careful writer, has stated, that if these "Shots" per day are taken of this drug, death is certain in a few months' time. Furthermore, he states, that, at the lowest estimate, fifteen millions of Chinese have now become morphia addicts. This number is rapidly increasing. He informs us, also, that the importation of morphine, according to official figures, rose in Japan from 30,000 ounces in 1913 to 358,543 ounces in 1915 and 600,228 ounces in 1917! After that, there has been a drop, owing to a reform in the law, but there are reasons to believe, that this falling off is only temporary, and that in a few months' time the opium and morphia traders will have found some new means of evading the law.

The writer, Mr. Edmund B. Chaffee, whom I have quoted, states, as a conservative estimate, that *thirty tons* of morphine reach China, each year, chiefly from Japan. When one realises, that the income from such sales, at the price it is sold to the Chinese coolies, amounts to nearly £10,000,000, one can understand the vileness and horror of this nefarious traffic.

A great part of this opium is grown in India. It is a monopoly of the Indian Government which is under British control. I have not the latest figures for the Opium Revenue returns, but the year 1916-1917 showed an income, to the Government of India, from the sale of opium *outside* India, of £3,160,005. What the income was from opium sold *inside* India, is difficult

to ascertain. The receipts for Excise, (which includes all liquors and drugs) came to £9,215,899; and a considerable part of this was due to opium sold *inside* India. We are officially told, that *the increase in the sale of opium in India itself, during the ten years ending 1916-1917, amounted to 44 per cent!*

I have pointed out already, how opium (as distinct from morphine) is getting into South China by the back door of French Indo-China through the port of Saigon, and also by smuggling on a large scale from Hong-Kong and Macao, and in lesser amounts from Singapore and Soorabeya and many other ports, where Chinese are able to buy opium, (exported from India) with hardly any difficulty. I do not intend to repeat that story of South China over again, though it is shameful to the last degree for the Government of India, which has, to all appearance, connived at the traffic.

I wish to take one single example, from another part of the world, in which I am personally interested—Mauritius. My deep interest is due to the fact, that I have received, through Mr. Manilal M. Doctor, an urgent invitation from the Indians themselves to go to Mauritius, and enquire into the conditions of those who settled there under indenture. The population of the Island is 377,000, of whom 258,000 are Indians and 3000 are Chinese. I have known only too well, the wretched lives, and degraded moral conditions, of indentured Indians. Though the Indians of Mauritius have all finished their indenture, their moral characters cannot be changed in a moment. The Chinese have been increasing in number lately and they have brought the opium habit with them. The Indian indentured labourers have fallen easy victims to the vice, thus introduced by the Chinese. There is now every sign, that the Indians are becoming confirmed opium victims. The Indian Government, not content with having sent out to Mauritius (under its own indenture regulations of 40 women with every 100 men) these Indians in the first instance, is now occupied in

sending this opium poison to them, in ever-increasing quantities.

The following figures from statistics from British India will show the facts :—

Opium exported to Mauritius

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----------|
| 1912-13 | ... | ... | 10 chests |
| 1913-14 | ... | ... | 19 " |
| 1914-15 | ... | ... | 23 " |
| 1915-16 | ... | ... | 65 " |
| 1916-17 | ... | ... | 120 " |

The revenue collected from opium by the Mauritius Government has gone up in one single year by 400 per cent !

The limit of our humiliation is surely reached, when we thus increase our own Indian revenue, at the cost of completing the degradation of our own Indian settlers abroad !

We shall go on being thus dragged in the mire and dust, until we gain by suffering and sacrifice, our complete independence. We must learn, by constant humiliation and by bitter experience the supreme necessity to think and to act for ourselves, and not to hand the government of our own people over to others.

Shantiniketan,

C. F. ANDREWS.

ESHER COMMITTEE REPORT

COMMISSIONS and Committees are the orders of the day in the administration of India. They do not seem to be designed for the promotion of the welfare of India or the happiness of its inhabitants but for that of its present rulers and natives of England. What the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said about a quarter of a century ago regarding these Committees and Commissions is equally true even to this day. He said :—

"In India, when the authorities are decided upon certain views which are not likely to be readily accepted by the public, a Commission or Committee comes into existence. The members.....are bound always to take and support the Government views...."

Every word of what that distinguished Parsee gentleman said, as quoted above, is applicable to the Army in India Committee of 1919-1920 popularly known as the Esher Committee. This Committee was appointed with the following objects :—

1. To enquire into and report, with special reference to *post-bellum* conditions, upon the administration and, where necessary, the organization of the army in India, including its relations with the War Office and the India Office, and the relations of the two Offices to one another.
2. To consider the position of the Commander-in-Chief in his dual capacity as head of the Army and Member of the Executive Council, and to make recommendations.
3. To consider and to report upon any other matters which, they may decide, are relevant to the enquiry.

The personnel of this Committee was such

as could not inspire confidence in the breast of any thoughtful Indian. It counted as one of its most distinguished members, Sir M. O'Dwyer of Panjab notoriety. The two Indians on it cannot be said by any means to be representatives of the people. Sir Umar Hayat Khan, although given the military rank of Major, is not a very highly educated man or a man of independent views. Sir K. G. Gupta knows or understands very little of army affairs. So they were not selected to safeguard the interests of the taxpayers of India.

The report of the Committee is a most disappointing one and if the recommendations recorded in it, were given effect to, the welfare, the happiness, the interests of the Indian population would be seriously and irretrievably jeopardised.

In the opening paragraph of the Part I of the Report, the members excepting the two Indians of the Committee, write :

"We cannot consider the administration of the Army in India otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire ; yet we have no indication of the form of organization which may be set up in the future for the control of other parts of those forces, or of the whole.

We realize, and the evidence of Lord Allenby confirms our belief, that the war has left Eastern Europe, and what is commonly known as the Near and Middle East in a condition of grave unrest, with consequences to India, especially as regards her military and financial resources, that we are unable to ignore.

As a reason for this they say further :

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We desire also to mention that we have been requested, in considering our recommendations, to avoid, if possible, framing them in such a manner as may hereafter prove inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards a Dominion status; and we observe that the Indian Constitutional Reforms recently proposed have in view the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State, as well as of Parliament, over the Government of India.

Then again they say :

We are strongly of opinion that greater latitude should be allowed to the Governor-General in Council and to the Commander-in-Chief in India in matters affecting internal military administration, in order to secure greater efficiency, and especially the greater contentment of the Army in India.

Taking, then, existing institutions and the present conditions in India as the basis on which to work, we consider that we shall be laying the foundations of a sound Imperial military system, if the plans we propose are consistent—

(1) with the control by the Government of India of Indian military affairs;

(2) with giving to the Government of India a voice in questions of Imperial defence, and

(3) with allowing the Imperial General Staff through its Chief to exercise a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India.

The manner in which they took evidence is thus mentioned :

At the outset of our inquiry it was necessary to decide whether formal evidence should be taken. After consideration, we determined that it was undesirable to add to the mass of documentary evidence already available. We consequently decided to take counsel with high officers, military and civil, and certain independent persons whose views and experience could simplify our task, but not to record their evidence formally.

How objectionable this mode of procedure was is evident from the Report itself. No Indian publicist was asked to give his evidence or views on this momentous question affecting India.

Part I of the Report consists of three sections, *viz.*, (1) The India Office, (2) Defence Committee and (3) The High Command. The Committee have, though not consciously, done a great service to those Indians who have agitated for the abolition of the India Office, and for the control of Indian affairs by the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament. They write :—

1. The relations between the India Office and the Government of India are presumably based upon the importance of keeping the control of Parliament as far as possible intact over Indian expenditure. The theory, sound in itself in view of the bureaucratic form of Government of India, has proved to be illusory in practice. The business of

Parliament is too great and too complex to enable any effective control to be exercised by the House of Commons over Indian expenditure. In practice, therefore, the control of the India Office has been merely the control of one bureaucracy over another.

But then they want to substitute one lesser evil for a greater one, when they recommend—

During the war the Commander-in-Chief in India communicated direct with the War Office. We consider that this freedom of communication should now be established as a permanent right on a regular official basis; but should be limited to communications between the Commander-in-Chief and the Imperial General Staff. The Secretary of State for India should be kept fully informed of such communications.

They want to sacrifice the interests of India for the benefit of the Britishers. India must be made to feel her inferiority in matters military. They want to nullify the workings of the Reforms granted with a flourish of trumpet to India by depriving her of the control of her Army.

We are unable to see any advantage, from the point of view of India, in retaining upon the India Council in London the services of an officer of high military rank. It is undesirable that the Secretary of State for India should be left in any doubt as to the quarter from which military advice should be offered him. The principle upon which we think it important to insist is that the sole responsible military adviser of the Secretary of State should be the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

If this system can be established, the chain of military responsibility for questions of an Imperial character will be complete. On the one hand the Commander-in-Chief will look to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff for supreme direction in all questions of Imperial military policy in which India is concerned; and, on the other hand, the Governor-General will look to the Commander-in-Chief for military advice upon questions in which India only is concerned, and also upon questions of a wider military character with confidence that the Commander-in-Chief will be in a position to express upon the latter the considered views of the Imperial General Staff.

We would suggest that the Secretary of the Indian Defence Committee should be placed in direct touch with the Secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee in London, so that as far as possible the measures concerted by the latter should be applied by the Governor-General in India, so far as they are appropriate, to local conditions.

We are unable to admit any close resemblance between the principles which are applied to army administration in this country, governed as it is under democratic Parliamentary institutions and the conditions that obtain in India, where the government remains of a bureaucratic character with such Parliamentary checks as are found to be possible.

No analogy exists between the Government of India and that of any European country.

We are in agreement with the General Staff view that the Commander-in-Chief in India should be more directly in touch with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, with a view to obtaining increased efficiency as regards the organization, equipment and training of the Army in India, so as to develop the military resources of India in a manner suited to Imperial necessities.

But we are not prepared to dogmatise as to whether the Government of India or the Imperial Government at Whitehall is to be responsible for the military safety of India.

For this reason we suggest that the Commander-in-Chief in India should be appointed by His Majesty's Government on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and that the same procedure should be observed in the appointment of the Chief of the General Staff in India.

The Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India seems to have approved the above mentioned recommendations of the Committee, for the Committee in writing to Mr. Montagu, state (Part II of the Report) that "the proposals made by us in Part I have been in the main approved by Government."

The real reason for not keeping the Indian Army under the control of the Government of India will be evident from the opening sentence of the Part II of the Report:

"Throughout this Report, we have been guided by the consideration that the army in India as in all civilised states, furnishes the ultimate sanction for the security of the people against external aggression and for the maintenance of internal tranquility."

The phrase "the maintenance of internal tranquility" means that any Christian British officer of that blood-thirsty monster of General Dyer type might massacre with impunity any member of innocent Indians on the ostensible plea that they were rebels and it was necessary to polish them off in order to maintain "internal tranquility."

Again, Indian Army will be mobilised at the sweet will of the military gods in England on the pretext of "the security of the people against external aggression." The taxpayers of India will be saddled with the cost of all military operations outside India, because the members of the Committee write:

Without wishing to labour the point, and while fully recognising that conditions in India and at home are in many respects dissimilar, they wish to emphasise the desirability, where possible, of assimilating the organisation in India and at home, for the following reasons:—

(a) The centre of gravity of probable military operations has shifted from West to East. In the

future we must contemplate the possibility of our armies operating in the Middle East, based partially on India and partially on home. It is essential that the general headquarters of a field army should be able to work smoothly and without confusion with both the Indian and home military authorities.

(b) Differences in system make it difficult for officers to pick up their work quickly when interchanged, and the importance of such interchange of officers between home and India has been frequently emphasised.

It is much to be regretted that the Indian members of the Committee did not protest against the above, they failed to look through the reasons assigned for "bleeding" India of men and resources, for imperialistic purposes. Gravest dangers stare India in the face if the above suggestions of the Committee be carried into effect. The other sections of this part of the Report will not interest general reading public of India, for they deal with dry matters of detail, regarding the composition and functions of the military council and military finance. At the end of this part of the Report, there is a long table showing the proposed distribution of duties at Army Headquarters and of Members for Munitions and Marine.

Parts III to IX of the Report which cover a wide field have been submitted with a covering letter from which the following extracts will interest Indian public:

Although our terms of reference include the words "where necessary the organisation of the Army in India," we have not conceived it to be part of our duty to enquire into or to submit recommendations regarding the numbers and composition of the Army in India, nor the specific purposes for which that army is required in view of the greater responsibilities assumed by the British Empire in consequence of the Treaties of Peace recently concluded. We have made recommendations, at your request, in regard to the formation of a Territorial Force in India, but we were not invited to express an opinion upon the ratio of British to Indian troops.

In the concluding Part of the Report we have drawn attention to the effects upon Indian finance of the recommendations which we have made. It is impossible for us to form even an approximate estimate of the cost to the Indian tax-payer, but we are convinced of the necessity of raising the standard of living for British and Indian soldiers of all ranks, if the spirit of both is to be maintained at the high level which the interests of the Indian Empire demand.

One of our Indian colleagues, Sir Krishna Gupta, has reminded us, in a note appended to this Report, of the momentous declaration of policy made in August 1917, with a view of placing India on the road to the attainment of a Dominion

status. That we had not overlooked this Proclamation was made clear in the letter which we addressed to you in connection with Part I of our Report. A Dominion status implies responsibilities as well as privileges, and this obvious reflection has been borne in mind by us throughout the whole of our enquiry and the recommendations which we have based upon it.

Another of our colleagues, Sir Umar Hayat Khan, holds strong opinions on the subject of the conditions of enlistment in the Indian Army, and views with grave apprehension any suggestion to convert it into a short-service army on the lines of some continental armies.

Every bureaucrat in India is smelling "Sedition" in the utterances and doings of the people of this country. So the Committee of which that autocrat of "autocrats"—Michael O'Dwyer was a prominent member was bound to see that the loyalty of the Sepoy was not in any manner tampered with by the agitators. It is, therefore, that Part III of the Report deals with "Internal Security and Liaison between the Military and Civil authorities" as well as "Propaganda" at considerable length. The following will be very interesting reading to the Indian public:

The functions of the army are to repel external aggression and to maintain internal security. For the proper discharge of the latter duty, it must keep close and constant touch with the civil authorities, who share the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. They should therefore be kept regularly informed of such military matters as:—

(a) An unhealthy spirit among the troops.

(b) Attempts from without or within to tamper with the troops, to excite disaffection or to spread political propaganda.

(c) Ill-feeling between the troops and the local civil population.

It appears that, at present, there is no regular system of communicating information on such points between the army and the civil authorities.

It is true that, since the outbreak of the war, the civil administration of each province prepares and forwards for the information of the Government of India a fortnightly report on the general political situation in its area, and copies of these reports are furnished to Army Headquarters, to the Commands, to divisions and in some cases to brigades. In addition, a weekly summary of the political situation in India as a whole is drawn up by the Director of Central Intelligence and circulated to heads of provinces and certain military authorities. On the other hand, the army furnishes no corresponding information to the civil authorities. Cases have been mentioned to us in which the civil Government was seriously embarrassed by the absence of information as to seditious influences at work in particular units, as to the results of enquiries into cases of mutiny and sedition within the army, and as to the return to civil life of men

discharged from the army on suspicion of seditious tendencies or of communicating with the enemy.

But it is not enough to establish a system of liaison between the superior military and civil authorities. To be really effective, the system must be extended to the local civil and military officers, on whom arrangements for internal security must ultimately devolve.

With this object we make the following general suggestions:—

(a) Periodical summaries of military, external and internal, intelligence, likely to have a bearing on the internal situation, should be furnished by Army Headquarters to provincial Governments, which should be responsible for communicating such items as they consider necessary to the local officers concerned.

(b) Periodical conferences should be held between the local civil and military officers for the discussion of matters of common interest.

(c) There should be closer relations and more regular correspondence between different provinces on matters which are likely to affect the internal security of more than one province.

(d) As a large portion of the Indian Army is now employed overseas in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc., where movements and influences hostile to the British Government in India may be at work, it is desirable that these areas also should be brought within the sphere of the Indian military and civil intelligence agencies, so that information bearing on the Indian Army or on political movements likely to affect India, may be made promptly available in India.

(e) As in recent years many seditious and revolutionary movements in India have been initiated and organised in Europe, America, Africa, and the Far East, and one object common to all of them is to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian Army, information from those areas should also be obtained by the Government of India and promptly transmitted, as far as necessary, to the civil and military authorities concerned.

(f) The intelligence collected under the above heads should be collated and disseminated by one responsible authority in India.

Propaganda.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have endeavoured to outline the steps that should be taken to ensure co-operation between civil and military authorities in obtaining indications of local feeling, and the earliest information of attempts to spread disaffection. We think, however, that these in themselves will be inadequate unless suitable measures are taken to bring before the army and the classes from which it is drawn, in clear and simple language, correct information as to the progress of events and the policy of Government. We consider that there should be a central bureau at the headquarters of the Government of India, in close touch with local Governments and with the authority referred to in paragraph (24), and that this agency should be responsible for the collection and timely dissemination of such information.

We are also led to believe that there have been in some cases friction and misunderstanding

between the press and Army Headquarters, owing to the fact that information upon matters affecting the army has not been freely communicated to the press.

Herbert Spencer wrote:

"Down to our day continues the cunning despotism which uses native soldiers to maintain and extend native subjection—a despotism under which, not many years since, a regiment of sepoys was deliberately massacred, for refusing to march without proper clothing."

Without the "loyalty" of Indian troops, the days of "cunning despotism" by which England rules India would be gone. It is therefore necessary to keep the Jack Sepoy under control. Sometimes the Sepoys have been considered to belong to quite a separate species from the ordinary Indian people.

At one time it was not considered unsafe to allow the freedom of the press, as long as it did not affect the native troops.

But with the spread of education, spirit of patriotism was bound to grow amongst Sepoys in provinces long under the administration of the Christian rulers. So the practice of recruiting Sepoys from those provinces was abandoned. Not many years ago, it was discovered that the Sikhs were losing their martial instinct. We wrote in November, 1912, p. 551:—

If True, What does it Mean?

According to the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, the Nicholson Committee, which has been conducting its proceedings in secrecy, has discovered "that military efficiency in India has entirely shifted from the quarters in which it is generally said to reside, that the native Indian troops are no longer regarded by the highest military authorities as being of much fighting value, and that the Government is under the necessity of widening its area of recruiting and at the same time sacrificing part of the establishment which it at present possesses if it is to maintain an army of a high standard." It is hinted by the same correspondent that the Sikhs have lost their fighting qualities and so, in future, the Indian army will consist at most entirely of Gurkhas and of Afridis and other Pathans.

We do not know what truth there is in the statements of the above correspondent. If not too late, we suggest the Committee to take evidence in public, for the Indian tax-payer as well as the soldier is interested in its proceedings.

Since the above was written, the British Empire has in reality, though not in names received an immense accession of new territory, parts of which have still to know the "blessings" of "peace and order." Once "peace and order" have been established there, mercenaries will be available there for

recruitment in the Indian Army for keeping India in subjection. That prospect makes it essentially and vitally necessary for us to win freedom immediately.

From time to time proposals are therefore made to recruit the colored troops of the Indian Army from outside India, that is to say, to have pure mercenaries who are not expected to have any sympathy with the children of the Indian soil. Even now, a very large proportion of the Sepoy army is recruited from the population of non-British India. Such are the Gurkhas from Nepal, Pathans from Afghanistan, Dogras from Jammu and Chamba, Rajputs from Rajputana, Marathas from the feudatory Indian States of the Deccan.

"Loyalty" of the Sepoys is to be maintained at any cost. We are afraid that to maintain this loyalty, the liberty of the Sepoy will be more and more curtailed in years to come. Already the Sepoys' position is not an enviable one. They are not allowed to leave their quarters after the tattoo-call. As we wrote in the *Modern Review* for June 1907:—

"The Sepoy is considered to be a man of such an intriguing nature, that he cannot be trusted with light in the room in which he sleeps after 10 p.m. It is assumed that if the Sepoys be permitted to have light in their rooms at night, then they might conspire against the Government and so after 10 p.m. the Sepoys' lives present the darkness and stillness of the graveyard. But such is not the case with the barracks of the British soldiers."

It was to maintain the loyalty of Sepoys that one Commissioner F. Williams then serving in the North Western (the present United) Provinces suggested to the Army Commission of 1859 which sat for the re-organisation of the Native Army after the Mutiny of 1857, that

"There should be no more huts in the lines, but open barracks, each to hold a company, so that European officers could look after the men, and the men could not entertain propagators of sedition."

He also submitted a plan of the arrangement of native barracks with the object of keeping the Sepoys always under surveillance. In the appendix to the Report of the Army Committee in India is given a plan of an Indian officer's house in the regimental lines. May we know if it has been designed with the object of keeping Indian officers under surveillance?

It was in the name of "loyalty" that the regiment of Sepoys was massacred in

cold blood at Barrackpore in 1823 by the order of a Christian Commander-in-chief. It was again in the name of "loyalty" that the Indian Mutiny was suppressed by blowing from the mouth of cannon many a Sepoy.

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive?" So said Macaulay in his well-known speech in the House of Commons in 1833. If not the people of India, at least the Sepoy is kept in ignorance to keep him "loyal."

It is greatly to be regretted that the Report under notice contains nothing to better the prospects of Indian soldiers or any proposal on which Indians could congratulate the members of the Committee as having discharged their task to the satisfaction of the Indian tax payer, out of whose money they were paid to serve on the Committee.

The reforms in the Indian Army which we advocated about twelve years back are as urgently needed today as they were more than a decade ago. What those Reforms are will be evident from the concluding portion of our article on "India's Military Problem" published in this *Review* for December 1908, which we reproduce below.

"I. RECRUITING.

"The Native Indian Army should be recruited from every race, creed and caste of India. No such distinction as fighting and non-fighting races or castes should be recognized by the Indian authorities, but every Indian should be considered eligible to enter the Army provided he is physically and morally fit to perform the duties of the soldier. The enlistment of foreign mercenaries and men who are not inhabitants of British Indian provinces should be discontinued.

"II. OFFICERING.

"The Native Indian Army is at present officered by British and Indian officers. The former hold the King-Emperor's but the latter [at present for the most part], the Viceroy's Commission. The duties performed by native officers are those of warrant officers belonging to British regiments. Their pay is very small compared with the emoluments of the white officers. It is highly desirable in the interests of India, that the native officers should be educated men belonging to respect-

able families. They should be trained in some institution like Sandhurst or Woolwich. The Duke of Connaught, when he commanded the Bombay Army, proposed the establishment of an institution like Sandhurst in India. Unfortunately this proposal was not given effect to. It is highly desirable that an institution like the above should be, as soon as possible, established in this country to which persons of education should be admitted for instruction and training. If they are found qualified and suitable in other respects, they should be granted commissions not as Jemadars but as second Lieutenants and Lieutenants.....

"As the number of Indian commissioned officers increases, the number of British officers attached to Indian regiments should be reduced.....

"III. SEPOY.

"From the earliest times of the rise of the British power in India, although the Sepoys have been very loyal and faithful to the British and contributed materially to the establishment of their power, they have been mercilessly treated whenever they have been guilty of any offence, however trivial. Since the suppression of the Mutiny and the reorganization of the Indian Army, much power has been vested in commanding officers of the native corps, which power, if they do not actually abuse, they, at least a great many of them, use in such a way as even the most despotic ruler of any portion of mankind could not have very safely ventured to exercise.

"It is necessary to revise the Indian Articles of War and bring it in conformity with the military Law of England. The punishment of the Sepoys should not for the same offence be greater than that inflicted on the white soldier in India. Flogging should be at once abolished from the Indian Army.

"The pay of the Sepoy also should be increased.....

"The quarter in which the Sepoys live, compared with the palatial barracks of the white soldiers, are very wretched and insanitary. Regarding the article "How the Sepoy is Housed" which appeared in the *Modern Review* for September, 1907, Mr. W. T. Stead wrote in the *Review of Reviews* for October, 1907, as follows:

"An article on how the Sepoy is housed contrasts the official optimism of the supreme Indian authorities, with the very unsatisfactory reports tendered

by the district principal medical officers. Here is certainly a strong case made out for barrack reform."

"It is very necessary to improve the Sepoys' quarters. They should be constructed of *pucca* bricks and the floors also should be *pucca*. It is because the houses of the sepoy are not built of good materials, that they suffer more from plague, consumption and other epidemic diseases than the British soldiers..."

"There are many other grievances and disabilities under which the Sepoys labour. A good many of them have already been indicated in the *Modern Review* for June, 1907. To make the Sepoy efficient, all his grievances should be redressed and disabilities removed.

"IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIVE ARMY.

"No secret is made that the Native Indian

Army is organised on the principle of *Divide et impera*..... It is unworthy of a nation like the British, brave, civilized and Christian, to adopt the reprehensible policy of *Divide et impera* in any branch of Indian administration.

"V. THE ONE THING NEEDFUL.

"The one and the most important thing needed by the British Indian Government is the reposing of confidence in the Indian people instead of distrusting them. If that is done, then all the departments will be reformed without any trouble. The Indian military question will be then the easiest thing on earth to solve." —*The Modern Review*, December, 1908, pp. 513-15.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN HOLLAND

FROM the many letters which have been received from the Poet since he left India for the West, it is clear that his stay in Holland touched him most deeply of all. In England, last summer, he had found disappointment and disillusionment, except among those who had been, from the first, among his literary friends. The attitude of the people in general, especially the upper classes, towards his own country and towards Ireland, had left upon him an impression of gloom. In France that gloom was lifted, and he felt himself at once at ease among those, who had no relation to India, such as that of ruler and ruled,—a relation which destroyed all hope of pure friendship. The French also, he found, had no racial pride separating them from Asia. Rather, they revered Asia, as the Mother of Civilisations. Thus, in France, the Poet's letters became brighter and happier than those he had written from England.

But it was in Holland, as I have said, that Rabindranath Tagore was most deeply touched of all. I had intended to make extracts from letters, which I had received from those who were with him, giving descriptions of his visit; but, by great good fortune, we have had staying with us, quite recently, at Shantiniketan, Dr. J. J. Van der

Leeuw, and he has written out for me his own impressions of the Poet's reception. Dr. Van der Leeuw was the Poet's host in Rotterdam and accompanied him elsewhere, so that he is able to write with a first-hand knowledge of the facts. While staying with us in the Ashram, he gave us a strikingly vivid picture of the way in which the Dutch people, who belonged to the poorer classes, flocked everywhere to see the Poet, and how he had won all hearts.

Dr. J. J. Van der Leeuw's description runs as follows:—

"When the wise Poet came to visit Holland, he did not find an audience strange to him and his works, but, on the contrary, thousands of enthusiastic admirers, full of joy at his coming, full of love for him and his works. In Holland, Tagore is considered as one of the representative men of the New Era; his works in English and in Dutch translations are widely read and appreciated. 'The spirit of Tagore' is even an expression used to denominate a certain attitude in life, which is becoming more and more universal, as time goes on.

"Thus it was a loving group of friends, whom Dr. Tagore found on his entering Holland, where he had been invited by the

Theosophical Society and the Free Religious Community. Wherever he came he found homes open to receive him, people proud to call him their guest. I do not know of any European, who, in these later years, has been received as this great Poet, to whom such signal honour has been paid by the people of Holland.

"The love and admiration for him grew as his visit progressed. By his lectures, but even more by his personal charm, he strengthened the tie already existing. What struck us in him, was the spirit of beautiful wisdom and simple joy in life, which made his very presence a blessing.

"During the fortnight of his stay, he lectured in the chief towns: Amsterdam, the Hague, Rotterdam; the universities of Leyden, Utrecht and Amsterdam, and also at the school of Philosophy at Amersfoort. Everywhere the halls were packed, thousands had to go away without being able to find a place. From all over the country, people flocked to hear him, and to see him. In Utrecht, he was received by a welcome speech in Sanskrit, which by the way is taught at all the Dutch universities. But perhaps the greatest honour was paid to him, when he was invited, in Rotterdam, to deliver his lecture, not merely in the Church there, but from the pulpit itself. It was the first time that a non-Christian had thus been honoured; and it was meant to convey the message, that his importance as a religious teacher was universal enough to give him the right to stand on the pulpit of a Christian church.

"No one who was present; on that occasion, will ever be likely to forget him, as he stood amongst the flowers decorating the pulpit and gave his message on "The Meeting of the East and the West." One of the most moving moments was when the president of the committee of reception had thanked him for his stay amongst us (Rotterdam concluding his tour.) and when he answered with a few words of farewell, which went straight to the hearts of all present.

"The only consolation on his going was his promise to return to Holland as soon as he could.

"A sincere welcome will await him there, now as always!"

Dr. J. J. Van der Leeuw told me, in conversation, that his own Dutch people are somewhat phlegmatic in character and not easily moved; but when they have once

given their heart's affection, they never take it away again. He himself had felt the greatness of this event, that had happened in his own country—the visit of the Indian Poet. No one had ever come to Holland from India before, and won the hearts of his own Dutch people in such a manner. He explained to me, that the Dutch have a deep vein of spiritual religion running through their nature, and that it was as a *religious* Teacher that they received the Poet, who came to them from the East.

A letter written in French to the Poet may partly reveal the spirit, in which the younger generation of thoughtful men and women, on the continent of Europe, (who have just come through all the horrors of the Great War), are regarding the writer of 'Gitanjali'. I shall strictly eliminate anything, that might disclose the writer's identity, and shall thus make the letter anonymous. It is one of many hundreds of letters, from every part of the world, which I have had the privilege of seeing and reading. None are so poignant, in their spiritual longing for help in time of need, as those which have come from Europe. The hunger for spiritual truth is so great. The writer says,—

"From my early childhood, everything I heard about India attracted me irresistibly; and so I began to read the Belgian translation of your Gitanjali in a spirit of unique sympathy. I was then twenty years old,—full of zeal and love for liberty. Modern Christianity had only touched my heart superficially: it had not got the power to satisfy it fully.

"I was very deeply moved after reading your first songs. Quite a new world, of which I had been dreaming for a long time, suddenly and actually revealed itself to me in them. You had touched the most intimate chords in my heart's music, and they had responded. A great happiness flooded my life, till it brimmed over. I used to speak about you and your religious ideas to my friends. These friends were a group of young poets and musicians with Christian convictions. But they were steeped in dogmas and creeds, which satisfied them; and they were alarmed at my enthusiasm and my joy. Their antagonism to your 'pantheistic' philosophy, as they called it,—from which they undertook to save me,—ended by throwing me back into doubt. I had now estranged myself from you,

and I felt the full weight of my moral isolation.

"And yet, in the very depth of my being, I could hear the voice saying,—if I may apply your own words,—*"I am certain that priceless wealth is in thee, and that thou art my best friend. But I have not the heart to sweep away the tinsel that fills my room."*

"The great war in Europe found me in this mood. Fate took me to England; and there, in solitude, I was reconciled to myself. I saw your books. I took up again 'Gitanjali'. I read it and read it over again, and—also the 'Gardener', 'Crescent Moon', 'Chitra', 'Sadhana', 'Fruit-gathering'. In the month of May, there came upon me a complete transformation, a joy at times overpowering. A boundless gratitude and admiration filled my mind. 'Gitanjali' became now my constant companion. Every morning, I read a poem from it; and its profound meaning became more and more clear. Unconsciously I learnt to pray.

"During the winter of 1917, I read 'Personality.' Then it was, there dawned upon me the full light, the assurance of truth itself in its fullness.

"That was Peace. You had uplifted my spirit to make me understand and love intensely all things. I had realised the existence of this infinite rhythm, which united my soul to the universal Spirit. I understood the secret of that harmony, which must unite me to all that exists and will exist, the true love, which does not seek *me*, but *Thee*. I could understand that this love feels the soul of the all-embracing world and seeks to place itself in unison with it. And then,—since it is the love of unity, of harmony,—it is the love of the One, the Infinite, which 'floods my life and brings me such intensity of joy.'"

I will conclude with one more extract from a letter, written in German, which again I shall quote without mentioning anything that might disclose the writer's identity. It runs as follows :—

"How glad I would have been, if I might have known personally one, whose works are now so inexpressibly dear to me! Indian philosophy had long been familiar to me; through my dear friend and teacher, Paul Deussen. I have longed always to go deep into the Upanishads and the Vedas. But I am sorry, that I do not know sufficient Sanskrit yet, to reach out to the originals.

"You have perceived so thoroughly the

tragic fate of the West, in her giving up her soul to the tyranny of the Machine. Yes, this reliance on the mechanical, rather than on the personal, has undoubtedly been our spiritual death. But is there now any deliverance left from the general break-down of the Civilisation of Western Europe? Is not the whole of mankind being drawn into that whirlpool which lies between Scylla and Charybdis? And, if so, is not the deliverance of a single individual only half a deliverance?

"You, in common with the best of mankind, believe that the Infinite Spirit will create a new force, in order again to unite mankind that has gone astray. You know, that a spiritual Inter-nationality will lead men back to the origin of Life,—to the Soul. And you know, also (for you have taught us), how little mere organisation can do to effect this, of how little worth outward institutions are, in comparison with persons who are in earnest. I wrote to you, revered Poet, that a movement of a deep inner kind, born out of necessity, is taking shape, and that it will work and work only for the rebirth of Humanity. We require no programmes, no institutions, but only Humanity itself.

"You have brought forward a noble theme in your Ashram, at Shantiniketan, Bolpur, and it was a great joy to me to hear, that you were intending to invite comrades from the West to share your Eastern hospitality.

"Alas! How terribly the bridges that lead from one people to another have been shaken! How obstructive have been the barriers separating one race from its fellow! It has been my great longing to travel, at least once in my life, to India, and to breathe the spiritual atmosphere that pervades your circle. But, after this war, who knows whether at all, or when, that desire may be made possible?

"Revered Poet, my command of English is so little, that I have been obliged to write in German. If you honour me with an answer, will you please write in English or French, both of which I can understand to read. If it is possible for me to come to India, the greatest desire of my life will have been fulfilled! For, there, I shall drink of the Spirit of Wisdom from the fountain-head. With profound reverence I greet you."

These letters appear to me to reveal something of the deep reverence and affection, with which the Poet is held on the continent

of Europe. They explain what Dr. J. J. Van der Leeuw has written about his visit to Holland. There is no shadow, of that patronising spirit, which has darkened the minds of so many English people, owing to that supremely false relation, of one people ruling 'over' another people. As Mr. H. G. Wells has so wisely said, in the concluding volume of his "Outline of History," the time has surely come when this hateful phrase, 'subject' nation, should be 'blotted out altogether from the history of mankind. It poisons all friendship at the very source.

Rabindranath Tagore is proposing to come back from America to Europe in April, and to visit the different countries of Europe during the summer months of this present year. The most cordial invitations have poured in upon him from every side, and he is hoping that his new purpose to found at Shantiniketan, Bolpur, an International University,—a meeting place of East and West,—may be carried one step farther forward by his visit to the continent of Europe this summer.

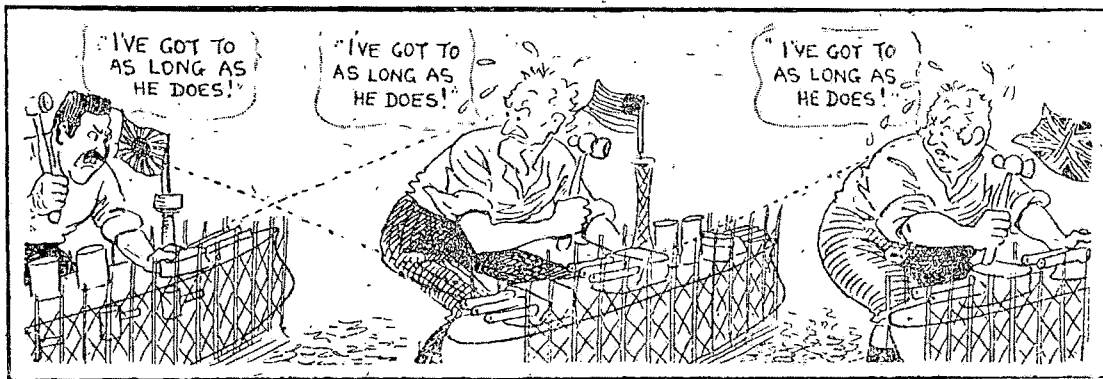
C. F. ANDREWS.

CARTOONS OF THE DAY



The Concert at Geneva.

—From *The Liberator*.



Another Vicious Circle.

—From the *American Tribune*.

Each Big Power makes the Annexation Policy of the others its excuse for Acquiring New Territory and Planting its Flag there.



Infant Democracy.

—From *The Liberator*.



GHOSTS.—The Profiteer has thrown away Democracy, Liberty, Sanity, etc., into the Waste-paper basket. So he has now to face the Ghosts raised by himself.

—From *The Liberator*.



DISCRETION IS THE
BETTER PART OF
VALOUR.

MARIANNE, OF FRANCE—"I would like to be friends with you, Fritz, but I am afraid that if I do, you'll only start more fighting."

FRITZ, OF GERMANY—"Do I look like more fight, with only one good arm and one good leg? When I begin to get better I shall have plenty to do without fighting you."

—From *Nebelspalter*
(Zurich).



Left the Gate Open.

—"Brown" in the
Chicago Daily
News.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Magpie Robin or Dayal.

The Agricultural Journal of India for January contains an interesting account of the Magpie Robin or Dayal, with a fine coloured picture. We read therein :

Persistent pessimists are wont to say that in India the most gorgeous flowers have no scent and that birds have no song, but the Magpie Robin, with many other birds, gives the lie to the latter part of this assertion, as the cock bird has a fine range of melody which is heard especially in the spring. This is one of our most familiar birds, occurring commonly, but never in large numbers, throughout the whole of Continental India and Burma and Ceylon, being especially a bird of the Plains, although it ascends the Himalayas to a height of about 5,000 feet. The cock is a perky-looking bird, rather smaller than a bulbul, glossy black with its lower parts sharply marked off in white, a white bar on the wing and the outer tail-feathers white; it runs along the ground after insects and has a habit of elevating its tail perpendicularly at the end of its run. The hen bird is marked much like her mate but shows greyish-brown in her plumage where his is black. The sexes pair for life and are commonly found in gardens, their habits being very robin-like. They are rather pugnacious birds, a pair generally keeping the whole of a garden to themselves, and the hens are, as Finn observes, of much more retiring habits than their mates. According to Hodgson, these birds are caged for fighting purposes: "Fighting these tame birds is a favourite amusement with the rich (in Nepal), nor

can any race of game cocks combat with more energy and resolution than do these birds."

The Importance of Forests.

In the same *Journal*, Mr. S. K. Gurtu, Member, Board of Revenue, for Irrigation, Gwalior, writes on the importance of forests. He begins his article thus:—

The importance of forests to all civilized nations was emphasized by the late President Roosevelt in his address to the American Forest Congress assembled in 1905 to discuss ways and means of stopping the rapid deforestation going on in America. After some preliminary remarks the President observed: "The great industries of agriculture, transportation, mining, grazing, and of course lumbering, are each one of them vitally and immediately dependent upon wood, water, or grass from the forest. The manufacturing industries, whether or not wood enters directly into their finished product, are scarcely, if at all, less dependent upon the forest than those whose connection with it is obvious and direct. Wood is an indispensable part of the material structure upon which civilization rests, and it is to be remembered always that the immense increase of the use of iron and substitutes for wood in many structures, while it has meant a relative decrease in the amount of wood used, has been accompanied by an absolute increase in the amount of wood used. More wood is used than ever before in our history."

In sounding a note of alarm against wilful destruction of forests Mr. Roosevelt remarked: "If the present rate of forest destruction is allowed to continue, with nothing to offset it, a timber famine in future is inevitable."

The writer shows how forests act as Nature's reservoirs.

It is claimed for forests that they lead to greater precipitation of rainfall, and we may well hope that by the extension of forest area rainfall conditions will improve. This, however, is not so important as the direct conservation of moisture by forests. A great portion of the rainfall, in a thickly covered forest, is absorbed by the leaves. Of the balance which falls to the ground a considerable portion is caught up by leaf-mould and sheddings of the trees and undergrowth, which hold it prisoner for a considerable period, and if the precipitation is incessant and extends over a long period, reluctantly as it were, they allow a small portion to go to the outfall, but the excess escapes gently and keeps up a slow though steady discharge. What the streams lose in amount, they gain in steadiness: instead of the surplus rushing off torrentially to the sea, leaving the drainages dry within a few hours of rainfall, the amount escaping is very much smaller, but continues for months—the forests act as Nature's regulating reservoirs and flood moderators! No fine particles are allowed to be carried to the sea, and in consequence of the slow rate of the run-off a very considerable portion of the precipitation finds its way into the subsoil and helps to raise the water table. The deepening of the water courses, if not altogether stopped, is greatly minimized. Agriculture is benefited by the steady flow which lasts to beyond the *rabi* season. The presence of moisture in forest areas tends to keep the temperature low, not only within the forest, but for miles around. This greatly modifies the climate which is rendered more equable, and in consequence of this hygienic conditions improve. Trades and industries dependent on forest produce flourish, work is found for thousands of men and the cause of civilization and humanity is advanced. The State is directly benefited in the increase of revenue and indirectly in the prosperity of its subjects.

A Swedish Indologist.

"The Diary of an Indian Tourist" by Mr. N. Chatterjee, published serially in the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*, besides being interesting contains much useful information. From the February instalment we learn of the work being done by the Swedish Indologist Professor Dines Andersen. Mr. Chatterjee tells us:

He showed me his *magnus opus* in manuscript, a complete dictionary of Pali language and its history and critical survey of every word giving reference to the text in Pali literature. He has already written and published a Pali grammar for the students, which he assures me is used by the candidates for the university examinations in India. He brought the little book from his shelf for me to look into it. He has devoted years of earnest labour in the study of the Vedas and the Mahabharata. He brought down from one of his shelves the Bombay edition of the Mahabharata in which the South Indian Texts are published and the Calcutta Edition published by the Asiatic

Society of Bengal in 1837. He pointed out to me a lot of misprints in the Calcutta Edition.

In answer to me he said that the Mahabharata is not the composition of one person. The book bristles with interpolations. He has discovered several thousand verses in the South Indian Texts which are not to be found in the Calcutta Edition. This is one of the important and cogent proofs of the assertion made by him. He has on the shelf P. C. Roy's and M. N. Dutt's translations in English of the Mahabharata, which he says are very unsatisfactory. He thinks that the Indian mind is not critical. It likes to be, but religious bias throws a cloud over its mind and so prevents it from clear, natural understanding of the texts. He thinks that Vyas is a mythical person but the uncritical Indian mind loves to believe in his real existence.

He spoke of a gigantic plan of Professor Ludeas of Berlin to bring out a fully annotated, critically examined edition of the Mahabharata; the plan was to get together all the European Sanskritists to work in co-operation with some real Indian scholars for the publication of such a book. It was conceived before the war; my host set to work upon it and has made some progress in the work allotted to him. Now he finds that the French and the English scholars will not join the Germans in this stupendous enterprise of bringing out the Concordance of the Mahabharata. He is also engaged on a glossary of Pali language in collaboration with a young Swedish scholar, Mr. Helma Smith, who has been Professor Andersen's student for 12 years.

We are left in doubt whether Prof. Andersen has heard of the projected edition of the Mahabharata being prepared at Poona with the pecuniary assistance of the Chief of Aundh.

High Prices and Standard of Living of Labourers in the West.

Mr. N. Chatterjee writes in the same periodical:—

I doubt very much that prices in Europe will ever go down and settle to pre-war rate. The labouring class earn beyond the avarice of a city clerk or shopman or a shop-girl. They have, in consequence, raised their standard of living and no power on earth will be able to put them back into the old formula of life. The East has its own maxim of life. It resigns to poverty, displays a make-believe contentment in abjectness and squalor, and smiles a sickly smile over all this lowliness, and looks up to the sky for the removal of the misery it endures. I have often asked myself the question, "Why does the East bring itself to that condition of mind and why is it in perpetual despair?" The answer to that, I believe, is that the East has no notion of the rigour of the law of life which nature has imposed upon it. That law demands obedience to the law of the struggle for existence with its concomitant by-laws, viz., the adaptation to environment, the power of co-operation, sympathy, pride in one's race, mental and physical development and the knowledge that each year is going forward

and not moving backward. It does not realise that everything in art, science and manufacture, which the genius of man has produced, belongs *ipso facto* to all races of man and that everybody must strive to get the benefit of it. It is exactly this idea which has prompted the labouring classes in Europe to avail themselves of it. Talk to any man either in France, England or Norway, Sweden and Denmark, as I have happily been able to do, he will make you quiver with shame for the impudence of putting such a question to him.

Svalof Institute of Agriculture.

All who are interested in up-to-date scientific agriculture would do well to read Mr. N. Chatterjee's description of the Institute of Agriculture at Svalof in Sweden. After describing the institute, he addresses the following remarks to the editor of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* :

Svalof Institute is of so great an importance that the Board of Agriculture in England and even Professor Biffen send out men to learn the method and arrangement of the great patriotic work it is doing. But your students come to England to learn agriculture. England is backward in it, yet the Indian Youths are sent over. They must come over here and gain knowledge. Do not let us live in darkness when the wide world is open to us. I have given you the outline of the work that is being carried on in it. I have not been paid my expenses to come over here and in Copenhagen to observe and learn what these institutions are achieving for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Your future Minister of Agriculture will be well advised to take a leaf out of the books of these institutions which I have described. He should not be deterred by a feeling of jealousy, for we are all jealous of one another in India, a characteristic vice of a degenerate race, from undertaking such an enterprise. In the beginning, the Universities must create a staff of expert botanists and specialists. When we have got such a body, then it will be for the Minister of Agriculture to send their young men out in the country or villages to instruct the farmers, big, or small, by study and cinematographs, who will if humanly approached, extend similar assistance to our own enterprise as they do here. When that is done, it will not be long to set up such institutions throughout the five provinces of India, all working and moving in intimate co-operation with each other. Our country is essentially agricultural, and the only means to increase the wealth and comfort of the farmers and agriculturists and thereby enhance the richness of the country is to adopt the system and the principle on which the agriculture is carried on, of which I have given you inviting and tempting description.

The Joint Family System.

Mr. V. B. Metta observes in the *Social Service Quarterly* :

Social reformers have been concentrating their attention upon certain details of social reform, like the remarriage of widows or the prevention of infant marriages, but they have not definitely decided, after some forty years of agitation for 'Social Reform,' whether they are going to continue their old type of society,—which is of the patriarchal type or whether they are going to aspire after the individualistic type of society. The fact is that the majority of these reformers do not understand clearly, until they are told, that the few reforms that they are introducing or have already introduced, are only the fragment, or aspects or the inevitable result of the individualistic type of society. Under these circumstances, they should make up their minds now to introduce individualism in nearly all its forms logically and generously in their midst, so that the reforms will follow in its wake without much storm or trouble.

He holds that owing to its impact with the industrial civilization of the West, "the patriarchal system must fall, for it will not be able to withstand the onslaught of the evil genius of industrialism. We have to face facts. Industrialism might be a road to hell. Patriarchalism might generate some good virtues *when in a healthy state*, but we cannot escape the influence of the time-spirit absolutely. If we do, India will never take her place among the great nations of the world. Japan, the land of artists, had to bow before this spirit absolutely. If we do, India will never take her place among the great nations of the world. Japan, the land of artists, had to bow before this spirit in order to become strong, and so, let India take a lesson from her." It may be that patriarchalism must give way to industrialism. But must it give way to *hellish type of industrialism*? We think not.

By patriarchalism the writer refers to the joint family system. In his opinion "some of the evil effects of this institution on the individual" are as follows :—

Age tyrannizes over youth in such a system of life. Winter triumphs over spring, as well as over summer. The younger members of the joint family have hardly any existence of their own. They cannot decide anything for themselves. How many of the noblest aspirations of youth are thus killed by uncomprehending, rigid old men and women. A person cannot marry anyone without the approval of the elders (a word so delightfully reminiscent of Mormonism) of his family! He cannot select his profession without their approval! Why any man lives under such humiliating conditions, is beyond one's compre-

hension. The tyranny of elders has prevented the Indian from growing up mentally, imaginatively, and morally. He is atrophied—he has become a mere shadow of a full man.

Working Hours and Efficiency of Labour.

The Business Review is right in holding that "the fact that the time allowed for recuperation contributes to efficiency equally applies to Indian labour."

Those who grudge to reduce the working hours in India are only contributing to the inefficiency of labour. Many of the Indian capitalists do not know that by refusing to reduce the working hours they are depriving themselves of much efficient work and more output.

Very often the charge is brought against the Indian worker that he is less efficient than the western labourer and that he has a tendency to idle away his time. But one who has closely studied the life of an Indian labourer would not find it difficult to refute this charge. In the first place the Indian labourer, in spite of the enhancement of his wages, is not able to make both ends meet. For want of co-operative organisation to advance him loans at reasonable interest, he dangerously runs into debt taking loans from *Marwaris* and others at exorbitant rates of interest. His struggle for existence is really a bitter struggle which annoys him to the greatest possible extent. Again his housing condition is as wretched and abominable as one can imagine. Living as he does in a congested area he is not able to resist any epidemic that might invade his locality. In many instances he has to walk a long way to the factory. The factories for the most part are not so constructed as to make the labourer feel comfortable while at work. If a man is to become efficient he must have proper nourishment, good ventilation, sanitary surroundings, and sufficient rest. These are the very things that the Indian labourer deplorably lacks. The Indian labourer, though illiterate, is not without intelligence. If he is properly cared for and treated, there is no doubt that he will become as efficient as the western labourer. If the employers want their workers to become efficient, they must try to better their conditions in all possible ways. The reduction of working hours, along with these improvements would go a long way to contribute to the efficiency of labour.

Truth in Advertising.

Mr. P. Anantanarayan expresses the opinion that the most important rule to follow in advertising is, *Always advertise the truth.*

Many people feel inclined to accept an advertisement with the proverbial "pinch of salt." Plain, unadulterated fact is more convincing than exaggeration, however plausible. Moreover, we know that truth in advertising pays better in the long run than exaggeration. If the advertiser only observes carefully the variations of tastes and temperaments in his

would-be buyers and the psychological conditions that best produce a lasting impression in their minds, and writes his advertisement in accordance with them and with truth, he is sure to find that in the long run he has nothing to complain about as to results.

Education in England and in India.

Sir Michael Sadler's description of English education in the past may very well be applied to education in India at the present day. Says he in *Indian Education*:

In the past, English education has favoured individual ability at the cost of the rank and file. It has preferred exceptional eminence to a high level of average competence. It has done well by the few, much less well by the majority. This policy, instinctive and traditional rather than deliberate, shows itself in the educational methods of our older schools and of our ancient Universities. Nowhere is there a more inspiring discipline for the *elite*; nowhere a more indifferent routine for the ordinary mind. For this intellectual shortcoming, some amends are made by the corporate life in which all pupils share. And it is our good fortune that this corporate life is often led in stately and beautiful surroundings. But English education in its older tradition keeps its sharp intellectual edge for the gifted intelligence alone. The same principle—if indeed the word 'principle' is fitted to our haphazard procedure—explains why, in spite of our past wealth and in spite of our industrial energy, we were content to do so little for the improvement of the elementary education of the masses of the people and why, when great expenditure upon the primary schools became politically inevitable, the money was spent with so little imagination and with such carelessness as to quality and to the development of the mind. Proud of her great schools and Universities, England was cold towards elementary education. She thought that it was enough to give her best things to the select classes, just as in the schools where the select classes were trained she allowed a further selection to be made in favour of the exceptionally gifted and to the detriment of the rank and file.

It were much to be wished that the new turn which education has been taking in England could be said to hold good as regards Indian education. To Sir Michael it is evident that

English education is now being borne along by a new current into a very different channel. All recent changes in the organisation of our secondary schools aim, however unconsciously, at raising the average level of intellectual competence. The needs of individuals of exceptional ability receive less attention. Less noticeably, but beyond doubt, the same change of educational direction is seen in the Universities. The educational methods which were characteristic of Central Europe before the war are steadily gaining ground in England to-day. We are only at the beginning of the change. As compared with pre-war Germany, England is still in these matters an

amateur. But all the chief changes in the English secondary schools during the last decade point in the same direction. We find ourselves aiming at an all-round mental training for all children up to sixteen years of age. The days of early specialism in the classics or in science are nearly over. And in the steps which have now been taken to organise the staffs of secondary school teachers in grades with annual increments of salary, we see the direction in which we are moving. The average pupil is to have more attention, and staffs of teachers trained for this work are to replace in time the less regularly organised teaching force of former days. Without knowing it, we are trying on the educational clothes which Germany seems inclined to discard.

The Physical Education of Indian Girls.

Miss Agnes Burnett-Hurst, LL. A., writes in *Indian Education* that "it is good to see that India is waking up to the importance of physical education for her people.

But physical education loses half its value when it is begun late in a child's life. We realize that the whole system of the child is being built up at a very rapid rate during its early years. It is then that the little bones are going through a hardening process, that the muscles and nerves are growing and developing, that the brain is growing both in bulk and complexity. It behoves us then, to seize these early years and so train the whole body that its development will be along right lines and will lead to a healthy, well-built race.

Physical education must begin then in the lowest class of the school.

"It is only very recently that girls have received the attention which has been given to the boys in the matter of physical education," and even this is not true of all provinces.

In order that girls may receive the right kind of physical education, it has been found necessary to give women teachers some training in physical exercises. The Indian woman is as a rule shy, retiring and extremely self-conscious, the effort to train her to teach drill and other physical exercises becomes, therefore, a very difficult task. What is more, we cannot but realize that she is a grown woman who has developed and whose bones are formed, it makes the task then doubly difficult, both for her and for those who have to train her. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the physical education of girls, no less than that of boys, must be begun early. The little girl is less given to self-consciousness and shyness than her elder sister and by training her early she will learn to overcome these deterring factors.

Speaking of the forms of physical education, Miss Burnett-Hurst writes :

By physical education is not meant just a few hours' drill every week, it has a far wider meaning and covers

a far wider field of work. Nature, in her goodness, realizes the need for physical development and has given to the child the love of movement and play, in order that it may develop its whole body. We must allow Nature to carry on her work and though she has order and system in her plans and nothing haphazard is found in Nature yet she must be allowed perfect freedom. She needs our co-operation and assistance, but not our interference. *Free play* must then occupy a good deal of the child's life and some part of her school time. More time will of course be given to free play in the lower part of the school than in the upper. It is the earliest and most important type of physical exercise, and as its name implies, must be entirely free and spontaneous.

After free play, come organised games, some of the old simple country dances which may not be against social decorum, action songs, physical drill and musical drill. Injurious school systems, like making little girls "sit still" must be abolished.

Her little brain is worried with "sums" and meaningless signs and symbols in the form of the alphabet; all the nourishment required by the fast growing body goes to the brain and neither body nor brain develop naturally. Then, again, she is given some "occupation" in the form of pricking or sewing with a fine pointed instrument or drawing in little $\frac{1}{4}$ " squares on paper with a fine pointed pencil or weaving intricate patterns with narrow strips of brilliantly coloured papers all of which are extremely injurious to her eyes and are far too great a strain on the small muscles of the fingers, whereas the larger muscles of the arm should be developed by exercises, free drawing on large boards, and so on. Bad desk, punishments that entail long standing protracted lessons which result in over-fatigue, bad ventilation, and insufficient sleep and nourishment all tend to undo any good that physical education might do.

Growing girls between the ages of 12 and 14 years need plenty of physical exercise (in the open air, as much as possible), nourishment and rest. It is at this stage that the pernicious habit of home-lessons and excessive study for examinations and scholarships does so much harm to girlhood and consequently to womanhood. The evenings should be free in order to give the child opportunities for physical development.

The Liberal Party and its Task.

In an article contributed to the *Indian Review* by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, it is said :—

It is not necessary to dwell upon the exact political value of a nominal unanimity. The real issue now before the country is one raised unequivocally and unmistakably by Mr. Gandhi and those who follow him wholesale. What is the policy which is required in the interests of the country and what is the goal? We are not sure that even now the severance of the British connection is regarded as an end in itself by Mr. Gandhi. The end, of course, of all parties in

the country is national welfare and development. But while Mr. Gandhi does not believe in the British connection as indispensable to the attainment of the end, the Liberal party believes that without such connection it will not be possible to achieve the goal. It, of course, does not mean that the Liberal party is prepared for this reason, to tolerate any wrongs or abuses by the Government. Granting that there are defects and abuses the questions for practical politicians is whether they would be wise in following the policy of non-co operation or the policy represented by the Liberal party. The Liberal party stands for the policy which was laid down and accepted by the wise men who founded the Congress and by those who steered it during 30 years of its existence. Their watchword is the watchword of *constitutional progress* and they believe that the goal could be best attained by remaining within the British Empire. That the British Government is slow to make concessions and often prefers a policy of procrastination which leads to the depreciation of concessions when made, is true; but the Liberal party believes that it is easier to attain the goal by the hitherto accepted constitutional methods than by the method of non-co operation. The Liberal party does not consider it necessary to destroy the existing structure but believes in well-designed adaptations and alterations which would involve no danger of burying the occupants or rendering them houseless. It is their duty to perform the double task of educating the people to a sense of the dangers of following the policy of no-co-operation and of impressing upon the government the need for timely alterations of the structure of the government and still more for a change not merely in the angle of vision but in the whole spirit of the administration. They have to make the government realise that it exists for this country first and last rather than act upon the maxim that India only exists for England or the Empire. If India is made to see that the attainment of the goal of her full manhood and nationality is in no way jeopardised or retarded by the British government she will naturally cling to the British Empire.

It is not necessary either to controvert or to suppose Sir Sivaswami's position in order to call attention to the facts that the Morley-Minto Reforms and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were professedly introduced to "rally the Moderates" and that it became necessary to rally the Moderates because of the existence of those bad boys the Extremists, and that, therefore, the Extremists are not an un-mixed evil in the Scheme of Things.

India and the Brussels Conference.

In an article in the *Indian Review* Mr. Shyama Charan Rai tells us that "the opinion expressed by the Brussels Conference can be said to be the opinion of the best financial and commercial experts."

The Conference has made several recommendations which should be followed by the Indian Government. The most important of them is that of reducing the civil and military expenditure. To follow the recommendations of the Esher Committee would be directly against the policy suggested by the Economic Conference. The constitution of the Esher Committee has been objected to by all the sections of Indian public, Extremists and Moderates. The recommendations made by the Committee are also wrong in principle, and manifestly unjust to the Indian tax-payer. The view of the Brussels Conference which has simply endorsed the view of the Indian public in the matter of reducing the expenditure of government, must receive a favourable consideration at the hands of the Indian Government.

Indian Students and Non-co-operation.

Writing on "Indian Students and Non-co-operation" in the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. G.S. Arundale would "like to make quite clear the fact that I do not regard the students as in the least degree to blame."

On the contrary, while I regret their lack of political perspicuity—how many elders possess this quality to-day?—I cannot but admire the eagerness which drives them to associate themselves with any scheme however mad, which seems in some extraordinary and miraculous way to promise the early emancipation of India from the sufferings which now she has to undergo. There has been, I am well aware, ample cause for the gravest dissatisfaction with the way in which Indian affairs have been handled during the last few years, and even before for the matter of that. I know a large amount of inter-racial hatred has been generated almost inevitably. The tragedies of last year of Panjab have had their inevitable disruptive effect. And the Non-Co operation movement has its source and origin, not in devotion to Mr. Gandhi but in its apparent provision of an outlet for, and an expression of the acute dissatisfaction which prevails throughout the country.

Keyserling on Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism.

The Maha-bodhi and the United Buddhist World gives some idea of Graf Hermann Keyserling's observations on Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism as contained in his "Diary of Travel." As regards Buddhism,

It was in Ceylon that he received his first magical impressions of the strangeness and beauty of the East. The enormous profusion and fierce energy of tropical growth and sunshine made him realize what it was to long for Nirvana as a refuge from the intolerable vehemence of Being. This remark introduces a long and careful study of Buddhism, which Keyserling

regards as of all religious faiths that which has most deeply penetrated to the souls of its confessors; and transformed them from within outwards. He was deeply impressed by the lofty benignity of the Buddhist priesthood:—

"The Buddhist priest has, I confess, surprised me by the high level he has attained—not his intellectual but his human level. His type is superior to that of the Christian. He is gentle, understanding, benignant, and unlifted over earthly things to a degree which no unprejudiced person will claim as a characteristic of the Christian clergy."

This Keyserling attributes to the Buddhist tolerance of all forms of life and thought as right and fitting at their own stages of being. The Buddhist does not proselytize. He does not seek to thrust his own opinions on others, for "the flower does not contradict the leaf, nor the leaf the stem or the root"; hence the exalted Buddhist charity which speaks out of the face of every ecclesiastic. Much of the particular quality of Buddhism is set down by Keyserling to the fact that it was preached by a Prince and showed in every trait the magnanimity, the absence of resentment and vindictiveness, which is proper to the true aristocrat.

The most marked characteristic of Buddhism as an intellectual scheme of things is that it deliberately turns its back on metaphysics.

But when the author left Ceylon and came to the great Indian centres of thought,

He found himself in a world where metaphysical conceptions are the only realities, and at once for him the so-called realities of sensuous perception became wavering, dim and plastic to the all-controlling energy of Spirit. He devotes a long section of his work to a serious estimate of Theosophy as preached at its Indian centre in Adyar; and though he finds its philosophy to be merely a Western distortion of the far deeper thought of Hinduisim, he is quite disposed to accept at their face value the claims of its adepts to occult powers and capacities. In a discussion of Yoga the same unusual standpoint is frankly adopted. But he is never under the illusion that the powers attainable through Yoga are in themselves any guarantee either of truth or of moral elevation. The essence of Hinduisim does not lie in anything that can be proved—nothing that can be proved is really true—it lies in the secret of union with the Divine, which is practised in a thousand ways, all equally orthodox, all leading to the same end:—

"The Indian philosophy of religion and ritual is a treasure-house of psychologico-metaphysical wisdom. A fund of knowledge is there stored up which, if brought out and sifted, would in all probability modify our conception of psychic reality. For the Indians have grown great in two respects at once—in belief, and in the understanding of what they believe. With all their feeling for forms and the efficacy of forms, they have usually judged rightly what these forms objectively amount to. Thus we have highly significant fact that the Indians, who have advanced farther in self-knowledge than any other race of men, whose consciousness has to an extraordinary degree liberated itself from the entangling fetters of names and forms have always been "practising Catholics." All the greatest Indian thinkers, such as Ramanuja and

Sankaracharya, 'practised' as devoutly as Thomas Aquinas."

Keyserling was struck with the enormous influence of Islam in forming character.

"Even the faces of its believers who are unmistakably Hindus by blood show the self-possessed, serenely superior look which everywhere stamps the Moslem. These Indians are no dreamers, no visionaries, no strangers in this world. Thus they give a greater impression of reality. Their muscles seem tense; their eyes are bold; they bear themselves as if ready for spring; their physique is much more charged with expression. How right the English are to regard and to treat the Islamic element as the decisive factor in India!"

Islam has an extraordinary binding and assimilative force. Keyserling never met a follower of that faith who, if asked of what race he was, did not reply simply, "I am a Musulman." The secret of this he finds, first in the genuinely democratic character of Islam; secondly, in the fact that it is a religion of absolute surrender and submissiveness to God—but to a God of a certain character—a War-Lord who is entitled to do with us as he will and who bids us stand ever in line of battle against the foe:—

"The ritual of this belief has quite another significance than that of Hinduism or Catholicism. It embodies the idea of discipline. When the true believers every day at fixed hours perform their prayers in serried ranks in the Mosque, all going through the same gestures at the same moment, this is not, as in Hinduism, done as a method of self-realization, but in the spirit in which the Prussian soldier defiled before his Kaiser. This military basis of Islam explains all the essential virtues of the Musulman. It also explains his fundamental defects—his unprogressiveness, his incapacity to adapt himself, his lack of initiative and invention. The soldier has simply to obey orders. All the rest is the affair of Allah."

The author's travels in India ended with a visit to Calcutta. Here

He became acquainted with the Tagore circle of artists and writers, of whom he writes with warm admiration and respect; and where he was initiated into the mysteries of Indian music, which he describes as like Indian dancing, "no intention, no shaped outline no beginning, no end; merely the undulation of the eternal stream of life."

The Attitude of Service at School.

"The Social Reformer" Year Book and Diary for 1921 of Ceylon, insists that "The School should maintain and teach the attitude of service at all times.

This it should not do dogmatically so as to stifle individual conscience and judgments but as an elastic dynamic ideal which will give a definite social direction to the student's mental and moral life. Self-interest as a basis for social living has been shown to be inadequate both through the experience of the past and through the study of the laws of human living."

together. The service ideal of life accordingly will naturally emerge from the study of social conditions and laws, and the school by its discipline and spirit should reinforce this ideal. The inculcation of the service ideal of life of service beginning in the smaller, primary groups, such as the family and the local community, but extending to the nation and finally to humanity—is, then, the end to be sought in all education for citizenship in a democracy. Thus may we maximize co-operation and minimize conflict in a notion and in the whole world.

Minimum of Subsistence in Madras City.

In the opinion of the Rev. D. G. M. Leith, as published in the *Mysore Economic Journal*, the minimum of subsistence for a family consisting of man and wife and two children is as follows:—

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---------------------------------------|-----|----|------|
| Food for man ... | ... | 6 | 4 10 |
| Food for wife (4-5ths as in 1917) ... | ... | 5 | 0 8 |
| Food for 2 children ... | ... | 6 | 4 10 |
| Rent (I would like Rs. 3) ... | ... | 1 | 8 0 |
| Clothing ... | ... | 1 | 4 0 |
| Fuel ... | ... | 1 | 6 6 |
| Miscellaneous ... | ... | 0 | 12 0 |
| Total ... | 22 | 8 | 10 |

or Rs. 24-0-0.

I lean to Rs. 24 per month as being the minimum of subsistence for such a family. But the wife of the labourer is often an earning member of the family.

Her earnings one would not "be justified in estimating higher than Rs. 4-8."

This means that the minimum of subsistence for the family is Rs. 19-8 for the man, and Rs. 4-8 for his wife. I admit, however, that under ideal conditions the husband should earn sufficient for all and anything earned by the wife would be utilized for securing special comforts for the present or for old age.

There is another point on which I am not satisfied—the number of children for which we have reckoned. We have taken the average number as two. I believe in Madras it is larger though I have not been able to secure figures to justify my belief. This is a point on which we require further investigation.

Again be it remembered, there is practically no comfort and little opportunity for self-improvement in such a life as this amount of money provides. There is no opportunity for a holiday. There is nothing to spend on the education of the children. There is no provision for saving for old age. There is nothing for charity. There is nothing for sickness, marriages, funerals and births. How are the expenses of these things met? There is only one source—Diminish the quantity of food. As a man said to me—"Sometimes we cook and sometimes do not." If there is additional expenditure on any of these heads, food is diminished and you have ill-nourished bodies and uneconomic men. We know too that much of the labourer's income goes to the toddy shops. The result is the

same lack of sufficient nourishment, and when an epidemic comes, down fall men and women and children like ninepins.

I am interested in this question as a practical living issue. But this is not the time and place to apply the moral. If these calculations are reliable, it means that we have no right to employ a married man unless we give him such a living wage as we have reached and we must endeavour to bring influence to bear upon all employers of labour to adopt the same principle and secure the same end.

We must bring to a conclusion the semi-starvation of the worker.

No other course can be righteous and human. The minima of subsistence should be determined for urban and rural areas in different parts of India, and Government and other employers of labour should be called upon to fix wages at something higher than these minima.

Professor Dr. J. C. Bose's Visit to Europe.

The writer of "The World of Culture" section in the *Collegian* says of Dr. Bose's recent scientific tour in Europe:

Investigations embodied in the *Annals of the Bose Institute* of Calcutta are awakening the interest of Europe in Young India's scientific attainments. The recent lecture tour of J. C. Bose in Sweden, Germany, and France has won for Hindu talent many warm admirers;—among them world-renowned scientists like Arrhenius, the physicist of Stockholm, Haberlandt, the physiologist of Berlin, and Deslanders, the physical astronomer of Paris. Dr. Bose was "solemnly" presented to the *Academie des Sciences* by its president, Mons. Deslanders.

Last December on the invitation of Mons. Mangin, director of the *Museum d' Histoire Naturelle*, Paris, Bose addressed a group of French biologists on the results of his latest researches. And under the auspices of the *Association française des amis de l' Orient* he gave a public lecture at the *Musee Guimet*. In introducing the speaker, Daniel Berthelot, the chemist, said in part: "The waters of the Ganges have not yet ceased to be life-giving. Its currents are still needed for the inspiration and uplift of mankind."

Sir Richard Gregory, editor of *Nature*, compares the importance of Bose's discoveries to that of gravitation in physics. And Lewis Mumford, editor of the *Sociological Review*, writing in the *Asiatic Review*, says that Geddes' description of Bose's work is an "exceedingly capable illumination of a field of scientific thought which has undergone a revolution comparable only to that which has taken place in mathematics and astronomy through the researches of Einstein."

Medical Research in France.

The same writer's account of research laboratories in France should prove

tempting to advanced Indian students of medicine.

Research laboratories are a conspicuous feature of medical schools and hospitals in France. Persons desirous of working in these laboratories have only to be accepted by the professor in charge. In addition to the laboratories on physics, chemistry and physiology, the faculty of medicine at the university of Paris maintains fourteen laboratories for investigation purposes,—namely, those on descriptive anatomy, medico-surgical anatomy, histology, pathological anatomy, parasitology, bacteriology, experimental pathology, general pathology, therapeutics, hygiene, legal medicine, surgical therapeutics, and surgical pathology. Furthermore, there are twenty clinics in different parts of the city where also research facilities are extended to any qualified person. These clinics are medical, therapeutic, surgical and obstetric. There are special clinics for skin and syphilitic diseases, for nerve diseases, for infectious diseases, for diseases of urinary tracts, gynecology, ophthalmology, and oto-rhino laryngology. For children there are special medical and surgical clinics. And the hygiene of babyhood is provided for in another. Almost every nationality of the world is represented in these laboratories. The quarterly fees are 50 to 100 francs. Inquiries may be addressed to Mons. Roger, dean of the faculty of medicine, Sorbonne, Paris.

An Indian doctor, Hemendra Nath Ghosh, M. B., (of Tipperah) late "house physician" of Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia, Calcutta, is one of the assistants of Mons. Weinberg, who is in charge of the bacteriological laboratory at the *Institut Pasteur* of Paris. Ghosh is specially interested in the preparation of anti-serum and vaccine. His researches lie in the field of bacterial flora of appendicular abscess. Dr. Weinberg is the discoverer of the bacteria of "gas gangrene."

Forced Labour in Africa.

Young Man of India has published a very important memorial presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The signatories include the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Moderators of the Scottish Churches, and the Presidents of various Non-conformist bodies in England. "It is also signed on behalf of the Conference of Missionary Societies, and is powerfully supported by men of influence in the United Kingdom, such as Lord Bryce and Lord Haldane." The memorialists observe:

Speaking in the House of Lords, on May 13th, 1920, your Lordship stated that you accepted the principle of trusteeship in the government of Crown Colonies and Protectorates, and that as a nation we have to exercise our authority in the interests of the people of those countries and not for our own advantage. With this declaration we are in complete accord. The question to which we wish to direct

attention is, whether the policy represented in the recent White Book is in certain important features compatible with this conception of trusteeship. The issue is one in which much is at stake.

In the Covenant of the League of Nations—largely on the initiative and by the efforts of British statesmen—new public and international recognition has been given to the principle that the well-being and development of subject peoples is a sacred trust of civilisation. We have, further, in the Covenant given an undertaking to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territory under our control. It is a point of honour that these declarations should not in any part of our Empire be permitted to remain a form of words, and that a determined effort should be made to translate them as effectively as possible into administrative practice.

We make the following extracts from their weighty observations on compulsory labour:—

COMPULSORY LABOUR FOR PRIVATE EMPLOYERS.

We welcome the assurance in the Despatch that "there could be no question of entertaining any proposals" which involve the principle of compulsory labour for private employment, and that "such a policy would be absolutely opposed to the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government." But this repudiation of legal compulsion does not remove the difficulty that the use of the machinery of Government to bring pressure to bear to secure labour for private employers may, just because the pressure is indirect and in some respects undefined, lead in practice to the same undesirable results as the policy of legal compulsion which is repudiated. The authors of the Bishops' Memorandum, quoted in the Despatch, maintain that, while in this policy "technically there is no compulsion, practically compulsion could hardly take a stronger form." They felt this so strongly that, seeing no present means of escaping compulsion in some form, open or veiled, they advocated legal compulsion as a preferable policy on account of the legal safeguards which would accompany it.

GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AND RECRUITING.

The use of the machinery of Government for recruiting labour for private employers places Government officials in a difficult and unfair position. It involves them in a conflict of duties. They are made responsible at the same time for giving effect to the declared wish of the Administration that labour should be provided—of which they are continually reminded by settlers who are in desperate straits to obtain labour—and for guarding against abuses of that pressure by which alone the desired labour can be obtained. Their identification with efforts to recruit labour must weaken, if not destroy, their position in the eyes of the natives as impartial referees, and disturb the relationship, so vital to successful government, in which the natives look up to the Commissioners as their counsellors and friends. The policy creates an even greater difficulty for the native chiefs and headmen, for whom it is scarcely possible to reconcile the instructions to guard against abuses with the insistent demand that labour must be forthcoming. While the instructions, in the further circular which has been issued, are excellent in intention; there is reason to fear that the

general trend of the policy, backed by the strong pressure of circumstances, will prove too strong to make them effective in practice.

COMPULSORY LABOUR FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES.

The Native Authority Amendment Ordinance 1920 is also a cause of misgiving. The right of Government to call upon the services of individuals for the benefit of the community is not in question. Nor is it denied that this claim may, under certain circumstances, be made in the form of compulsory labour, provided that the compulsion is for what Lord Cromer describes as "indispensable and recognised purposes of public utility," and is accompanied by all possible safeguards against abuse. But the new amending Ordinance appears to go beyond the very strict limitations, under which Lord Cromer believed that forced labour might be accepted as a regrettable necessity.

The objections to compulsion are so great that only the most urgent public necessity can justify recourse to it. Sir Frederick Lugard, in his report on Nigeria (Cmd. 468), states that "the Government policy, being radically opposed to coercion in any form, even for work of such urgency and importance to the country as railways and roads, will not employ it in order to procure labour for private undertakings." Before public opinion in this country could reconcile itself to the adoption of a different policy in other parts of the Empire, it would need to be shown clearly, first, that the needs of labour for public works cannot be met by foresight and organisation, on which private undertakings which cannot have recourse to compulsion must rely; secondly, that the necessary labour cannot be obtained by the offer of better inducements and conditions of work; and, thirdly, if these prove insufficient, that it is essential that the economic development of the country should proceed at a more rapid pace than the education of the people in habits of industry, which will gradually produce sufficient voluntary labour.

"The present policy has been defended on the ground that it is beneficial to the natives as well as to the European settlers, in as much as its purpose is to prevent idleness, and that it is good for the natives to learn to work." This hypocritical plea is thus commented upon:

THE PREVENTION OF IDLENESS.

The present policy has been defended on the ground that it is beneficial to the natives as well as to the European settlers, inasmuch as its purpose is to prevent idleness, and that it is good for the natives to learn to work. While statements about the idleness of the natives fail often to do justice to the considerable amount of work in their villages which they actually perform, there is no difference of opinion as to the desirability of encouraging the natives in habits of steady industry. But it by no means follows that the only method of doing this is to force them to seek work on European plantations. Where the conditions of employment are favourable, such labour may have a beneficial and educative effect. But it is also possible to encourage habits of industry by a policy of education within the Reserves, by the demonstration

of improved methods of agriculture, and by the development of native industries. Such methods, combined with the attraction of voluntary labour to European farms by proper inducements and good conditions, and the gradual stimulation of needs through contact with a more advanced civilisation, will in time achieve the desired end, without the unfortunate results which beset any attempt unduly to force the pace. When recourse is had to compulsion, a distaste for labour is created and the policy defeats its own end.

As regards the new labour policy in Keniya Colony, the memorialists observe:

The new labour policy in Kenia Colony is due to the serious shortage of labour on European plantations. The difficulties of the settlers are real and must be viewed with sympathy. The danger is that in the attempt to overcome them the interests of the native population should be sacrificed. This danger is all the greater where, as in Kenia Colony, the European community, who are the employers of labour, have a powerful voice in the government of the country, so that the local administration is constantly subject to pressure from one side, while the labourer's point of view is not effectively expressed. When a conflict of interests arises the European community is in a much more favourable position to make its voice heard and enforce its claims. It is the responsibility of His Majesty's Government, and of the British people whom they represent, to make sure that the interests of the native, of which they are trustees, are not permitted to suffer injury.

But a merely negative policy of opposition to compulsion neither provides a solution of the practical difficulties nor fulfils sufficiently the obligations of trusteeship. The principle of trusteeship implies the duty of fostering, in all possible ways, the growth of a healthy and independent native life. This includes the assurance to the natives of adequate land with security of tenure, and of complete freedom in the disposal of their labour, the furtherance of their economic development, their education in agriculture and industry, and a definite and progressive policy of training them in responsibility and self-government. The main reason for misgiving in regard to certain features of the Labour Circular and Ordinance in Kenia Colony is that they seem to be incompatible with the carrying out of such a policy. Compulsion to labour for Government purposes at a distance, and pressure to work on European estates, even with the best safeguards, are not easily reconciled with the healthy growth of village life, the fostering of native agriculture and industries, and a continuous policy of native education. Without a clear, resolute and continuous policy on the part of Government, directed to the fostering of native life and institutions, there is grave danger that the pressing needs of European farms and plantations, together with the requirements of Government, may make such demands on native labour as to lead to the destruction of village life. No greater calamity could overtake the native population. To allow it to take place would be the negation of everything that is implied in the conception of trusteeship. On the other hand, nothing would do more to create a prosperous and contented people, who even

from the economic standpoint are the chief wealth of the country, than by a wise policy of education and fostering of native industries to make the natives feel that they have a real economic advantage from the taxation to which they are liable and from the presence of white men in the country.

The Doctrine of the "Just Price."

Mr. C. F. Andrews continues his illuminating articles on "Christ and Labour" in the *Young Men of India*. The February instalment is devoted to the consideration and exposition of two important economic doctrines which had been inherited by the Middle Ages in Europe from the Early Christian Church. These were the doctrine of the "just price" and the doctrines of the "Sin of Usury". In order to obtain a background for these two doctrines, he gives certain fragrant examples of modern capitalistic exploitation. Here is the first of them:

The former of the two cases is that of a modern capitalist, who is said to have bought up all the bricks in the neighbourhood of one of the greatest cities in India, and then, having obtained the monopoly, to have raised immediately the price of building material by 200 per cent.

Let us look a transaction like that squarely in the face. We know how, during the present housing crisis in Bombay and elsewhere, the one immediately necessary step to be taken is to create room for expansion in order to relieve the congested slum districts. Most vital moral issues depend on this being done quickly; for immorality breeds in slums. Yet, in the very face of this urgent social demand, here is one individual, who can hinder the whole of that necessary building expansion and hold it up indefinitely by clever manipulation of the money market. Such a man is considered supremely lucky by his neighbours, if he succeeds in effecting his object. There appears to be nothing disgraceful in it. On the contrary, his new wealth brings him a thousand fresh admirers. But, if we read the parable of Christ aright, God is saying to him, all the while—

"Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee."

Mr. Andrews takes his second example from the jute trade of Bengal.

It has been recently reported to me, that a certain firm in Calcutta started business before the war and was only moderately successful. The shares had slowly risen from 100 to 145 and the rate of interest had slowly risen also. The price paid for the jute to the cultivator had also risen side by side with the prosperity of the jute business. At the outbreak of war, the cultivator could obtain 13 rupees 8 annas per maund for his jute. So far nothing abnormal had happened. But, during the war and after the war, the expenses of the jute cultivator had rapidly increased, and therefore, in justice, he should have

demanding more money in return for his labour. Indeed, in order to live at the same rate as before the war, he would need to spend at least twice as much money. He ought, therefore, to be getting not much less than thirty rupees per maund for his jute. But as a matter of fact the opposite of this has taken place. In the years 1914-1920 the jute shares in this company went up from 145 to 1160. The interest paid on the capital invested in the company went up from 15 per cent. before the war to 160 per cent. *But the price paid to the jute cultivator went down, from 13 rupees 8 annas before the war to six rupees in the year 1920!*

In order that the moral dislocation of the whole thing may be realised in all its enormity, Mr. Andrews examines it more in detail.

The cultivator of jute is usually an illiterate and ignorant peasant. He has developed, as yet, no faculty for organization. It is, therefore, as easy as possible for the money-lender, the middle-man, the jute broker, the capitalist, the speculator on the stock exchange, and others, to exploit him. This ignorant and illiterate peasant cannot be made immediately clever enough to counteract the unscrupulous formation of "rings" and "corners" and "combines," which keep down the price of labour for the cultivator. The dice are all loaded against him. Even the Government unwittingly helps the predatory powers which batten themselves and grow fat upon the peasant's weakness. For Government publishes, from time to time, elaborately accurate forecasts of the jute crop, and their figures are worked out by the jute magnates to serve their own monetary advantage when they rig the market.

Let us look a little more closely still at the inarticulate peasant himself. He has to work in the fields during the monsoon, often standing waist deep in the water. He is saturated with malaria in these mosquito-ridden districts, and the continual dampness brings on ague, rheumatism and fever. All round his village he has to bear the stench of rotting jute fibre, the stagnation of standing pools of water, and a hundred other evils. These troubles he is obliged to endure, because he needs ready money to buy cloth for his body and oil for his lamp, and other things; and these articles must all be paid for in cash. His condition before the war was pitiable enough. But his condition during the war, and in two years of peace which have followed the war, has become almost desperate. The cost of a loin cloth, or a woman's sari has gone up to twice or even three times its former value. Money has become so scarce among these peasants of Bengal, that instance have been authentically recorded of suicide having taken place, because of the misery and shame of nakedness of poor half-starved men and women. Children have cried with hunger, until the father has become a dacoit in order to steal money to get bread. Meanwhile, directors of jute companies have been congratulating their shareholders on bumper dividends and not a hint has been given in their glowing reports about the condition of the peasantry, from whom those dividends were extracted. Surely we need not hesitate for a moment to assert that Jesus of Nazareth, who uttered the words—

"Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden with toil, and I will give you rest,"

is altogether on the side of the peasants in such a cruelly unjust state of affairs. He is to be found in those peasants' malaria-stricken hovels, rather than in the homes of the wealthy. We can almost hear him saying, with mingled sorrow and compassion—

"In as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me."

The lessons are obvious.

It has become more and more clear to thoughtful men and women in our modern age, that the unlimited capitalism, under which we live, is a system of brute force in disguise; that its effects are very frequently no less deadly upon the world's populations than the destruction wrought by war. To give an immediate example, it is not very long ago that the proof was brought

home, with horror-struck conviction to the whole of Europe, that the concessionaire system of King Leopold of Belgium had wrought deadly havoc on the Congo. It is known for certain that many millions of people perished. To turn to modern India, we are still to-day making money, for revenue purposes, out of opium, and conniving at its entry into China.

We have to understand that, here in India itself and all over the world, the destructive powers which can be wrought under the capitalistic system, when unrestricted, are so great, that, in their cumulative effects, they have far exceeded the violence of revolutionary mobs and predatory powers at open war with one another. The problem of the modern age is to curb these wild excesses of unrestricted capital, without destroying or weakening those forces of enterprise and initiative which are vitally necessary for progress.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"The New Era in India".

The Fortnightly Review for January 1921 contains an article on the 'New Era in India' by Stanley Rice. It is somewhat discursive and rambling, but on the whole 'sympathetic' in tone. The writer begins with a reference to the Hindu-Moslem entente which to the foreign rulers of India is the most significant feature of the present political situation:

"The Caliphate agitation is noteworthy, not so much for the direct issue as for the forces and tendencies which it reveals. It cannot be put aside with the cheap sneer that it is merely a net spread by the wily Hindu for the unwary Mussalman, because no Hindu cares a brass farthing what becomes of the Caliph. That is to ignore possibilities. It is more prudent to regard it as a manifestation of the spirit of nationality which has so recently come to the birth in India. Hindu and Mussalman alike are awaking to the consciousness that there is in colour, in outlook and in habit of life more in common between them than between either of them and the Englishman. Racial pride and religion, the two forces which kept them so long apart, are slowly weakening. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that politics as a force have been gradually acquiring a strength which has relatively reduced the power of the others. The one claims intellectual, the other martial, superiority, and the balance of qualities is emphasised by the feeling of common subjection to an alien ruling race."

Mr. Stanley Rice perceives the influence of western conceptions in the following:

"Public opinion, moreover, has been stimulated into a certain recognition of common justice to the outcasts and to those other lowly classes who had formerly been considered little better than slaves of the soil or beasts of burden. Last, and most important of all, an interest has been awakened, not only in the affairs of India herself, but also to some extent to those of other nations which thirty years ago was entirely wanting. Great organisations such as the Indian National Congress with its affiliated Committee in England, such as the Home Rule League or the Moslem League owe their existence to the influence of Western thought. The admission of Indians to the Legislative Councils and to the higher offices of the state—concessions at which the Civil Service of fifty or even thirty years ago would have shaken foreboding heads—has trained a small and at present inadequate body in public business, and has tended to modify, if not altogether to change, the tolerance with which corruption was regarded. A German writer has, indeed, said that the greatest gift which England has bestowed upon India is the stimulation of an unselfish public spirit."

ON THE ELECTORATE:

"Lord Meston has said that the first elections will be decided almost wholly on issues personal to the candidate.....The experience of municipal elections suggests that this reflection is entirely true.....Large platform issues are too often absent; and the

successful candidate depends for his success partly upon his own popularity, partly upon his canvassing energy, but still more upon the influence at his command to do a personal favour or a personal injury.

We can quote many passages from Lecky, Bryce, and other European and American writers to show that the state of affairs in those countries is not very much different; nevertheless we admit that there is a core of truth in what the writer says above.

ON PUBLICATION VS. FREE TRADE:

"India, one may say, is Protectionist to a man. She sees, or thinks she sees, that her indigenous industries have been crushed out of existence by European competitions, and that all her attempts to revive them or to start fresh industries on modern lines are thwarted by European jealousy. Her sentiments are both national and economic. Her newly awakened national pride winces under the sense of indignity that she cannot be sufficient unto herself, but must depend upon others for the simplest necessities. She contends economically that her industries cannot have a chance as long as they have to compete with European trade on hopelessly unequal terms, and if you retort that she ought first to set her house in order to exhibit some capacity for great finance, for great organization, and for improved confidence, she would reply that this is putting the cart before the horse, that what she needs is the opportunity, and that that opportunity must come through Protection."

After referring to the "sense of unreality which certainly does attach to the proceedings of the Legislative Council," and "gives at least the appearance of breaking to the heart what was promised to the ear," the writer proceeds:

"India is in no mood to be disappointed again. Her best men cling passionately almost pathetically—to Queen Victoria's famous Proclamation. They looked upon it as their Magna Charta, and bitter was the disappointment when they found that its splendid promises were all to be blasted by the fatal qualification—"as far as possible." It was of little use to point out that the responsibility for India's great population was not a light one and could not be lightly entrusted to untried hands; they saw only that there was a difference based on caste and creed, and especially on colour. It was of little use to ask for patience; they saw that Indians were being admitted to high posts, but with what seemed to them a grudging

reluctance; they saw that the early Legislative Councils were mere talking bodies to which scant attention was paid; they saw that the Morley-Minto reforms, which gave promise of wider power, were so fenced in by safeguards and rules that the concessions amounted to almost nothing. And they were disappointed because they—or the best among them—honestly believed that they understood their own people better than the rulers, and that they were qualified by their inside knowledge to give substantial help. And then they became suspicious. Quite early the more impatient had given way to violent language, which only led to deplorable results. Mr. Tilak gathered his following by reasoned, if overstated, eloquence, mingled with invective. Mrs. Besant hers by more nebulous dreams of a golden age restored which appealed to the imagination of her hearers, and each time that the clamour rose to a height, reforms were initiated and fresh concessions made. At every fresh stage the Cabinet protested that they were pursuing the path of duty, undisturbed and uninfluenced by any popular or sectional outcry; but did any one in India believe them? Were the Boers convinced when, after the affair of Majuba Hill, Mr. Gladstone put an end to the war on the plea of a magnanimous principle? The Moderate party in India hesitated and were condemned as Laodiceans; the extremists turned upon them and said, in effect: "What have you done with your Moderation? We have fought and we have forced the Government to make concessions. It is true that these concessions have been made impotent by rules, but that is because we ceased to fight. This time we shall look to it that the measure of Home Rule, however inadequate, shall at least be real." That is why, if we want a contented India, we must show that we really mean business, and that is why, not only the Act itself—which does not profess to be anything more than a skeleton—but the Rules framed under it, and even more the manner of working them, becomes of such supreme importance. We have proclaimed that those who have desired the power must shoulder the responsibility. India wants nothing better and it is for us to show that we really mean it, even though we may be taking risks."

The following extract shows that the writer possesses political sagacity of no mean order:

"The Governor will have been trained in official ways; the Executive Council will present their case in the orthodox manner born of experience, and such a situation will need most careful handling lest Ministers be too often on the losing side, and the impression be left of a desire to strangle the Reforms. That is but one

of the many ways in which the Governor will be called upon to walk delicately."

The article concludes :

"India turns longing eyes on the goal of her aspirations. She has been swept into the vortex of foreign ideas, and carried away on the stream of a civilisation not her own. Upon her dazzled eyes has suddenly burst the splendid vision of the watchwords which the French Revolution has bequeathed to democracy. With the over-eagerness of the convert she is impatient of what she conceives to be more hesitation and delay, and still more suspicious of promises which she thinks have been broken in the past. Liberty and Power—these are her aspirations, not to be attained without sacrifice. She looks upon the Colonies, forgetting that there are the men who have lived in the atmosphere of the West. She is fascinated by the rise of Japan, but hardly recognises that her renunciation of the East is the measure of her success. All that the English have done in India has proved Matthew Arnold's famous lines to be no longer true. India does not now plunge in thought, oblivious of what is going on around her; she is eager for action but she must make her choice. When the time comes for her to manage her own affairs she must realise that there is no room for Oriental ideas and Oriental methods among the advanced nations of the earth. If she wishes to take her place in the British Empire, many of old institutions must recede, become modified, perhaps disappear for ever. In fact, she must join the legions who thunder past or be left far in the rear. But if the old associations and the old sentiments are too strong for her, if she is content to slough off the skin of European ideas and to appear again in her ancient colours, then she will sink into an insignificance which is unworthy of her. Thus she must make her sacrifice—a sacrifice greater than we understand, and for an object which perhaps both she and we overrate. Will she be equal to it, and will she be happier for it? Perhaps so, but, again, perhaps not."

This is well-written, but may not be as true as it sounds. Those who have tried to penetrate below the surface of Japanese life, will not be disposed to agree that she has completely renounced the East. She has undoubtedly cast off some injurious customs, and fortunately she has at present no caste in the Indian sense, and her people are almost entirely homogeneous. But otherwise she leads her own life, which has not been materially influenced by the West. Her ideas and conceptions and art and ideals and religious and social views are coloured by her own history and tradition. It is only in the

material and warlike sciences and industrial organisation and manufactures that she has completely followed in the wake of the West. These, it will be seen, are things which can easily be imitated, if there is opportunity and determination; but for this it is not necessary, nor indeed desirable, to slough off the skin of our oriental civilization, which is decidedly superior to the Western in many ways. The true policy of a resurgent India should be to imitate the West where necessary, but in all essentials to keep to the ancient ways. If the East is worth anything, there is undoubtedly room for oriental ideas among the materially advanced nations of the earth. There are many elements of corruption in our social system and our outlook on life is pessimistic and depressing. We must change all this and learn science which is international, acquire power through wealth, and know how to defend ourselves against Western aggression, but there are also elements of moral grandeur and nobility in our pacific ideals which it is up to the West to accept on pain of another greater war and ultimate dissolution. The advanced nations of the earth are, after all, not so advanced as they look, and this the Great War has amply demonstrated. And the time, the West must learn, has gone by for good when the East would have submissively accepted the West in all things at its own valuation.

Christendom and Islam.

Blackwood's Magazine for January, 1880, contained an article (reproduced in the *Living Age*) on "Christendom and Islam" written by a Turkish Effendi and communicated to it by an Englishman. In doing so the latter wrote as follows in justification of what he had done:—

However much we may differ from those whom we wish to benefit, it would be folly to shut our ears to their opinions in regard to ourselves or our religion, simply because they are distasteful to us. We can best achieve our end by candidly listening to what they may have to say. And this must be my apology, as well as that of the magazine in which it appears, for the publication of a letter

so hostile in tone to our cherished convictions and beliefs. At the same time, I cannot disguise from myself that while many of its statements are prejudiced and highly colored, others are not altogether devoid of some foundation in truth: it never can do us any harm to see ourselves sometimes as others see us. The tendency of mankind, and perhaps especially of Englishmen, is so very much that of the ostrich, which is satisfied to keep its head in the sand and see nothing that is disturbing to its self-complacency, that a little rough handling occasionally does no harm.

The Turkish Effendi chose to remain incognito, but gave the following among other autobiographical details:—

In India I remained two years, resuming during this period an oriental garb, and living principally among my co-religionists. I was chiefly occupied, however, in studying the religious movement among the Hindus known as the Brama Somaj.

I have already said that in early life I became thoroughly dissatisfied with the religion in which I was born and brought up; and, determined to discard all early prejudices, I resolved to travel over the world, visiting the various centres of religious thought, with the view of making a comparative study of the value of its religions, and of arriving at some conclusion as to the one I ought myself to adopt.

Now for his opinion of Christians, and of Christendom, which he styles Anti-Christendom.

Christians have developed their social and political morality out of the very blackness of the shadow thrown by "The Light of the World." Hence it is that wherever modern Christendom—which I will, for the sake of distinguishing it from the Christendom proposed by Christ, style Anti-Christendom—comes into contact with the races who live under the dim religious light of their respective revelations, the feeble rays of the latter become extinguished by the gross darkness of this Anti-Christendom, and they lie crushed and mangled under the iron heel of its organized and sanctified selfishness. The real God of Anti-Christendom is Mammon: in Catholic Anti-Christendom, tempered by a lust of spiritual and temporal power; in Greek Anti-Christendom, tempered by a lust of race aggrandisement; but in Protestant Anti-Christendom, reigning supreme. The cultivation of the selfish instinct has unnaturally developed the purely intellectual faculties at the expense of the moral; has stimulated competition; and has produced a combination of mechanical inventions, political institutions, and an individual force of character, against which so-called "heathen" nations, whose cupidities

and covetous propensities lie comparatively dormant, are utterly unable to prevail.

This overpowering love of "the root of all evil," with the mechanical inventions in the shape of railroads, telegraphs, ironclads, and other appliances, which it has discovered for the accumulation of wealth, and for the destruction of those who impede its accumulation, constitutes what is called "Western civilization."

Countries in which there are no gigantic swindling corporations, no financial crises by which millions are ruined, or Gatling guns by which they may be slain, are said to be in a state of barbarism. When the civilization of Anti-Christendom comes into contact with barbarism of this sort, instead of lifting it out of its moral error, which would be the case if it were true Christendom, it almost invariably shivers it to pieces. The consequence of the arrival of the so-called Christian in a heathen country is, not to bring immortal life, but physical and moral death. Either the native races die out before him—as in the case of the Red Indian of America and the Australian and New Zealander—or they save themselves from physical decay by worshipping, with all the ardor of perverts to a new religion, at the shrine of Mammon—as in the case of Japan—and fortify themselves against dissolution by such a rapid development of the mental faculties and the avaricious instincts, as may enable them to cope successfully with the formidable invading influence of Anti-Christendom.

Referring to the modern European traveller, the Turkish Effendi wrote:—

The modern traveler is in nine cases out of ten a railroad speculator, or a mining engineer, or a financial promoter, or a concession hunter or perchance a would-be member of parliament like yourself, coming to see how pecuniary or political capital can be made out of us, and how he can best *exploiter* the resources of the country to his own profit. This he calls "reforming" it. His idea is, not how to make the people morally better, but how best to develop their predatory instincts, and teach them to prey upon each other's pockets. For he knows that by encouraging a rivalry in the pursuits of wealth among a people comparatively unskilled in the art of money-grubbing, his superior talent and experience in that occupation will enable him to turn their efforts to his own advantage.

He disguises from himself the immorality of the proceeding by the reflection that the introduction of foreign capital will add to the wealth of the country, and increase the material well-being and happiness of the people. But apart from the fallacy that wealth and happiness are synonymous terms, reform of this kind rests on the assumption that natural temperament and religious tendencies of race will lend themselves to a keen commercial rivalry

of this description; and if it does not, they, like the Australian and the Red Indian, must disappear before it. Already the process has begun in Europe. The Moslem is rapidly being reformed out of existence altogether. Between the upper and the nether millstone of Russian greed for territory and of British greed for money, and behind the mask of a prostituted Christianity, the Moslem in Europe has been ground to powder; hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women, and children, have either perished by violence or starvation, or, are driven from their homes, are now struggling to keep body and soul together as best they can in misery and desolation, crushed beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of "Progress"—their only crime, like that of the poor crossing sweeper, I think, in one of your own novels that they did not "move on". This is called in modern parlance "the civilizing influence of Christianity." At this moment the Russians are pushing roads through their newly-acquired territory toward Kars. I am informed by an intelligent Moslem gentleman who has just arrived from that district, that the effect of their "civilizing" influence upon the inhabitants of the villages through which these roads pass, is to convert the women into prostitutes and the men into drunkards. No wonder the Mohammedan population is flocking in thousands across the frontier into Turkish territory, abandoning their homes and landed possessions in order to escape the contamination of Anti-Christendom.

In these days of steam and electricity, not only has the traveler no eye for the moral virtues of a people, but his æsthetic faculties have become blunted; he regards them only as money-making machines, and he esteems them just in the degree in which they excel in the art of wealth-accumulation.

In the opinion of the Turkish writer,

The two dominant vices which characterize Anti-Christendom are cupidity and hypocrisy. That which chiefly revolts the Turk in this disguised attack upon the morals of his people, no less than upon the very existence of his empire, is, that it should be made under the pretext of morality, and behind the flimsy veil of humanitarianism. It is in the nature of the religious idea that just in proportion as it was originally penetrated with a divine truth, which has become perverted, does it engender hypocrisy. This was so true of Judaism, that when the founder of Christianity came, though Himself a Jew, He scorchingly denounced the class which most loudly professed the religion which they profaned. But the Phariseism which has made war upon Turkey is far more intense in degree than that which He attacked, for the religion which it profanes contains the most divine truth which the world ever received. Mahomet divided the nether

world into seven hells, and in the lowest he placed the hypocrites of all religions. I have now carefully examined into all religions, but as none of them demanded so high a standard from its followers as Christianity, there has not been any development of hypocrisy out of them at all corresponding to that which is peculiar to Anti-Christianity. For that reason I am constrained to think that its contributions to the region assigned to hypocrites by the prophet will be out of all proportion to the hypocrites of other religions.

How to Hoodwink Death.

The following paragraphs from the *Japan Advertiser* describe a curious method of hoodwinking death:—

Burying 'themselves' to escape death and then being born again by the simple process of changing their names, Baron and Baroness Ban held full funeral services for themselves at the Gyokurinsai Temple in Nagoya recently, erecting a fully-engraved tombstone over their nails, teeth, and hair. The Baron, who is chief of the Imperial Poetry Bureau, now calls himself Mr. Kogakureno Otou.

When Baron Ban was 'first' born, he was far from healthy, and forty years was predicted as the extreme limit of his life. However, he recently celebrated his sixty-sixth birthday, which brought to his mind that his father had died at that age and that he could probably best avoid his fate of an early death by bowing to that fate and officially 'burying' as much of himself as possible without interfering with any of the vital processes.

The Late Emperor of Japan and Prince Ito.

The *Japan Advertiser* says that though His Majesty the late Emperor of Japan was awe-inspiring to most of his subjects, it is related that he was a most kindly friend to those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately. Here is an account of his interviews with Prince Ito.

None was as much trusted and relied on by Meiji Tenno as Prince Ito. Of course there were others who were also admitted to the Imperial confidence, but though the Emperor himself might wish them to be quite at ease, they were so overcome by the dignity of his presence and his sacred personality, that, when they entered his presence, they were far too agitated to speak their mind clearly or to comprehend in its entirety all that His Majesty said. But Prince Ito was not in the least nervous; he would listen most calmly and deliberately to

the Emperor's words, and then give his own opinion without the least reserve. His sincerity and presence of mind were on quite a different level from the behaviour of all the other ministers and elder statesmen.

Prince Ito was very fond of smoking, and would much embarrass the Palace Guards who were stationed at the gates by walking right up to the waiting room, next to the Imperial reception-room, with his hat on and a cigar in his mouth. They would say, 'Won't Your Excellency please take off your hat at least?' 'Oh, that's all right,' the Prince would reply, and go right up to the waiting room as he was. All the other ministers and elder statesmen would uncover their heads and throw away their cigars and stand in a posture of reverence waiting for someone to show them in, but Prince Ito on the contrary used to go right into the waiting room and then take off his hat and announce himself by saying, 'Ito has come,' and, still with his cigar in his mouth, open the door and enter the presence of the Emperor. His Majesty never found any fault with him for this, and the Prince would leave the table and chat quite freely to the Emperor, interspersing his talk with his usual humor, and His Majesty would listen and respond in the same way, interposing no formed barrier at all to their free interchange of sentiments. This could never have happened unless both Sovereign and subject had been entirely in sympathy with each other, and there had been the deepest affection between them.

Hinduism and Islam in the Philippines.

Luis Rivera, Associate Professor of Sociology, writes in the *Philippine Review* that the Filipino "civilization is a hybrid product. History tells us that Islamism has succeeded Brahminism in this country, and the Arab had supplanted the Hindu; then Mohammedanism had made its way triumphantly until the Spaniards arrived carrying a civilization of their own, which in itself was an amalgamation of three different traditions—the Hebrew, the Greek and the Roman."

Asiatics in the Assembly of the League of Nations.

According to an article in the *Venturer* by Warren Postbridge, "viewed in one aspect, the Assembly [of the League of Nations at Geneva] was composed of States. Viewed in another, it was composed of men."

The personal factor counted for much, and some word on a few individual figures is called for. Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Barnes, Dr. Nansen and M. Motta I have mentioned. Each of them established at the Assembly of the League a reputation higher than he has ever enjoyed in the political life of his own country. With them in the same school of liberal thought and constructive earnestness, stand Mr. Newton Rowell, of Canada, M. Branting, of Sweden—who was not sufficiently at home with English or French to pull his full weight in the Assembly—and on committee, M. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia. The conservative view was voiced primarily by the French, whose weighty delegation (M. Leon Bourgeois, M. Rene Viviani and M. Gabriel Hanotaux) none the less grew visibly into the spirit of the Assembly as the weeks advanced. With them stood Poland, represented by the picturesque figure of M. Paderewski, and generally three or four of the South American States.

The writer devotes a few sentences to two other groups of delegates. First come the Latin Americans, some of whose States do not contain more inhabitants than the bigger Bengal districts.

The numerical strength of the Latin Americans was a revelation to persons who had never seriously studied the list of members of the League, and their voting power may in the future create problems that are perhaps better not canvassed till they arise. A block vote constituted by nations like Panama and Costa Rica and Nicaragua would give food for reflection. But at the present Assembly the Latin Americans, though they included no individual figure of note, displayed (apart from the Argentine's unsuccessful attempt at a sensation) admirable temper.

Last come the Asiatics, numbering more than half the population of the globe.

There remain the Asiatics, China, India, Japan—the three between them accounting for half the world's population—Siam and Persia. They provoked thoughts more of the future than of the present, for active as many of their representatives, notably Viscount Ishii, the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar (Prince Ranjitsinhji), and Dr. Wellington Koo, were in the Assembly or on commissions, what was really visible behind them to the discerning eye was the shadow of the vast continent that is still arriving. The Orient, said Prince Ranjitsinhji at Geneva, has much to contribute to the League. Who can question it? But the East will get from the League in as full measure as she gives. Her most active and far-ranging minds could set themselves no higher task than to work out the right basis for that mutually beneficent relationship.

Japan's Race Equality Proposal.

The Japanese are quite dissatisfied with Viscount Ishii for not bringing up the race equality proposal at the meeting of the League of Nations. Says the *Asian Review*:

Viscount Ishii's announcement that we would not bring up the proposal now and would wait for "an opportune moment" has indeed been a great disappointment to the Japanese public.

The chief reason which actuated the Viscount to postpone the submission of the question to some later session is apparently the apprehension that it will prove to be another effective weapon at the hands of the anti-Japanese agitators. We learn from the statement which he made in the course of an interview granted to the Geneva correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* that Japan would bring forward the proposal when the prejudices against her in California and the British dominions ceased to exist.

The Anglo-saxon anti-Japanese agitators vilify Japan and make all sorts of ludicrous insinuations against her. And why? Because it is too much for them to see Japan—a coloured country—demand and occupy a place of equality with the white nations. They are unwilling to concede that any non-white nation can have such achievements as would entitle it to the same rank as the white nations have. For, if they admit the possibility of it, it will mean a complete dehypnotisation of the non-white races and the consequent disappearance for good of the fallacious doctrine of the superiority of the whites—a doctrine which has hitherto stood them in good stead in depriving the non-white peoples of their inalienable birth rights. Viscount Ishii apparently expect that the prejudices of the whites against Japan will die away in course of time. It betrays his utter ignorance of the true psychology of the white peoples. Racial prejudices will never disappear unless the demand of the non-white peoples is consistently and ceaselessly repeated and supported by the moral force of tremendous magnitude. The "opportune moment" will never come if we remain seated with folded hands. The whites have on more than one occasion made it sufficiently clear that they will not budge an inch from their position. We, the non-white peoples, also should convince the whites that we will never acknowledge the so-called superiority and go on agitating and rousing the public opinion of the world till this iniquitous colour-bar is abolished once and for all.

Indeed the Viscount has done a great disservice to the cause of the non-white peoples by not bringing forward the question again. He should have known that all the non-white population of the world are anxiously depending on us for getting this long standing injustice

removed. He as our delegate, has certainly failed in his duty and done an incalculable harm to the prestige of the Empire. In order that the whites may not labour under any misunderstanding because of the failure of our delegate to bring up the question, we declare—and when we say this, we voice the sentiments of the Japanese nation—that Japan considers it her heavenly mission to get this monstrous wrong towards the majority of the people of the world righted, and that to achieve the object she is prepared to undergo any amount of suffering and sacrifice.

Marquis Shigenobu Okuma writes in the same *Review*:

A Geneva message reports that Viscount Ishii, Japan's delegate, has declared that Japan would not introduce any race equality proposition in any concrete form now, but would await a favourable opportunity. What is meant by the so-called favourable opportunity can not be known from the too brief despatch, but I can not help regretting that Japan has failed to introduce the proposition at the Assembly.

It is needless to say that this question is a momentous issue for the sake of humanity at large and the peace of the world. Japan, whose chief concern is the welfare of humanity, considers it her mission to put forth her best endeavours for a happy solution of the question.

In view, however, of the current situation in the world, it can not be expected that Japan will succeed in realising her object by introducing the proposition only once or twice. If we, Japanese, are to have racial equality prevail in the world, we should devote ourselves to this lofty cause with unswerving allegiance until success is attained.

Indian Nationalist Movement and Japan's Obligation to Great Britain.

The following paragraphs contain the interpretation of the *Asian Review*, owned and conducted by Japanese, of Japan's obligation to Great Britain according to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance:

Addressing the students of the Allahabad Colleges, who are strong supporters of the non-co-operation movement, Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Theosophical Society, who has consistently opposed the agitation from its very inception, is reported in the *Bengalee* of 6th November last, to have said: "If you keep yourselves to this way, there will be trouble, and you will have to face the tremendous power of England, which is armed from head to foot and which will be supported by Japan (Italics ours)."

It is certainly surprising that a responsible person of Mrs. Besant's position, intelligence

and wide international knowledge, should not be aware of the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance nowhere says that Japan will come to the aid of Great Britain in case of a revolution in India. According to this Alliance Japan is to assist England only when India is attacked by a third party from outside. If there be a revolution in India Japan has no obligation to go there and suppress it. We have no other motive in writing this than to remove the misunderstanding that might have been created by Mrs. Besant's statement.

Father Schueren on Indian Boys.

Some months ago, Father T. Vander Schueren, S.J., of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, read a paper on the education of Indian boys of the better or upper class families, at a meeting of the East India Association in London which has been published in the *Journal of the East India Association*. In his opinion Indian boys are good material.

One thing for which I am prepared to answer is that the class of Indian boys whom I have in mind will supply material of the very best stamp, and in no respect inferior to the material upon which the European educator works. Pick out what is best in the English Public School, combine with it what is most effective in the Belgian system, complete it with what must be special to India, and you will produce something very good and very high, but none too high and none too good for the better class Indian boy. This may appear flattery on my part. It is not; it is a statement made from conviction and for which I assume full responsibility.

As he holds that the Indian mind develops sooner than the European mind, the growth of the former should be very carefully controlled. But let us hear in detail what he has to say.

The Indian mind develops sooner than the European mind. I consider that the Indian boy at the age of ten, twelve, or fourteen is fully a year ahead of the English or Belgian boy with regard to mental development, quickness of perception and self-possession, and it would probably be nearer the mark to say that he is two years ahead. There is, of course, an obvious advantage in this, but there is also a certain danger. It will not do at this stage to overload a young mind which seems capable of bearing so much and is generally eager to bear much, and to force, as it were, to ripeness a mind which is naturally ripening so rapidly. The end would be precocious maturity without full bloom, resulting in subsequent stunted growth and

relative sterility. It has been stated that if the age limit for the Civil Service examination were fixed at twenty, the English candidate would have little chance against the Indian candidate; that with the age limit at twenty-two or twenty-three their chances become equal; while if the limit be raised further, the tables would be completely turned. If this be true, the fault lies at the door of the masters who have failed to control the growth of the plant entrusted to their care. A good twenty-five years ago I had in my class a Bengali boy who passed the Entrance or then Matriculation Examination at the age of fourteen, and secured 159 out of a maximum of 160 marks in the three branches of mathematics. I saw this abnormal development along one line at that age with no little alarm. I did all I could to check it, but unfortunately, as the boy was a day-scholar, I could not effectively control his home-work, and my warnings to him and to his parents went unheeded. He passed out of my hands and continued his studies, graduating at eighteen. At a great sacrifice to themselves, and against my advice, the parents then sent him to England. I knew he would achieve nothing further: the sap had already run out and staleness had set in. He returned a disappointed man, but happily not a ruined man; and he has been doing and is still doing good work in a humbler sphere. This is a striking instance, but by no means the only one. The Indian boy up to the age of seventeen or eighteen requires especially careful handling, and for him I consider an outside examination at too early an age a danger from which serious harm may result.

The distinctive characteristics of the English, the Belgian and the Indian boy are thus hit off:—

The distinctive characteristic of the English boy's mind seems to be its directness; he goes straight for the object and tackles it as it stands before his mental vision. He has a great respect for concrete fact, and he expresses himself best in action; it is upon the field of action that he shines, that he is at his best. These are fine qualities, qualities which, as we know, make for success in life, for determined enterprise, for great achievement. The Belgian boy seems to have, this quality of directness in a lesser degree, but his mind seems to be more inquisitive, less easily satisfied, more critical, more inclined to turn round the object presented to his mental vision to see what lies around it and lies at the back of it, and to exhaust the possibilities it may present for mental observation and disquisition. In a word, the mind is more theoretical, its operations are more purely intellectual, but it is less practical.

The Indian boy's mind, while being, perhaps, in a minor, but still in a fair, degree similar to the Belgian boy's mind, is nearly the antithesis of the English boy's mind. He has a great

reverence for abstract truth, and the field of concrete fact only appeals to him as a stepping-stone to the field of abstract thought. His mind is highly imaginative and delights in subtleties. He is quite at home in mental speculations which are nearly inaccessible to his Western schoolmates.

The writer's idea of the best system of education for Indian boys can be gathered in its broad outlines from the following passages :—

The British system of education suits the English boy, the Belgian system the Belgian boy, and a system of education must be evolved in India to suit the Indian boy. Take what is best and most effective in the Western systems, and in as much as they are adaptable adapt them to the East ; but these can only be accessories ; the essential and more substantial parts of the Indian system must be Indian, and suited by their nature to the nature of the Indian mind. To-day Indian boys are growing up, worshipping this great Motherland of theirs. These children of the soil will live their lives in this great land of their birth, and the India of fifteen, twenty, thirty years hence will, in the main, be what the Indian boys of to-day will make it. As time moves on, a constantly and steadily increasing measure of the prosperity and welfare of the Motherland must depend on the responsible share of her own children in working out her destinies.

Much of the directness and precision, the grit and courage, the resourcefulness, the self-control, the tolerance, the magnanimity, which have built up the great British world-empire has been developed on the school playground. The value and importance of this playground education, so well understood in England, has become of late better realised outside England.

The Indian boy, more than the Belgian boy, and very much more than the English boy, requires all the education the school playground can impart to him. By nature, he is inclined to soar above the concrete and live in the higher regions of the abstract. On the playground the abstract has no room ; it is all concrete and solid fact and, as it were, a dead level. I cannot conceive an Indian public school answering in any way to my ideal without the absolutely essential educational factor of organized playground training. In England school games might nearly be left to themselves ; in India they must be organized, and the organization must be thorough and systematic. There must be a games master—a special master if need be, with real authority and influence over the boys, and realizing the importance of his educational duties.

According to Father Schueren, the Indian boy "has a wonderful facility for mathematics, both pure and applied," and

"a marked facility for learning languages." He gives two striking instances in the latter respect.

The late Harinath De joined St. Xavier's in the Preparatory Entrance Class labouring under the disadvantage of knowing nothing of Latin, which his class companions had already studied for four years. Before the end of the year he was the best boy of his class in Latin, and the following year, instead of submitting along with the other boys exercises in Latin translation, he asked as a favour, readily granted of course, to be allowed to submit original compositions in Latin in their stead. I was quite prepared to receive the news a few years later that he had been awarded the Gold Medal for Latin verse composition at Oxford University. Girindra Nath Basu, son of the Honourable Bhupendra Nath Basu, joined St. Xavier's in the Entrance Class which I was teaching at that time. He had learnt no Latin so far, but was keen on learning it, although it meant preparing in one year an examination in that language which the other boys had already prepared for five years. Before the end of the year he was quite on a level with the best in the class, and he had no difficulty in securing first division marks in the examination.

Lastly, the reverend gentleman bears testimony to the Indian boy's love and reverence for his teacher.

The Indian boy loves his master, respects and venerates him, has a perfectly childlike and complete confidence in him, and constantly seeks his company. If he meets or sees his master outside the classroom, he seems to feel instinctively drawn towards him, with a persistency which is not always appreciated, unless the master himself have the true vocation. The reserve of the classroom, due to the externals of a master's authority, gives way to a natural "abandon" and a kind of filial familiarity in intercourse between the Indian pupil and his master outside the schoolroom. It is something implanted by nature in the boy, but which does not die out with his boyhood. It is a special trait in the Indian character, love and reverence for the guru, or teacher, respect for authority, loyalty to and veneration for the Raja, or ruler.

The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India.

The same *Journal* contains a very interesting and informing paper on the above subject by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D., in which he gives two among other reasons why our ancient monuments should be preserved.

The ancient monuments, which lie scattered in such numbers over the wide lands of India,

have, with only a few exceptions, this feature in common, that they one and all bear a religious character; and, if we consider how in India religious consciousness still pervades every thought and action, we cannot but understand how great must be the appreciation which the Government's care of the old temples and topes, mosques and mausoleums, wins amongst the mass of the population, when every religious community sees its own sanctuaries protected and preserved with an impartial care.

The care of the monuments in India undoubtedly has a high political value, and on this account it has surprised me sometimes to find this ignored by officials who, although they might not personally take any interest in old buildings, should at least have perceived that merely from a practical point of view it ought to be promoted. To such people it may at any rate be pointed out that it is the ancient monuments which draw numerous tourists to India every cold season, thus constituting a valuable source of income—an argument which cannot fail to make an impression upon those who convert all values into pounds, shillings and pence.

For whatever reasons undertaken, the preservation of ancient monuments is one of the best things the British rulers of India have done.

Dr. Vogel says :

It is a remarkable fact that in India, where such great respect is felt for everything ancient, the scientific study of the old monuments was first begun by European scholars.

There are, however, isolated cases of the restoration of important buildings, amongst others of the celebrated Qutb Minar near Delhi in 1829—that is, during the "rule" of the Great-Mogul Akbar II. (1806-1837). An account of this not very judicious restoration is found in a rare and little-known publication, the *Journal of the Archaeological Society of Delhi*. It should also be mentioned that as early as the fourteenth century the enlightened Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388) set himself the task of restoring the great buildings of his predecessors—remarkable and probably unique example of monument preservation in the pre-British period !.

Dr. Vogel has described the vandalism of Hindus, Mussalmans and Britishers alike, and has paid a well-deserved compliment to Lord Curzon for firmly establishing the Archaeological Service. The following extracts from an address of his lordship may be quoted again and again :—

"In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites

and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to Municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if, indeed, any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries."

And a little further :

"If there be anyone who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of mankind.

"To us the relics of Hindu and Mahomedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid and the other a weaker emotion. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power."

Is China A Nation ?

John Dewey writing in the *New Republic* of New York from Peking, China, asks the above question and answers it thus :—

China certainly is not a nation as we know nations in Europe. It is sprawling, not compact. It is as diversified as Europe, if not more so, instead of being homogeneous like Switzerland or France. Every one has heard of students from the north and south who talk to one another in English so as to be understood. But there are populous parts of China where a native has to go only a few miles to fail to understand the language of his compatriots.

Is China a nation? No, not as we estimate nations. But is China *becoming* a nation, and how long will it take? These are the open questions. Any one who could answer them definitely could read the future of the Far East like a book. But no one can answer them definitely. In this suspense and uncertainty lies the momentous interest of the situation. When did nations begin to be, anyway? How long has France been a compact and homogeneous nation? Italy, Germany? What forces made them nations? And what is going to be the future of the national state outside of China? What is the future of internationalism? Our whole concept of a nation is of such recent origin that it is not surprising that it does not fit in any exact way into Chinese conditions. And possibly the days in which political nationality is most fully established are also the days of its beginning to decline. The last suggestion may be wild. But it suggests that the world as well as China is in flux, and that answers to the questions whether and when China is to be a nation, and what kind of a nation it is to be, cannot be found till we know also what is going to happen in Russia, and Europe generally.

Japanese Education—Old Style.

Basil Mathews gives in *Outward Bound* many interesting details regarding the life of Inazo Nitobe, under-secretary-general of the League of Nations and Director of its International Bureaux. His early education was of the ancient Japanese type.

That stern, winsome, curiously fascinating training of the Samurai—the high knightly code of Bushido—began with the boy Inazo Nitobe at the very earliest moment possible.

No greater school of chivalry has ever been known than that of Bushido. In it the boy Nitobe was trained. He was taught to fling a little spear, to fence with a child-sword, to grapple in the skilled wrestling of ju-jitsu, and to fence. He rode his horse, shot with his bow and arrow, and learned what he could of the art of war. He learned also to write beautifully the Japanese letters, to repeat the words of the Wisdom of Confucius and Mencius.

He learned not to let pain or pleasure show their traces on his face. He was taught the two sides of courage—to dare with valour and to bear with fortitude. Buddhist teaching had given the Samurai a disdain of life—a composure in face of peril—that was grafted on to the old military hardness. The Shinto teachers toned down the soldierly arrogance by a high doctrine of loyalty to the sovereign and of reverence for the father. And to all this Confucius added the aristocratic, conservative

wisdom of the austere, remote warrior-statesman.

But little Inazo Nitobe was trained to think too of "the tenderness of the warrior" (*Bushi no nasake*)—the mercy that "becomes the sceptred monarch better than his crown." And he was trained in all that dainty scrupulous, sensitive, etiquette of politeness—of true courtesy—which the West often, to its great loss, scorns; but which to the Samurai was not merely a code of action but a moral and spiritual training. He went through what he himself finely calls "the spiritual discipline of which etiquette and ceremony are mere outward garments."

An Interview with Rabindranath Tagore.

L. T. Nicholls has published in the *New York Evening Post* an account of an interview with Rabindranath Tagore, from which we extract the following paragraphs:

"In all India there has been no place to which I could invite the whole world. We must have some place where we can invite all people.

The place to which the world is to be hidden, is the university which is developing out of his old boys' school, Shantiniketan, "Abode of Peace," is to be the clearing house for the culture of the East and West, the first adequate attempt to give to every other country what India has had so long, and to bring into India the thing which she needs to-day, namely science in its many Western kinds. For twenty years Tagore himself, with his private income, with his Nobel prize, and the proceeds of his many books has supported the school in Bolpur, a hundred miles away from Calcutta, in the province of Bengal. But now the world has got to help, for it is the world which is to be invited. Not only money is needed but the understanding and cooperation which will make possible, as time goes on, a steady interchange of professors and students and a vitalization of intellectual intercourse and sympathy between India and the rest of the world.

Tagore, told of this, and of the way Indian universities have so far been "imposed by an alien Government," not representative therefore, and lacking in all those things which Indians have most wanted to know.

"These universities have been the creation of an alien Government," he said. "Whatever they thought fit for us, we have had. Perhaps they did not wish.....but that is something I do not wish to discuss," he ended not abruptly as might have been expected, but with the smooth curve of voice which he might have given to the ending for a poem or a prayer.

"Those universities have been artificial, not bearing fruit," he went on. "Last year I founded the nucleus of an indigenous Indian university. I want to have great scholars, to do their own research work and live their own studious lives, and to have their scholars come around them. These scholars and their apostles will create the university. This process of creation should be perpetual. They must explore the realms of truth, and this studious life will be the creative force by which the university will be built up."

"I have one great scholar," he said, "who knows Hindu philosophy and our Scriptures, and one great Buddhist philosopher. I myself will lecture on literature. Some English friends of mine will come for European literature. Holland and France are probably to send us men. And for the music and art, which have been neglected before, some of the best Bengal artists have come and settled down to build up that part of the university, and the musicians are also getting their students around them. So will the growth go on, so will the growth be a living one through the personal relations which are the most valuable part of a university life."

"What I have felt for years is that there is no place in India where foreigners can come and learn something of the philosophy and intellectual treasure; our modern universities have merely proclaimed our poverty of mind."

Again he spoke of the need of scientific education in India and of the deep thirst which he and others felt to have that need supplied to Indian youth, and again he spoke of the "alien Government" which had made this education impossible heretofore. "And my university will not have their sanction," he said. "But I do not mind," and he emphasized the last word mildly, and calmly, and sweetly.

His first lecture, on November 10, in Brooklyn, will take up the general subject of the meeting of the East and West, how the meeting so far has been in a wrong spirit and in what way that spirit can be changed. His other lectures will deal with the ideals of ancient India as manifested through ancient, classical literature; with the poets of religion; with "some village mystics of Bengal," and the mystical religion they present through folksongs and popular music and sayings; and with ideals of education in general.

Also, he will read his own poems, and that will be, as always, a doubtful pleasure to him. The translations are his own, but even so "they do not satisfy," he says. His poems in the original have rhyme and metre as well as

rhythm, and are not free verse, as is so often supposed. Free verse he does not wholly like, which is odd, considering how much English free verse his own translation have inspired. And in translation even the rhythm, the one thing which can be taken over from one language to another, cannot be taken exactly.

"Rhythm is the most important thing, of course," he said, "and the rhythms of the two languages are too different. A poem is not only thoughts and ideas; it is an organic thing, indivisible. Translations do not satisfy."

It is not only the politics of this own country which he does not wish to discuss, but the political aspect of any question, whatever. It irks him and wearies him to have a world so constituted as is this; at least, if it must be so constituted it must, but to have to dwell on it, to comment, to be involved—these are the intolerable things. He shrugs, winces, almost pulls away from any definitely political or economic question. Only then does his utter calmness suffer.

"Not having studied these things," he begins, in real distress—"my own vocation being so different—. And also my language is not your language," he ends, brightening. "There is always some danger in being misunderstood. My want of language or something or other —" and there is simply nothing to be said.

"The Most Important Work."

The Japanese painter Kanzan excelled in painting. "But for the purpose of distinguishing himself in a different line, Kanzan learned to make earthenware, and came to be a masterhand at the art." *The Japan Magazine* tells an anecdote about him which shows how proud he was of his occupation.

Kanzan, when he went to visit the prince, used to go in the soiled clothes which he wore when at work. Once the prince gave him a suit of black *habutai*. Kanzan in this suit was kneading the clay unconcernedly to make earthenware, when a disciple noticed him, and said:

"That is full dress, sir. You ought to put it on only on special occasions.—"

"To me this is the most important work—to make earthenware," answered Kanzan; "there will never be any more important occasion for me."

NOTES

The One Thing Needful.

Enlarged legislatures have come into being. There are far more "law-makers" than ever before. There is consequently an unending crop of resolutions, speeches, questions and answers, of which it is difficult to keep count. Overwhelmed with this hubbub, let us not in our bewilderment forget the one thing needful.

Is India regaining her lost soul? In politics, is this soul finding free scope and expression? Is it urging us to develop, believe in and recognise a self-confident manhood, leading to the recognition of our common humanity by free men abroad?

In religion, are we busy with the dead bones of the past or with its living spirit? Have we discovered that God still speaks in our souls as he spoke in the souls of the prophets and saints of yore? Do we follow the letter of scripture and obey the voice of the multitude, or do we listen to the voice of God in our souls and in the kindred souls of the sons and daughters of God who lived in days past?

In social polity, do we follow sheeplike even injurious customs, or have we the moral courage to do the right thing in scorn of consequence? Is our democracy merely a blatant thing of the press and the platform, or does it inspire and regulate our domestic and social relations?

Are we pure, faithful, loving, honest, dutiful, just, unselfish and fearless in our individual lives?

Is our nation already or is it *going* to be a unified collection of good men and women and true who have found their soul and are ready to listen to its promptings at all hazards?

The bureaucrat talks of "law and order," "peace and order." These are certainly required. But without Life and Love, Liberty and Progress, they are of little value and may even be positively harmful. Who more peaceful and orderly than dead men? Their bodies move not,

stir not, but obey the physical law of inertia and the chemical laws of decay. Are we also to be inert, to move not, stir not, but rot in a peace like unto the peace of the grave? Life *will* move and be stirring. The soul *will* sometimes break through the order of deathlike peace. But, whilst we do not like and do not want tumult and disorder, we must have life and cannot part with our souls.

H. G. Wells on the Indian Situation.

The Outline of History, by H. G. Wells, (Cassell & Company, 1920. 21s. net), is an epoch-making work. It has been received in both learned and journalistic circles with a chorus of praise. It is a monumental work of human industry, and the comprehensive sweep of vision which includes within its range the millions of years from the first evolution of the earth to the great war just over, is something to be marvelled at. Those who are acquainted with the novels and romances of Mr. Wells know how sympathetic he is towards Indian aspirations and the Indian peoples. His treatment of India and its religions and cultures is not a mere passing reference, but throughout the book he shows a true sense of perspective with reference to things Indian. To-day we have no time to deal adequately with that portion of his History which treats of Asiatic nations. Below we append a few extracts relating to current events in India, which will show that Mr. Wells knows Bengal's national anthem, and considers the Jalian-wala Bagh massacre a crime of sufficiently tragic significance to deserve mention in his work. We are further pleased to note that Lala Lajpat Rai's *England's Debt to India* and the *Political Future of India*, as well as the Aga Khan's *India in Transition*, are among the books recommended by him for study. His summing up of the Indian situation may also be quoted:

"What is wrong is not so much that Britain

rules India and Egypt, but that any civilised country should be ruled by the legislature of another, and that there should be no impartial court of appeal in the world yet to readjust this arrangement."

But to proceed to our extracts. First, about the rise of Indian nationality.

"Throughout the nineteenth century, and particularly throughout its latter half, there has been a great working up of this nationalism in the world.....Men were brought to feel that they were as improper without a nationality as without their clothes in a crowded assembly. Oriental peoples who had never heard of nationality before, took to it as they took to the cigarettes and bowler hats of the West. India, a galaxy of contrasted races, religions, and cultures, Dravidian, Mongolian, and Aryan, became a 'nation.'.....Ireland became a Cinderella goddess, Cathleen ni Houlihan, full of heart-rending and unforgivable wrongs, and young India transcended its realities in the worship of Bande Mataram." Chapter 39 §7.

In the opinion of Mr. Wells, the Emperor of India is only a golden symbol.

"In 1877 Lord Beaconsfield,.....caused Queen Victoria to be proclaimed Empress of India. Upon these extraordinary terms India and



Mr. H. G. Wells.

Britain are linked at the present time. India is still the empire of the Great Mogul, but the Great Mogul has been replaced by the "crowned republic" of Great Britain. India is an autocracy without an autocrat. Its rule combines the disadvantage of absolute monarchy with the impersonality and irresponsibility of democratic officialdom. The Indian with a complaint to make has no visible monarch to go to; his Emperor is a golden symbol; he must circulate pamphlets in England or inspire a question in the British House of Commons. The more occupied Parliament is with British affairs, the less attention India will receive and the more she will be at the mercy of her small group of higher officials.

As India is moving with the rest of the world, bureaucratic control as a permanent device is impossible.

"This is manifestly impossible as a permanent state of affairs. Indian life, whatever its restraints, is moving forward with the rest of the world; India has an increasing service of newspapers, an increasing number of educated people affected by western ideas, and an increasing sense of a common grievance against her government. There had been little or no corresponding advance in the education and quality of the British official in India during the century.....Confronted with a more educated India, the British military man, uneasily aware of his educational defects and constantly apprehensive of ridicule, has in the last few years displayed a disposition towards spasmodic violence that has had some very lamentable results. For a time the great war altogether diverted what small amount of British public attention was previously given to India, and drew away the more intelligent military men from her service. During those years, and the feverish years of unsettlement that followed, things occurred in India, the massacre of an unarmed political gathering at Amritsar in which nearly two thousand people were killed or wounded, floggings and humiliating outrages, that produced a profound moral shock, when at last the Hunter Commission of 1919 brought them before the home public. In liberal-minded Englishmen, who have been wont to regard their empire as an incipient league of free peoples, this revelation of the barbaric quality in its administrators produced a very understandable dismay."

—Chap. 39, § 9.

The superiority of the West in science and mechanical equipment is only temporary.

"The quite temporary advantages that the onset of the mechanical revolution in the West had given the European Great Powers over the rest of the old world were regarded by the people, blankly ignorant of the great Mongol

conquests of the thirteenth and following centuries, as evidences of a permanent and assured leadership. They had no sense of the transferability of science and its fruits. They did not realise that Chinamen and Indians could carry on the work of research as ably as Frenchmen or Englishmen. They believed that there was some innate intellectual drive in the West, and some innate indolence and conservatism in the East, that assured the Europeans a world predominance for ever."

Mr. Wells is not blind to the real meaning of the White Man's Burden, nor is he unaware how the idea of carrying this "burden" arose.

"The consequence of this infatuation was that the various European foreign offices set themselves not merely to scramble with the British for the savage and undeveloped regions of the world's surface, but also to carve up the populous and civilized countries of Asia as though these peoples also were no more than raw material for European exploitation. The inwardly precarious but outwardly splendid imperialism of the British ruling class in India... With a hypocritical pretence of reluctant benevolent effort the European mind prepared itself to take up what Mr. Rudyard Kipling called "the White Man's Burthen,"—that is to say, the loot and lordship of the earth. The Powers set themselves to this enterprise in a mood of jostling rivalry... They really believed that the vast populations of eastern Asia could be permanently subordinated to such a Europe."

The essential facts of the situation have been well described by Mr. Wells.

"Even to-day there are many people who fail to grasp the essential facts of this situation. They do not realise that in Asia the average brain is not one whit inferior in quality to the average European brain; that history shows Asiatics to be as bold, as vigorous, as generous, as self-sacrificing, and as capable of strong collective action as Europeans, and there are and must continue to be a great many more Asiatics than Europeans in the world. It has always been difficult to restrain the leakage of knowledge from one population to another, and now it becomes impossible. Under modern conditions world-wide economic and educational equalization is in the long run inevitable. An intellectual and moral rally of the Asiatics is going on at the present time. The slight leeway of a century or so, a few decades may recover. At the present time, for example, for one Englishman who knows Chinese thoroughly, or has any intimate knowledge of Chinese life and thought, there are hundreds of Chinamen conversant with everything the English know. The balance of knowledge in favour of India may be even greater. To Britain, India

sends students; to India, Britain sends officials. There is no organization whatever for the sending of European students, as students, to examine and inquire into Indian history, archaeology, and current affairs."—Chapter 39. § 10.

Mr. Wells on the Religions of the World.

Chapter XXX on the Beginnings of Christianity is one of the most interesting in Mr. H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*. In section 2 he says that

He [Jesus] was too great for his disciples.... He was like some terrible moral huntsman digging mankind out of the snug burrows in which they had lived hitherto. In the white blaze of this kingdom of his there was to be no property, no privilege, no pride and precedence, no motive indeed and no reward but love.... Is it any wonder that to this day this Galileean is too much for our small hearts?

Remembering that throughout Mr. Wells writes with an eye to the future verdict of history on all the past achievements of man, religious and otherwise, it will be instructive and useful to quote section 3 of the chapter in its entirety, where he briefly compares the great world-religions and also points out the great lesson which according to him is taught by all history:

Yet be it noted that while there was much in the real teachings of Jesus that a rich man or a priest or a trader or an imperial official or any ordinary respectable citizen could not accept without the most revolutionary changes in his way of living, yet there was nothing that the follower of the actual teaching of Gautama Sakya might not receive very readily, nothing to prevent a primitive Buddhist from being also a Nazarene, and nothing to prevent a personal disciple of Jesus from accepting all the recorded teachings of Buddha.

The author then proceeds to consider the teachings of a Chinese sage which prevailed in China in the 4th century B. C.

Again consider the tone of this extract from the writings of a Chinaman, Moti, who lived somewhere in the 4th century B. C., when the doctrines of Confucius and Lao Tse prevailed in China, before the advent of Buddhism to that country, and note how "Nazarene" it is:

"The mutual attacks of state on state; the mutual usurpations of family on family; the want of kindness on the part of the sovereign and of loyalty on the part of the minister; the want of tenderness and filial duty between

father and son—these, and such as these, are the things injurious to the Empire. All this has arisen from want of mutual love. If but that one virtue could be made universal, the princes loving one another would have no battle-fields; the chiefs of families would attempt no usurpations; men would commit no robberies; rulers and ministers would be gracious and loyal; fathers and sons would be kind and filial; brothers would be harmonious and easily reconciled. Men in general loving one another, the strong would not make prey on the weak; the many would not plunder the few; the rich would not insult the poor; the noble would not be insolent to the mean; and the deceitful would not impose upon the simple."

This is extraordinarily like the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth cast into political terms. The thoughts of Moti came close to the kingdom of Heaven.

Mr. Wells then dwells on the essential identity of the world religions.

This essential identity is the most important historical aspect of these great world religions. They were in their beginnings quite unlike the priest, altar and temple cults, those cults for the worship of definite finite gods that played so great and so successful a part in the earlier stages of man's development between 15,000, B. C. and 600 B. C. These new world religions, from 600 B. C. onward, were essentially religions of the heart and of the universal sky. They swept away all those various and limited gods that had served the turn of human needs since the first communities were welded together by fear and hope. And presently when we come to Islam we shall find that for a third time the same fundamental new doctrine of the need of a universal devotion of all men to one Will reappears. Islam indeed is marred, as Judaism is marred, by a streak of primitive exclusiveness; its founder was manifestly of a commoner clay than either Jesus or Gautama, and he had to tack on to his assertion of the supremacy of God an assertion that Muhammad was in especial his prophet, a queer little lapse into proprietorship, a touchingly baseless claim for the copyright of an idea which, as a matter of fact, he had picked up from the Jews and Christians about him. Yet, warned by the experiences of Christianity, Muhammad was very emphatic in insisting that he himself was merely a man. And the broad idea of human brotherhood under God that he preached, and the spirit in which his followers have carried it among black and fallen races, puts his essential teaching little lower than that of its two greater but far more abundantly corrupted and misrepresented rivals.

In the opinion of Mr. Wells the rivalry between religions is in their dross, not in the pure metal.

We speak of these great religions of mankind

which arose between the Persian conquest of Babylon and the break up of the Roman empire as rivals, but it is their defects, their accumulations and excrescences, their differences of language and phase, that cause the rivalry; and it is not to one overcoming the other or to any new variant replacing them that we must look, but to the white truth in each being burnt free from its dross, and becoming manifestly the same truth,—namely, that the hearts of men, and therewith all the lives and institutions of men, must be subdued to one common Will, ruling them all.

In his opinion there is no antagonism between science and religion.

And although much has been written foolishly about the antagonism of science and religion, there is indeed no such antagonism. What all these world religions declare by inspiration and insight, history as it grows clearer and science as its range extends display, as a reasonable and demonstrable fact, that men form one universal brotherhood, that they spring from one common origin, that their individual lives, their nations and races, interbreed and blend and go on to merge again at last in one common human destiny upon this little planet amidst the stars. And the psychologist can now stand beside the preacher and assure us that there is no safety in the soul, until a man in losing his life has found it, and has schooled and disciplined his interests and will beyond greeds, rivalries, instincts and narrow affections. The history of our race and personal religious experience run so closely parallel as to seem to a modern observer almost the same thing; both tell of a being at first scattered and blind and utterly confused, feeling its way slowly to the serenity and salvation of an ordered and coherent purpose. That, in the simplest, is the outline of history; whether one have a religious purpose or disavow a religious purpose altogether, the lines of the outline remain the same."

In the last chapter of the book, on the unification of the world into one community of knowledge and will, which Mr. Wells prophesies to be the next stage in history, he sets down the broad fundamentals of the coming world-state. The first of these fundamentals, according to Mr. Wells, is a world-religion, of which the prominent features are thus described:

"It [the world-state] will be based upon a common world religion, very much simplified and universalized and better understood. This will not be Christianity nor Islam nor Buddhism nor any such specialised form of religion, but religion itself pure and undefiled; the Eightfold Way [Buddhism], the Kingdom of Heaven [Christianity], brotherhood [Islam], creative service [Positivism?], and self-forgetfulness [the

Nishkama Karma of the Gita, Catholic Renunciation, the Stoic Apathy?]. Throughout the world men's thoughts and motives will be turned by education, example, and the circle of ideas about them from the obsession of self to the cheerful service of human knowledge, human power and human unity."

Akbar and the British Rulers of India.

Mr. H. G. Wells writes :—

"Yet though Akbar made no general educational scheme for India, he set up a number of Moslem and Hindu schools. He knew less and he did more for India in these matters than the British who succeeded him. Some of the British Viceroys have aped his magnificence, his costly tents and awnings, his palatial buildings and his elephants of state, but none have gone far enough beyond the political outlook of this mediæval Turkoman to attempt that popular education which is an absolute necessity to India before she can play her fitting part in the commonweal of mankind." Chap. 34, §5 E.

Dr. Megh Nad Saha's Researches.

In some previous issues we had occasion to refer to the original scientific work done by Dr. Megh Nad Saha of the Calcutta University College of Science. Recently Sir. P.C. Ray wrote of him thus in the course of a private letter to a member of Dr. Saha's community :



Dr. Megh Nad Saha, D.Sc.

I ventured to assure you that Dr. Saha had already established his reputation as a physico-mathematician of a high order by his original contributions in the *Philosophical Magazine* and in the *American Physical Journal* and I think I further observed that Dr. Saha.....thoroughly realised the significance of Einstein's relativity theory. You will be gratified to learn that Dr. Saha has been welcomed and highly appreciated in the scientific circles in London, Cambridge and Oxford, etc., by such eminent men as Sir Joseph Thomson, Sir Ernest Rutherford, Professors Porter, Richardson and others. An American Physicist, Dr. Crehorne, has recently written a book entitled "The Atom" in the preface and in the body of the text of which the author repeatedly acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Saha, who has given an altogether novel conception of the structure of atoms based upon the four-dimensional analysis of Minkowski and the relativity theory of Einstein. Dr. Crehorne has also sent to Dr. Saha a MS. of another book on an

allied subject for favour of a revision. Professor Fowler will shortly communicate to the Royal Society a valuable and elaborate paper by Dr. Saha on an astro-physical subject.

We give below some of the extracts from Dr. Crehorne's book referred to above.

Preface, pages VI and VII :—

"The Einstein theory admittedly assigns no cause for the force and does not connect it with the atoms of the electrons within these atoms. The theory developed within these pages does connect the gravitational force directly with the motion of the electrons within the atoms. To obtain these results it is pointed out that the theory of relativity is required, for this theory is involved in the recent modification of the electromagnetic theory due to Megh Nad Saha, who makes use of the four-dimensional space of Minkowski and the relativity theory".

Text, page III :—

"Electromagnetic theory has passed through several important stages of development since the early days when Maxwell published his celebrated treatise. And the process of this development is not at an end by any means as yet. It should not end until results obtained from the theory are in complete harmony with all the facts of observation. A recent valuable contribution has been made to this theory by Megh Nad Saha, who makes use of the modern four-dimensional analysis of Minkowski. This investigator arrives at equations having greater generality than those of Lorentz, which seem likely to have an important bearing upon the problem before us. We shall outline the results obtained by the author by the use of the Lorentz form of equations only, omitting any reference to the Thomson equations. The possible modifications that will be permitted by the use of the Saha equations have not yet been investigated".

Pages 122-23 :—

"It was there pointed out that all of the inverse square of the distance terms in this so-called gravitational equation arise either from the differentiation of the scalar or vector potential, P or L , with respect to the time in distinction to the space co-ordinates.

"This matter seems to be very significant now in the light of the recent papers by Saha above referred to. For he has shewn that in the so-called Doppler factor (197) above, the dt should be replaced by a generalised value depending actually upon the four co-ordinates in the generalised Minkowski space, which includes X, Y, Z , as well as t . This change will of necessity make a difference in the value of Doppler factor.

Appreciation of the 'History of Hindu Chemistry'.

Sir P. C. Ray's "History of Hindu Chemistry" the first volume of which appeared in 1902, has since been regarded by scientists as the standard and authoritative work on the subject. The "Isis", a journal mainly devoted to the historical development of sciences, published in Brussels, has reviewed it in a recent issue

at considerable length. We reproduce below the introductory paragraphs, translated from the original French.

"Isis" is happy to welcome in this work not only one of the rare examples of serious critical study by a non-European savant on the history of science in his own country, but an important contribution to the history of universal science, which is independent of the distinctions of language and race. Doctor of Science, for many years Professor of Chemistry at the Presidency College (Calcutta), the author unites all the conditions necessary to accomplish his task excellently, as he joins to scientific competency and a deep knowledge of history those natural affinities so useful to comprehension of doctrines which follow from the community of culture between the investigator and the theories which are the object of research. No work can, even from a long time past, in any domain of Indian science, compare with this extensive inquiry into the chemical theories for twenty centuries. If the undertaking required the testimony of an authority to guarantee its value, we should only recall with what sympathy the best judge in the matter, M. Berthelot, once gave an account of a memoir of Ray, which was a pre-

lude to this publication (*Journal des Savants*, April 1898) and how he welcomed, a few years before his death, the first volume, saying that a new and interesting chapter had been added to the history of science and human progress."

* * *

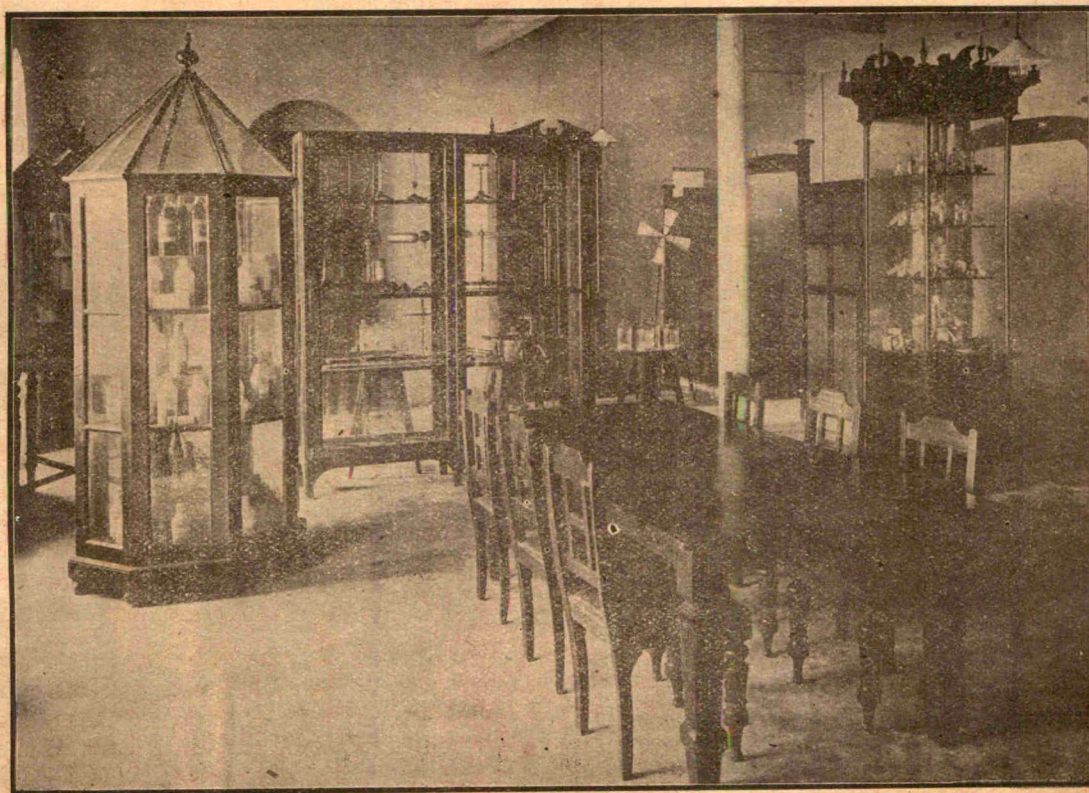
"This short analysis could only indicate a small number of the positive data which result from the study carried on by Ray with an attentive sympathy for his subject, which cannot be praised too much. This work is equally indispensable to those who busy themselves with the history of chemistry or that of technology or that of medicine, without mentioning that it cannot be overlooked by Indianists owing to its richness of documents."

* * *

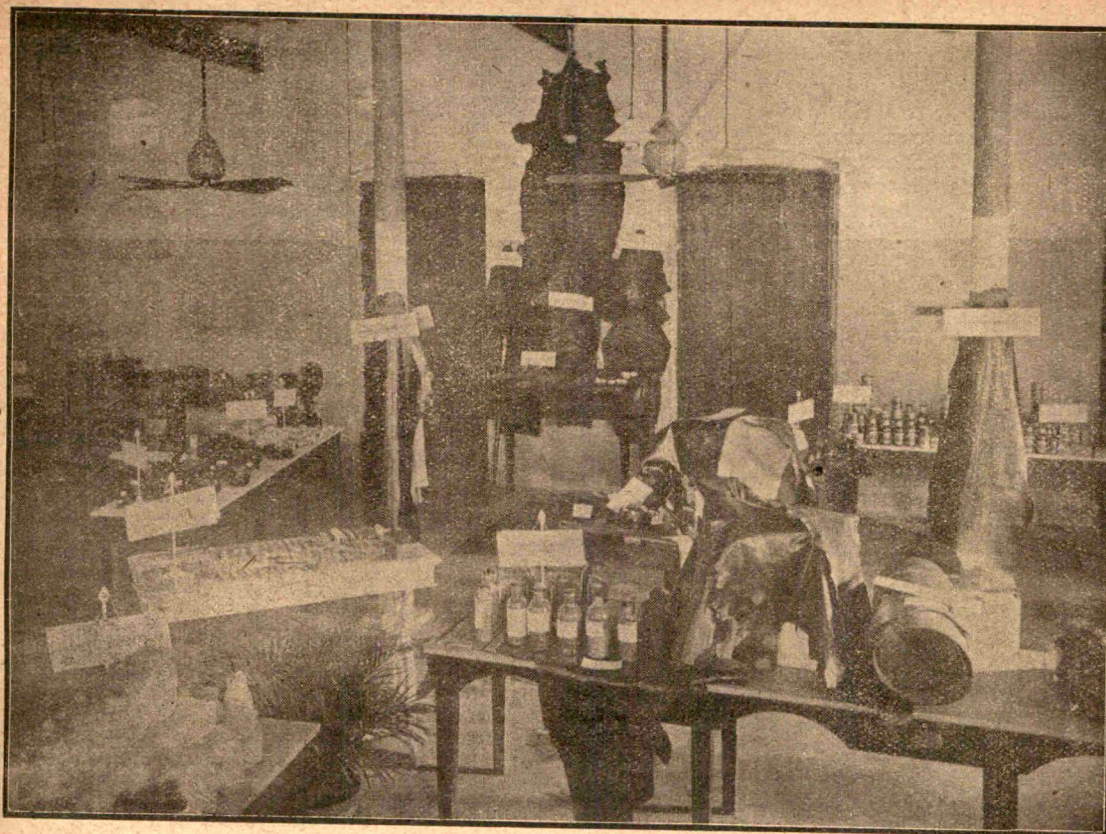
"Let us add that in writing this book, the author has given us an excellent opportunity to admire the scientific effort of his race and that he himself has honoured both contemporary India and timeless science (la science intemporelle).

An Industrialists' Festival.

The employees of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works had a festive day



Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works, Limited. (Show Room).

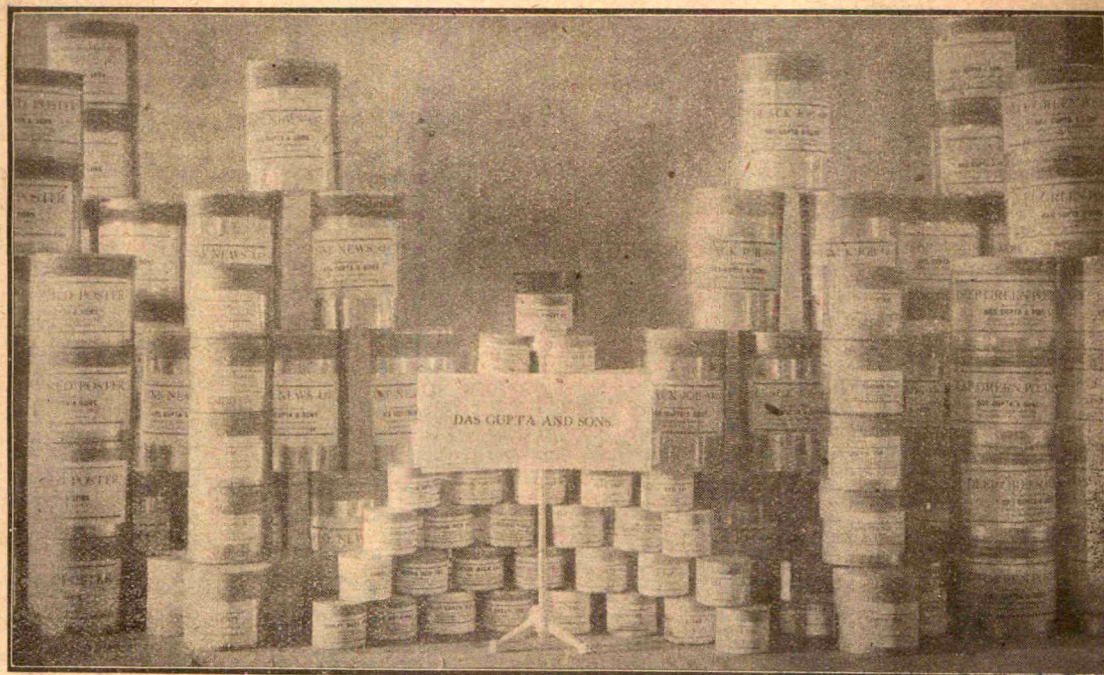


General View of the Exhibition.

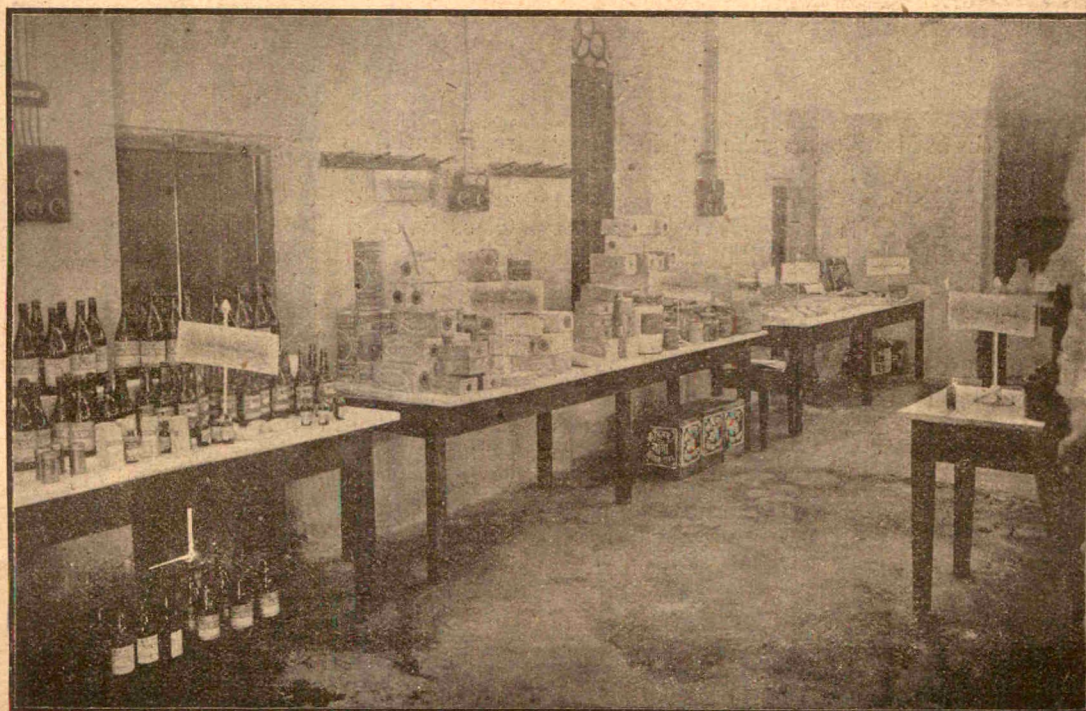


Calcutta Pottery Works.

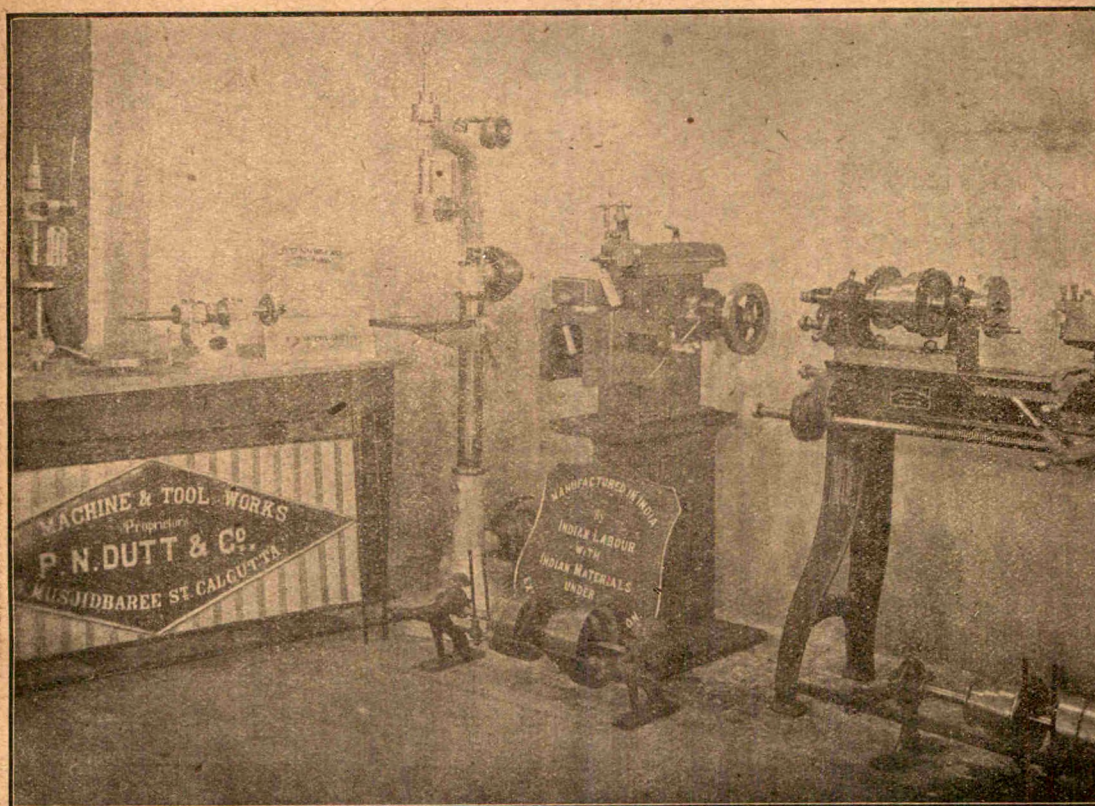
Lister Antiseptic & Dressing Co. Ltd.



Das Gupta and Sons (Printing Ink).



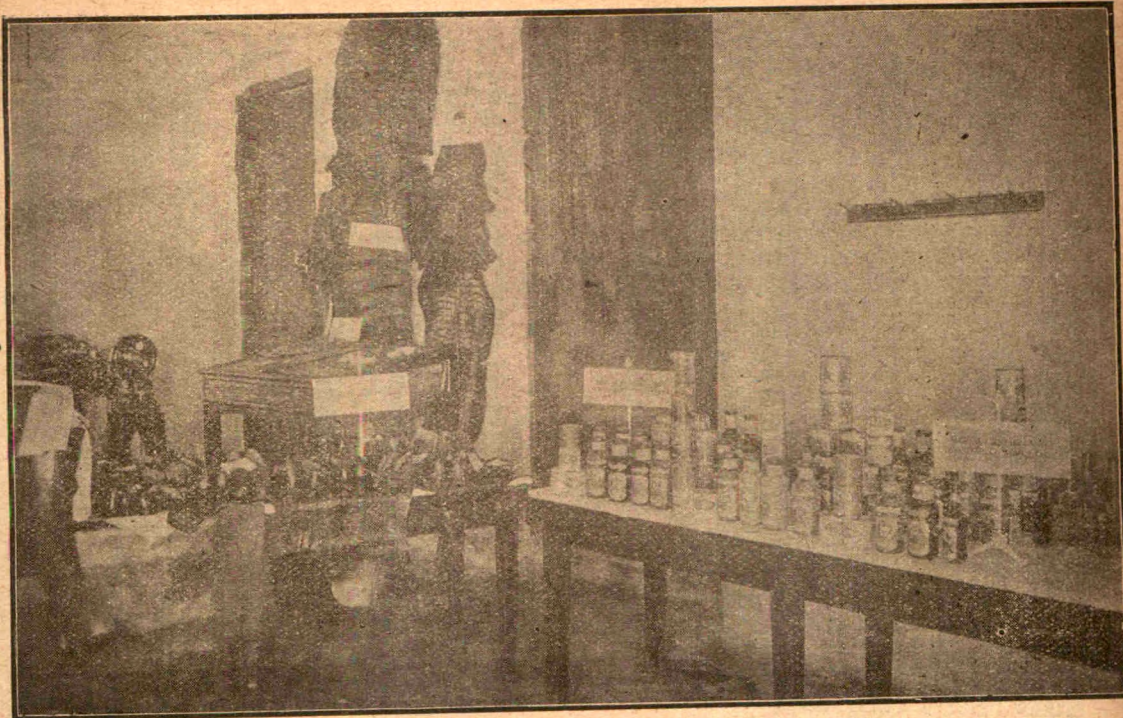
Left to right—Bengal Miscellany ; Britannia Biscuits Manufacturing Company, Ltd. ;
K. C. Bose & Co. (Biscuits) ; National Soap Co. ; Oriental Soap Co., Ltd. ; Datta Chemical Works, Ltd.



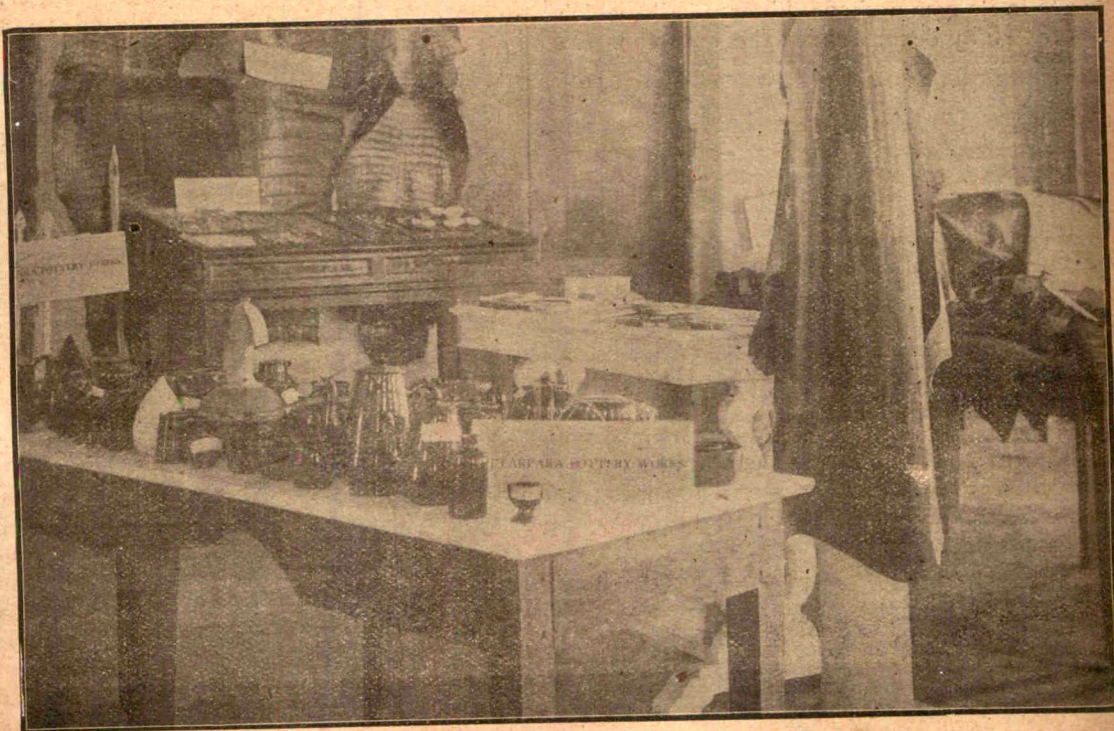
Datta Machine and Tool Works.

at the Works at Maniktala on the 13th February last. Many men of business, journalists, authors, professors, vakils, and other men of note had been invited to share their joy. The guests present numbered about 500. As the Works is situated at some distance from the city, the firm had made arrangements for the free conveyance of the guests. All carriages waited outside the extensive grounds. The principal thoroughfares within the Works were tastefully decorated with evergreens and flowers. The paths were painted with pictures of conch-shells, flowers, birds and beasts, made in the ancient Hindu style with powders of different colours. 'Entrance' to and 'Exit' from the Exhibition Hall were marked by pictures of lines of incoming and outgoing footsteps in red powder. The combination of industrial capacity with artistic taste and talent in the management of the Works was quite noteworthy, as it is not generally met with. In a large hall, there was an exhibition of goods manufactured by Indians under Indian supervision in Indian factories. The firms

represented were: Bengal Canning and Condiment Works, Ltd.; Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd.; Bengal Glass Works, Ltd.; Bengal Immunity Co., (Vaccines, Serums, &c.); Bengal Miscellany, Ltd. (Writing Inks, Boot Polish, &c.); Britannia Biscuit Manufacturing Company, Ltd.; Calcutta Chemicals Co., Ltd.; Calcutta Glass & Silicate Works, Ltd.; Calcutta Pottery Works, Ltd.; Calcutta Soap Works, Ltd.; Calcutta Research Tannery; Color Printing and Hollow Wares, Ltd.; Das Gupta and Sons (Printing Inks); Dutta Chemical Works, Ltd.; Datta Machine and Tool Works; F. N. Gooptu & Co. (Pencils, Penholders, &c.); K. C. Bose & Co. (Biscuits); Khan and Co. (Cutlery); Lister Antiseptic and Dressing Co., Ltd.; National Soap Co.; National Tannery Co., Ltd.; Oriental Soap Co., Ltd.; and Utterpara Pottery Works. Though the exhibition was got up in haste, the visitors were highly pleased to see the exhibits. It was indeed very encouraging to find that so many and such excellent things



National Tannery Co., Ltd. ; Bengal Canning and Condiment Works, Ltd.



Left to right—Uttarpara Pottery Works ; Khan & Co. (Cutlery) ; K. N. Gupta (Pencil, Nib, etc.)



Left to right—Bengal Glass Works, Ltd. ; Color Printing and Hollow Wares, Ltd. ; Calcutta Soap Works Ltd. ; Calcutta Chemical Works, Ltd.

were being made by our countrymen. The firm provided excellent refreshments for the guests in its commodious library hall, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion. In a spacious lawn within the grounds seats were arranged for the guests. There was a rose-water fountain in the centre, worked with oxygen gas, which scattered the water in the form of fine sprays. There was also a performance of magic. At nightfall some of the employees performed Rabindranath Tagore's play of "Achalāyatan". Next day all the workers of the firm, numbering more than a thousand, were treated to a simple and substantial breakfast. The festival was so enjoyable and educative that we hope it will be made a permanent annual function, and ladies will also be given an opportunity to see the things which our countrymen are producing. We cordially thank the firm for kindly supplying us with the photographs of the exhibition reproduced here.

The Shantiniketan School.

With reference to a passage in "X"'s article on "Student Unrest" in our last number and the comment thereupon by Mr. C. F. Andrews in the present issue, it should be mentioned as a matter of his-

tory that, in order to keep the boys in Shantiniketan for some years longer, it was at one time contemplated to add college classes to the school and get them affiliated to the Calcutta University. It was reported at that time that if college classes were opened Prof. Jadunath Sarkar was expected to join the institution as its Principal. All this refers, as far as we can recollect, to a period before Mr. C. F. Andrews' connection with the school.

Not misprints but errors in MS.

To prevent misconception it is necessary to point out that the mistakes in Prof. Panchanan Mitra's letter commented upon by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in our last issue, were not misprints, but occurred in Prof. Mitra's manuscript.

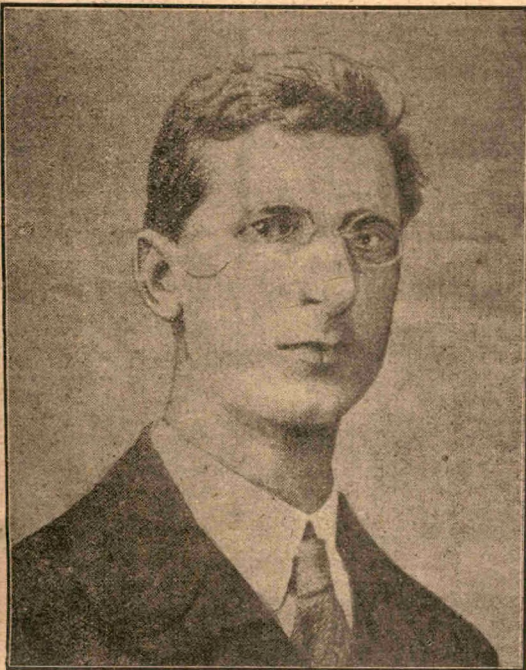
Bombay School of Art Mural Paintings.

We are grateful to the Principal of the Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, for permitting us to reproduce some of the Mural Paintings in the School, and to Mr. G. K. Mhatre, the celebrated sculptor of Bombay, for obtaining the Principal's permission and sending us the photographs of the paintings. It should be

mentioned here that "the Recrowning of India" has been reproduced from a sketch, not from a photograph, as the painting could not be photographed owing to the proximity of a pillar in front of it.

Ireland's Self-Determination.

All the world, except Great Britain, which during the war talked loudest about the self-determination of small nations (because India was not a *small* nation?), knows that Ireland's self-determination is in favour of a Republic such as that theoretically, and to some extent practically, established, with De Valera as its



"President" De Valera.

president. But for military reasons, which were considered a diabolical plea in the case of Germany, Great Britain will not allow Ireland to have what she wants. It has, no doubt, been contended that nobody can say exactly what the Irish want. But there is no uncertainty as to what they do not want, as the following paragraphs from the *Catholic Herald of India* will show:—

Though we have been repeatedly informed that now Sinn Féinn is being successfully throttled, that the Republican army is surrounded, that aggression is all but suppressed, the Irish problem seems to be as persistent as a mosquito. Pillows and blankets fly right and left, the whole bedroom is knocked upside down, and when the sleeper has laid himself down in

utter exhaustion, back comes the little culex to his ear with its cheerful hum, as if nothing had happened. It is aggravating.

If only politicians could change their minds! Repression has failed for three hundred years, why not try some other way? On neither side can violence effect anything. A few ambushes will not exterminate the British army, and the British army will not exterminate the Irish people. It may wipe out the extremists and the Republican army, but these are not the Irish problem. The Irish problem is this: in Ireland neither woman nor man, be they ever so old, neither girl nor boy, be they ever so young, want to have anything to do with the British Government, and that is that. Three hundred years ago, a little repression was excusable, but after three hundred years, what a waste of ammunition!

Recently we received a letter from an innocent Irish girl, informing us with pride that her county had been placed under martial law. She was so afraid her county should have been overlooked! What can you do with a people like that?

A Roman Catholic View of the Present Situation.

In the opinion of *The Catholic Herald of India*, "There is evidence of a sullen, angry, implacable mood which fastens on every grievance, and spurns every offer. It is not enough to say that it is all the doings of one party, for that party is the most energetic and the most popular; even Mr. Gandhi is only a symptom. Mere imitation of Russia or Ireland, mischievous propaganda, explain little, unless we first explain the people's receptivity." The Catholic editor finds comfort and cheer in the hope that "the excitement will blow over, but something will remain, the intensification of India's patriotism, which goes up a peg at every new grievance and stops there waiting for a new lift: the partition of Bengal, the Rowlatt Act, the Dyer affair, the Khilafat grievance have each in turn jerked on Indian patriotism."

Repressive Press Legislation.

In view of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's and Mr. O'Donnell's resolutions aimed at the repeal of repressive legislation against the press, &c., it may be interesting to refresh our memory as to one main reason why in the last century the Indian press was looked upon with suspicion.

Mr. C. Lushington, who had served the East India Company for 27 years, was asked as witness before the Parliamentary Committee, on 8th March, 1832:

"988. Is it your opinion that the encouragement of

native journals might be made the means of conveying information highly beneficial to the natives of India? Unquestionably; but I would exercise a very close supervision over them, for fear they should be the means of doing mischief to the native army; in fact, the native army is the only body which is to be considered now-a-days with regard to the press. I think the press may continue just as free and just as licentious as Indian politicians may desire, so long as the infection does not spread to the native army. Whilst we have the native army staunch, it does not much signify what newspaper squabbles take place at the presidencies. * * * It is mentioned by Sir John Malcolm, in his History of India (1826), that for 35 years a most active circulation of inflammatory papers in the shape of letters, proclamations and prophecies has been made to the native troops, causing a deep impression, but owing to the difficulty in multiplying copies the emissaries of sedition did not do much harm. Surely they should be debarred the facilities of a press, under the very eye of Government, in aid of this design! If the native army be once tainted, the empire which we have taken so many years to consolidate may be lost to us in one day; * * *

"995. Does it not appear to you that there should be some uniform system adopted with regard to it [censorship of press] throughout all the presidencies generally? Yes; I would remove the censorship, because it is hateful to everybody; the very name disgusts people; in fact, we have gone through the ordeal, and as I said before, as long as the native army is not affected, it does not signify."

Mr. James Sutherland, who had been occupied during his residence in Calcutta in connexion with the press, appeared as an witness before the Parliamentary Committee on the 16th March, 1832. He was asked:—

"1148. During your connection with the periodical press have you known any instance in which writings have been charged as having a tendency to promote sedition or revolt among the native troops? I am not aware of any instance of the kind."

These extracts clearly show that the restrictions on the liberty of the press in India have always been meant mainly to prevent disaffection among sepoys. That is why more than a dozen years ago some Punjab journalists and printers had ferocious sentences pronounced on them. Let us now see whether at present there is any reasonable excuse for such restrictions. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907 edition), on the eve of the sepoy mutiny there were 311,038 Indian troops and only 39,500 British troops. The strength of the Indian artillery was 11,526 and that of the British artillery 6,769. The total number of regular British and Indian troops in 1903 was 74170 and 157,941 respectively, with no Indian artillery worth speaking of. Mr. Arnold Lupton, M. P., in a paper on "India and

Discontent" published in "*India*" (July 26, 1907) mentioned the following as one of the factors which would enable the British to hold India with a much reduced force:—

"4. The improvement in rifles and cannon, making it impossible for any man not similarly armed to withstand our troops, whereas fifty years ago the native armourers could produce weapons equal to ours. Now the only effective weapons are in our hands. Twenty thousand British troops would now be as effective against the native as sixty thousand fifty years ago."

The other strategic advantages mentioned by Mr. Lupton are railways, high-speed steamships, and the Suez Canal.

Let us take a more recent authority. During the Dyer debate in the British House of Commons Mr. Winston Churchill said:—

Referring to the material foundations of their power very bluntly and taking the Mutiny as the datum line in those days there were normally 40,000 British troops in the country, and the ratio of British troops to native troops was one to five. The native Indian Army had a powerful artillery, of which they made tremendous use. There were no railways, no modern appliances, and yet the Mutiny was effectively suppressed by the use of a military power far inferior to that which they now possessed in India. Since then the British troops had been raised to 70,000 and upwards, and the ratio of British to native troops was one to two; there was no native artillery of any kind. The power and the importance of the artillery had increased in the meantime ten and perhaps twenty-fold. Since then a whole series of wonderful and powerful war inventions had come into being and the whole apparatus of scientific war was at the disposal of the British Government in India—machine guns, the magazine rifle, cordite ammunition, which could not be manufactured, as gunpowder was manufactured, except by scientific power, and which was all stored in the magazines under the control of the white troops. Then there have been great developments of the aeroplane. Even if the railways and the telegraphs had been cut or rendered useless by a strike, motor lorries and wireless telegraphy would give increasingly the means of concentrating troops and talking them about the country with an extraordinary and almost undreamed of facility. When one contemplated those solid, material facts, there was no need for foolish panic, or talk of its being necessary to produce a situation like that at Jallianwallah Bagh in order to save India. On the contrary, as they contemplated the great physical forces and the power at the disposal of the British Government in their relations with the native populations of India, they ought to remember the words of Macaulay: "and then were seen what were believed to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of a civilised nation without its mercy."

Such being the changed conditions of warfare so far as they relate to India, the military reason for keeping the press gagged no longer exists. The sepoys must be mad to mutiny now-a-days for any reason. At pre-

ent, press prosecutions and sedition trials are only modern instances of the old saw, "Conscience makes cowards of us all."

The Motive of the Anti-Drink Campaign.

Administrative machines and those who keep them going have often a curious trick of arguing in such a manner as to suggest either preconcerted action or common inspiration from higher official quarters. For instance, in opening the Bihar and Orissa Council Lord Sinha is reported to have said :—

The air is thick with plans for development of education on national lines. Surely this does not mean an abandonment of modern education, which is no more English than it is French, German or Japanese. The country is invited to take to the spinning wheel as the surest method of developing national industries, and social reform by way of temperance is sought to be promoted by methods some of which, at any rate, must come into collision with law and order. If the direct object of all these movements were amelioration of the people and not the destruction of Government, I am confident they would appeal to the members of this Council, whose special functions are to advance education, promote industries and develop social well-being. But I cannot believe that you will seek to carry out that policy by banishing all modern culture, from our schools and colleges, by partly seeing the growing industries of the country (ruined?) or by trying to create habits of temperance by means other than a well-considered excise policy, regulating the control, manufacture, possession and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs.

We are not aware of the existence of any national institution which has abandoned modern education, which Lord Sinha is right in considering a world-possession, or of any efforts to destroy any industries. But we wish in this note only to draw attention to His Excellency's suggestion, that the object of the non-co operator's temperance movement is not social amelioration but the destruction of Government. Exactly the same belief underlies the notice served at Nagpur on Dr. L. V. Paranjpe, which begins thus :—

Whereas it has been made to appear to me that a movement has been started in Nagpur recently ostensibly in favour of Temperance but in reality with the object of embarrassing

Government by causing sales of liquor to drop with resultant loss of revenue and by causing liquor contractors to avoid taking up excise shops in future.....

As motive-hunting does not promise any certainty of arriving at the truth, we will leave motives aside. As is proved by the history of anti-drink campaigns in free countries, where the campaigners did not want to destroy or embarrass their Governments but only aimed at social well-being, the campaigns have resulted there in the total or almost total loss of the revenue from intoxicant liquors. Yet those Governments have not been destroyed. Why is it then taken for granted that the success of the prohibition movement in India would spell destruction to any Government? If Indian anti-drink non-co-operators aim at social well-being, which is not unthinkable, their success would mean loss of excise revenue to Government; if they want to embarrass Government, then, too, their success would result in loss of excise revenue to Government. The result being the same, the question of motives seems to us not quite essential. Moreover, as it is certain that in our country Prohibition is coming as it has come elsewhere, Government should make up its mind to look elsewhere for sources of revenue than in the vicious habits of the people. And why should partial loss of revenue lead to the destruction of any Government? The "Reformed" Bengal Government is starting with a deficit of two crores, but nevertheless is not in desperate straits.

It should not also be forgotten that if the money now mis-spent by the people in drink were to remain in their pockets, it would fructify and help in the production of more taxable wealth, there would be less immorality, dishonesty, disease and crime, less idleness and physical inefficiency, and consequently greater wealth-producing capacity and taxable income. So in the long run, and that not a very long run, there would be an increase instead of a decrease of revenue. This has been the experience of prohibitionist countries.

As for "a well-considered excise policy" producing social well-being, does not Lord

Sinha know that India's revenue from the demoralisation of the people is at present four or five times of what it was some decades ago? The history of the temperance movement in Western countries shows that no other policy than that of total prohibition can produce social well-being in this direction. But the Government in India have not yet made any definite or indefinite move towards prohibition. So it would be wise for an *Indian* statesman, who desires his policy to be beneficent, to let his people do what the alien bureaucracy has not done.

As for actual cases of disorder, violence or physical obstruction, these should of course be prevented and put down. But we do not think it is either statesmanlike or justifiable to consider the anti-drink campaign itself a criminal movement.

Pro-drink Police Activity.

We have it from a very reliable source that in some places in Bihar and Orissa police underlings have taken to *samjhiw-ing* people that drinking is good and it is the *Sarkar's* desire and *hukum* that they should drink. Does Lord Sinha know it? What lends support to this report is an extract made in the Excise Supplement to the *Bihar and Orissa Criminal Intelligence Gazette* of January 14, 1921, page 23, from the *Pioneer* of January 3, 1921, on the "Value of Wine", of which the opening paragraph runs as follows :—

"In these days when the teetotal campaign is gaining considerable ground and 'Pussy-footism' is becoming the accepted creed of an increasing number of people, it is well to point out the value of wine both as a food and as a medicine, writes a physician to the *Daily Mail*."

Why did not this physician sign his name, so that the value of his opinion might be gauged? The extract contains nine more paragraphs, which it is not necessary to reproduce. What we ask is, *why has this pro-drink article been reproduced in a police gazette in Bihar and Orissa? Is it the duty of the police in that province to promote drinking among the people or even among themselves?* We have heard that in Bengal, too, instructions have

been received in the *thānās* to do what is being done in Bihar and Orissa.

A Circular of the Bihar Government.

The second paragraph of the Bihar and Orissa Government's circular on the Non-co-operation movement says :—

The Governor in Council has reason to believe that the attitude of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government towards the movement which was explained in a Resolution of the Government of India explained the reasons why they had refrained from instituting criminal proceedings or taking other action against those of its promoters whose advocacy of non-co-operation has been qualified by advice to abstain from violence. His Excellency in Council believes that this attitude has often been interpreted as implying either a reluctance to deal with the movement due to fear, or else indifference to the dangers which such a movement must carry with it. It is important, therefore, that every officer should realize that Government view the movement with utter disapproval as tending to lawlessness and ultimately to anarchy and that they will not hesitate to employ all lawful and reasonable means to combat it.

We do not know why the Government of India and His Majesty's Government have not hitherto instituted criminal proceedings against Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues or placed restrictions upon their movements. They have acted wisely. But this we do know, as all newspaper readers know, that other persons have been prosecuted, punished, or deprived of freedom of movement and speech for saying and doing what Mr. Gandhi has been saying and doing and often for saying and doing much less. This is in keeping with Government's policy on a similar occasion in the past. During the Swadeshi and Boycott Agitation in Bengal, Government did not deport Babu (now Sir) Surendranath Banerjea, who was the leader of the movement, but they deported some of the other leading men. It is not our intention to enquire into the reasons of this policy.

Nor is it our intention to criticise the Bihar circular in detail. We only wish to make a few remarks on the following passages in the circular :—

It is their (Government officers') duty also to use every means in their power to combat

the agitation. Every Government officer should, as opportunity offers, do his best to point out to those who are in danger of being drawn into the movement the disastrous consequences which would result from its success.

No opportunities should be lost of impressing on the local leaders of the agitation that if it should result in disorder they will be held responsible, while at the same time men of property should be reminded that they will be the first to suffer if the bounds of law and order are broken.

His Excellency proposes to initiate active measures to combat it at a very early date.

Let us take the second passage first. We do not think it would be right to hold the local leaders of the agitation responsible without definite proof if it should result in disorder. Before such responsibility is thrown on them, it must be legally proved that the disorder was due to the leaders' doings and sayings. Police agents are not above bringing about disorder in order to discredit the movement.

The first and third passages may be considered together. The means and measures that may be adopted to combat the agitation are of various descriptions. Fear may be roused, threats may be used, and repression may be resorted to. But repression, as the history of Ireland, Russia, and even of India, shows, is bound to fail. After each period of repression, the people of India have grown bolder. That British officials and non-officials are on occasion capable of the worst acts of cold-blooded ferocity has been recently proved at Amritsar and elsewhere in the country, and they have the means and weapons for such ferocity at their disposal. And yet now, in various provinces, the movement for freedom is in full swing, men are saying what they feel in utter disregard of consequences, after conviction many men are preferring to go to jail when they had the option of paying a fine, and everywhere men convicted of sedition and such-like technical offences are being treated as heroes and martyrs, and their arrest or conviction has been followed by *hartals*. The wives of men like Messrs. Yakub Hussain, Gopal Menon, and others are proud of their fearless husbands who do not mind going to jail. Repression, then,

Another method is to work upon the cupidity and 'vanity' of some persons. We say some persons, because Government cannot possibly or usefully decorate all persons with titles, or give all of them or their children posts in the public services and thus buy them off. And after all men who can thus be purchased are dead dogs whom it is useless to decorate or propitiate. They do not count. It is the "irreconcilables" who count, and they are the majority.

The last method which remains is the honest method of persuasion and conciliation. Those who are in the thick of the agitation are working for freedom; nothing less than full freedom will satisfy them. But it is not in the power of any provincial government or of the Government of India to grant complete freedom to the people. And for that matter, even the people of England cannot make us free. We must be inwardly free, free in mentality, before we can be outwardly free. We must get rid of all fear of all men, and get rid of our want of confidence in ourselves. That again depends on our becoming thoroughly dutiful, honest and reliable.

Freedom, then, is in no man's or nation's gift. But without freedom we can never be satisfied with our lot. Therefore, so long as we are not completely free, the movement for freedom will go on. The name of Non-co-operation may fall into disuse, but the thing will remain. For the movement is pervasive, elusive, elastic. It cannot be killed either by repression, or by conciliation as it is generally understood.

Is there, then, nothing that the Provincial or Imperial Governments can usefully do? There is. They can refrain from interference so long as there is no violence, as laid down in the Government of India's circular on the subject. They can thus wisely and in a statesmanlike manner, by the adoption of a policy of non-interference, leave us to attain freedom, intervening only when there is any act of violence and punishing the offenders.

It may be objected that such a policy would lead to the Britishers losing their

they will regain their souls. But countless men among them may care more for worldly possessions than for their souls. These will support a policy of repression, and would not mind there being many more Jalianwala Baghs and Crawling Lanes. But as Lord Sinha is not a Britisher and as he is patriotic according to his lights, he may be expected to perceive the futility and unrighteousness of persecuting and punishing men for their opinions, opinions which they hold and boldly avow because of their love of freedom. It is not in Bihar and Orissa alone that the policy of repression is in full swing. In many other provinces, too, there is repression. But nevertheless Lord Sinha has come in for more than his share of criticism, because he is an Indian and therefore people expect him to know from the inside and sympathise with the Indian yearning for freedom. But it is the common misfortune of the indigenous servants, however highly placed, of an external power that they have to carry out the policy of that power. Raja Man Singh, the servant of the Moghul, (though the Moghul had then become domiciled,) had to plunder Bengal. The best thing to do is not to place or keep oneself in such an unenviable position.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on "The Immediate Need for Independence."

Mr. C. F. Andrews has contributed to some dailies four articles on "The Immediate Need for Independence," of which he kindly sent us copies in advance. He asks:

Why are we seeking suddenly today independence, with such desperately earnest haste? Why do we feel today, as we never felt before, that other things may be postponed, but this struggle for freedom cannot be postponed even for one single hour?

The answer can be gathered from the passages quoted below, some of which we have condensed.

There is a book called Sir John Seeley's "Expansion of England". First of all, notice the title, —*Expansion of England*. The book records the expansion of England; and yet more than half the book is about India. That fact itself should make us pause and think. To Sir John Seeley,

India during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries is regarded as an instrument in the expansion of England. India is the passive pliable material by means of which England was able to stretch her Empire over the rest of the world! What a fate! What a destiny! What a loss in dignity for three hundred millions of souls, to be made an appendage to the Expansion of a small island called England.

Mr. Andrews quotes from Seeley's book a passage, which appeared in our January issue, from which we cull one sentence.

If there could arise in India a nationality movement similar to that which we witnessed in Italy, the English power could not even make the resistance that was made in Italy by Austria, but must succumb at once.

He leaves the whole passage to speak for itself, and asks:

Does it not explain the psychology of the present movement? For, what have we seen on every side, as Mahatma Gandhi has gone from place to place and province to province? Have we not seen just that very 'feeling of a common nationality', on which Sir John Seeley lays so much stress? Have we not seen the "notion created", as Seeley says, "that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion?"

Mr. Andrews quotes another passage from Seeley.

"But if India does begin to breathe as a single national whole, and our own rule is perhaps doing more than ever was done by former Governments to make this possible, then no sudden explosion of despair, even if there was cause for it, would be needed. For in that case the feeling would gain the native army, and on the native army ultimately we depend. We could subdue the mutiny of 1857, formidable as it was because it was spread through only a part of the army, because the people did not actively sympathise with it, and because it was possible to find native Indian races who would fight on our side. But the moment a mutiny is but threatened which shall be no mere mutiny, but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end, as all desire ought to be at an end, of preserving our Empire. For we are not really conquerors of India, and we cannot rule her as conquerors. If we undertake to do so, it is not necessary to inquire whether we could succeed, for we should assuredly be ruined financially by the mere attempt."

Mr. Andrews then writes:

I leave these two remarkable passages to be carefully thought over by every student. One thing, I believe, will come out, namely, that the attainment of Indian independence must essen-

tially be based, not on any appeal to arms; not on any violence; but on a complete realisation by the people as a whole of Indian nationality. In the light of this fact, cannot we understand what a God-given blessing it has been to India, at such a time as the present, to have Mahatma Gandhi in our midst?

In his second article Mr. Andrews quotes from Seeley the maxim, that, "Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration," and says:

Therefore, if Seeley's maxim is true, every year, that India remains in subjection to England in the future, will only drive the national deterioration deeper and deeper. How much *longer* then is India going on in this state of dependence? Is not every year that passes only adding to national deterioration? We must, therefore, at once awake and shake ourselves free.

The second of the two historical maxims presented by Sir John Seeley forces Indians into a dilemma from which there appears to be no escape.

"To withdraw," he says, "the British Government from a country like India, which is dependent on it, and *which we have made incapable of depending on anything else*, would be the most inexcusable of all conceivable crimes, and might possibly cause the most stupendous of all conceivable calamities."

This sentence, which I have underlined, can only have one meaning. It implies that India has no way out of her difficulties. The historian can look forward to no period when India will be able to depend upon herself alone for protection. The rule of the British in India is regarded as parallel to that of the Romans in Britain, in ancient times. When the Romans left the shores of Britain, the wretched inhabitants, we are told, gazed longingly after them as the Roman ships departed, being themselves too weakened by foreign government to have any powers of self-defence left. Even so, Sir John Seeley appears to think, the people of India have so lost the powers of self-government and self-defence, that it would be a crime to leave them to themselves.

Mr. Andrews gives one other passage:

"India," says Sir John Seeley, "is, of all countries, that which is least capable of evolving out of itself a stable government. And it is to be feared, that the British rule may have diminished whatever little power of this sort India may have originally possessed."

What a confession is this for an English Historian to make! What an appalling prospect

for India herself! It seems inevitably to imply perpetual dependence and subjection.

There seemed to be no prospect of breaking through this vicious circle.

But quite lately, there has appeared to me to be one pathway opened, leading out of this terrible dilemma. It is this. If India could be granted, before it is too late, some God-given genius, who could stir up, not in one province only, but throughout the whole country, the spirit of independence, then there might be hope. If India could produce, out of her own resources, such an inspiring and unifying personality, then all might yet be well.

And, surely, that is what is happening before our very eyes today. At this most critical moment in Indian History, when subjection and dependence were becoming unbearable and insupportable, we have been given one who has roughly shaken our age-long conventions and has uttered the *mantra*,—"Be free: be slaves no longer!"

Mr. Andrews is not unaware of the theory of gradual development leading ultimately to freedom. Says he:

Whilst I myself find ground for hope and encouragement in the prospect which I have thus outlined, I can understand the attraction which the picture of gradual development still has for many of the most thoughtful and patriotic Indian minds.

But I would ask those who hold it,—"How can you face the historical facts of an ever-increasing dependence, an ever-increasing deterioration, if the British imperial rule continues? Granted that the Reform Act has brought a certain measure of responsibility, does not the old fatal dependence on England still lurk beneath it? Is there any way of getting rid of the spirit of subjection except by standing out unmistakably on the side of freedom? Can doles of Home Rule, meticulously meted out *at the will of the rulers*, create a new inner vital force? Even the British historian can hardly look forward to such a prospect."

In the third article Mr. C. F. Andrews says:

I have confessed that, for very many years I had still kept fast, as an anchor to my mental thinking, the belief in a purely evolutionary process,—a belief which might be taken as coinciding with that of the Indian National Liberals to-day. I have had sympathy with those thoughtful and patriotic Indian leaders, whose courage and integrity I had learnt deeply to respect, who maintain the belief that regeneration could come slowly to India, step by step, chiefly by appeals to England and at the hands of the English people. But now at last experience

itself has taught me that this way of thinking suffers from one fatal defect. There is no inner strength in it, no inner resource, by appeal to which India may be brought out of the vicious circle that Seeley so terribly depicts. Desperate diseases demand desperate remedies, not poultices and bandaging. Even if the dependence on England became more and more attenuated as year after year went slowly by, yet all the while the spirit of dependence would remain. And, if Seeley's diagnosis of the malady which afflicted India was true, then we had no time to wait. For while doles of home-rule were being niggardly meted out with the one hand, independence itself was being undermined, and the fatal habit of looking to England, in a defenceless sort of way, was continuing. The disease within was still active.

Thus I came to realise, by the force of sheer practical experience, that the evolutionary process, could not be relied on. It did not evolve: it only wandered round and round in a vicious circle, from which there was no escape. It therefore appeared to me more and more certain, that the only way of self-recovery was through some vital upheaval from within. The explosive force needed for such an upheaval must be generated within the Soul of India itself. It could not come through boons and gifts and grants and concessions and proclamations from without. It must come from within.

Therefore it was with the intensity of joy of mental and spiritual deliverance from an intolerable burden, that I watched the actual outbreak of such an inner explosive force, when Mahatma Gandhi spoke to the heart of India the *mantra*, "Be free! Be slaves no more!" and the heart of India responded. In a sudden moment her fetters began to be loosened, and the pathway of freedom was opened.

In the fourth article Mr. Andrews tells us that during the war, after much reflection he decided to follow in actual practice quite literally Christ's words concerning non-violence, and about loving even one's enemies. He decided that, even though his own home in England were attacked, he must not defend it by any act of counter-violence. Therefore he could not personally countenance any violent revolution, even though it led directly to Indian independence.

But the more deeply I studied the history of India, and went to impartial historians, like Seeley, for my information, the more I found out that a violent revolution was not needed. India had not been conquered by British arms, but by the employment of Indian mercenary troops under British direc-

tion. Therefore, the reversal of this process of conquest did not need an appeal to military violence. It demanded simply a psychological revolt in the minds of the Indian people. To repeat the passage from Sir John Seeley:—"If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist in India only feebly; if, without any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion; from that day, almost, our Empire would cease to exist."

Now arises the question,

How to create a psychological revolution? How to bring about an entire reversal of Indian sentiment from dependence to independence? How to get rid of the inveterate fear of the Englishman among the common people? How to create among the masses "the notion that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion?" Those were the questions that haunted me for years, after I had once for all realised how deep the iron of subjection had entered into the soul of India. I hoped against hope, year after year, that the mentality of India would change, but until a short time ago I confess that there was only little to give me confidence.

Mahatma Gandhi's personality and appeal have now given him hope and confidence; and therefore he observes:—

On the other hand, I come back from this method of doubtful evolution to the more incisive method of Mahatma Gandhi. I can see that he cuts at the very root of the disease. He is like a surgeon performing an operation, rather than a physician administering soothing drugs. And, as his surgeon's knife cuts deep, we can see at once the recovery of the patient beginning to take place—the recovery of self-respect and manhood and independence. Seeley's own words are coming true at last. It is being realised by the Indian People, that "it is shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion."

Such personalities as that of Mahatma Gandhi, which can inspire a whole nation, are rare indeed in human history. Our duty,—the duty of us, who are ordinary people, is to use to the full the God-given opportunity, when it comes. Only with such an inner spiritual power at our disposal, can the vicious circle of dependence be broken, and the soul of India set free.

Authors' Ethics.

Years ago the Calcutta University used to prescribe for candidates for the Entrance Examination text-books consisting of selections from English literature. In the notes appended to one of these books, prepared by Mr. C. H. Tawney, a former

principal of Presidency College, we found that that distinguished professor had acknowledged even the meanings of words which he had taken from Webster's Dictionary. We could not but respect a scholar whose literary code of honour was so exacting. In recent years, however, some authors connected with the Calcutta University would seem to have a less exacting standard of literary integrity. We will give a few examples.

(1) *Selections from the Bible, Part IV*. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1920. In the Introduction to this book, one finds large borrowings of material from "*The One Volume Bible Commentary*" edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow, M.A. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1918), without acknowledgment. In some passages whole sentences have been taken, amounting to paragraphs or pages; without acknowledgment. A few instances will suffice. The sentences in the middle of p. viii of the Introduction have been taken from p. liii of Dummelow's Commentary. The last paragraph of p. xiii of the Introduction has been taken from pages xxiv and xxv of Dummelow's book. The last ten lines of p. lxiii, almost the whole of page lxiv and some lines of p. lxxv of the Introduction have been taken from pp. 525-6 of Dummelow's Commentary. There are no marks of quotation and acknowledgment in these passages. The Introduction to Part II of the *Selections* is the work of Rev. Dr. George Howells. But it is not stated who is responsible for the Introduction to Part IV.

(2) *Bengal in the Sixteenth Century, A.D.* By J. N. Das Gupta, Balliol College, Oxford, Professor, Presidency College, etc. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1914. This book is a collection of Calcutta University Readership Lectures. In this book we find borrowings without acknowledgment of paragraph after paragraph from an article in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1891, entitled "A Glimpse of Bengal in the Sixteenth Century of the Christian Era." We shall give a few references to enable the reader to verify our statement. Mr. Das Gupta's Book, pp. 61-62: *The Calcutta*

Review, p. 353. Mr. Das Gupta's Book, pp. 63-64: *The Calcutta Review*, 354. Mr. Das Gupta's Book, pp. 89, 91: *The Calcutta Review*, pp. 363-64. Mr. Das Gupta's Book, pp. 153, 157: *C. R.* pp. 364-365. D. G.'s Book, pp. 58, 59: *C. R.*, pp. 354-55. It seems to us that Mr. Das Gupta has also taken passages in his book in pages 114 and 118 from the footnotes in "*The Travels of Ludovicó di Varthema*" translated from the Italian by John Winter Jones and edited by George Percy Badger (1863), pages 210, 211, and cxiv. Our reason for thinking so is the identity of language in the two works. But it may be that Mr. Das Gupta has taken these latter passages from some other books. In any case he has not mentioned the name of all the books from which he has taken the passages, nor has he given any page reference.

(3) *Hellenism in Ancient India*. By Gauranga Nath Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Lecturer and Secretary to the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts in the Calcutta University. Second Edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. Butterworth & Co., Calcutta. 1920. Whole paragraphs and passages of some chapters of this book appear to have been copied from other works without acknowledgment. We will give a few examples. The whole of the first section of chapter iv (more than two pages), except the last few words, has been copied from an article in the *Calcutta Review* for 1851 entitled "Indo-Bactrian Numismatics and Greek Connection with the East," pp. 129-30. Various passages in Dr. Banerjee's chapter on Astronomy, pp. 168, 169, &c., are copied from E. M. Plunket's book on "Ancient Calendars and Constellations," pp. 98, 99, 101, 102, &c. Entire paragraphs in Dr. Banerjee's chapter on coins, pp. 129, 130, 131, 132 are copied without acknowledgment from E. J. Rapson's "Indian Coins" (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 4, 5, 6.

(4) *Society in Evolution*, Vol. I. By Dr. Ramdas Khan, Calcutta University Lecturer on Philosophy since 1912. Published by the Calcutta University. We have taken the name of this book from "Statements of Applicants for the George V

Professorship of Mental and Moral Philosophy." We have not been able to see this book. It is reported that it was largely or almost entirely copied from Fairbanks' "Outlines of Sociology", and that the discovery of this fact has led to the suppression or destruction of the entire edition of the book and to the severance of Dr. Khan's connection with the university.

"University Notes and News."

It was reported in the dailies some time ago that the Senate of the Calcutta University had resolved to publish "University Notes and News" as a periodical in order to make "easily accessible to the public important matters relating to the University." Our suggestion, made long ago, is that the Minutes and Proceedings of the various University bodies should be made available to editors and others interested therein, for a price. This can be done without any additional expenditure. Misstatements, if any, in the press regarding university affairs can be easily corrected by the publication of occasional communiques. We make these suggestions in the interests of the University, which is in dire pecuniary straits and ought not to incur any avoidable extra expenditure.

Physical Researches in Calcutta.

We have recorded in our pages more than once with satisfaction the references in foreign and Indian journals to Prof. C. V. Raman's researches in physics. He has done genuine research work which stands to his credit. It is unnecessary for anybody to make false claims on his behalf, such as that made in a brief anonymous article communicated to the press some time ago. It was stated therein:—

"Research work in Physics was unknown in Calcutta before the establishment of the University College of Science and the appointment of Prof. Raman, the product of an Indian University, pure and simple, at its head."

Now, Mr. Raman was appointed Palit Professor of physics in 1917. But in the *Life and Work of Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose* by Prof. Patrick Geddes we find it stated, p. 40, that in 1896 Lord Kelvin was 'literally filled with wonder and admiration' on reading of Dr. Bose's researches in physics and that in 1897 M. Cornu, the former President of the

French Academy of Sciences, wrote to Dr. Bose saying that 'the very first results of your researches testify to your power of furthering the progress of science.' These researches were carried on in Calcutta.

By the by, Prof. Raman is not the head of the Calcutta University College of science, which has no principal.

The article from which we have quoted above contains the following sentences also:—

"To give up the lucrative appointment in the Finance Department on the part of Prof. Raman was a lesson to the young students of physics in Calcutta. They saw in him an ideal of sacrifice who can only be compared with 'Dadhichi' of old."

There is not the least doubt that Prof. Raman has displayed a really laudable spirit of sacrifice and devotion to science by giving up his appointment in the Finance Department. But to compare him to Dadhichi is inapt, to say the least. Dadhichi voluntarily sacrificed his life in order that with his bones the gods might forge the thunderbolt to kill the demon Vritra. But Prof. Raman is still very much alive and kicking (may he live long to carry on his researches), and there is no modern Vritra to kill that we can see.

Our extracts are taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

"Science and Technology in India."

There is an article on "Science and Technology in India" in the *Times* Educational Supplement of January 20, 1921, which, after referring to Sir Rash Behary Ghose's second benefaction of 11 lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University, says:—

In connexion with this gift Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, the foremost Indian chemist of our day, has lately completed a three months' tour of the Universities of Great Britain and has now returned to Calcutta. He is Dean of the Faculty of Science of the University, and to him will fall the organization of the new branch.....While they (Indian research chemists in London) are being trained, Sir P. C. Ray will supervise the equipment of the laboratory.

Will the organization of the technological branch really fall on Sir P. C. Ray? And is there any money for the technological laboratory?

Soul Force.

It is a truism that for human progress reason must control physical force; that soul force must be master of physical force. But it would be a mistake to think that the mere absence of physical force must imply the presence of soul force. While there are and have been physically weak persons possessed of great soul force, it may be taken for granted that no nation which is physically weak can have an abundance of men and women who are morally, intellectually and spiritually strong. Exceptional individuals apart, in the mass, nationally and racially, if we want strong souls we must prepare strong bodies for their habitation. Else the souls will shatter the bodies untimely, which in plain language means the untimely death of men of strong souls, of which there have been many examples in our midst.

Merely to be shot down does not imply the possession of soul force. Are not street pariah dogs shot down? But do they possess soul force? If human brutes want to and are in a position to shoot us down within an enclosed area, the bullet marks should certainly be on our breasts, not on our backs; but the very fact that they dare to shoot us shows that we are not possessed of any kind of force, physical or spiritual.

Let the sickening and humiliating cant of "forget and forgive" cease. If we had been in a position to and had weapons to shoot back, and if then we either did or did not shoot back, it would have been quite proper to discuss the question of forgetting and forgiving. But knowing as we do, and as our foreign sermonisers also do, that the virtue of external forgiveness is a necessity with us, that even if we did not forgive at heart, we could not punish the wrong-doers and avenge the innocent dead, we cannot but resent the gratuitous (though it may be unintentional) insult of being asked to forget and forgive.

Forget, sir? If the bodies of your innocent kith and kin had been punctured in the way the bodies of our innocent kith and kin have been wantonly punctured in many a town and village, would you

have forgotten? If your women had been insulted and men made to crawl, would you have forgotten? No, sir, we cannot, *will not* forget. We will keep alive the memory of the wrong, not in a revengeful mood, but as a reminder of our fallen condition, until we are strong enough not to be similarly wronged again. As for forgiveness, God has deprived us of the privilege and blessing of sincere forgiving, as we have not dealt justly and lovingly with our humble sisters and brethren. Not that we are revengeful. But the question of forgiveness could have arisen only if we had the power to punish.

We have heard it said that Englishmen are good sportsmen. Is it sportsmanlike for any Englishman to ask the members of an unarmed, disarmed, subject race to forget and forgive after their sisters and brethren have been shot down in a defenceless condition? If both parties had weapons and had freely exchanged shots, or if one party though possessed of weapons had chosen to obey the inner spiritual law of non-violence and so refrained from using their weapons, there could have been a hearty handshake in token of forgiveness and reconciliation. But as matters stand, to indulge in further talk of forgetting and forgiveness only adds fuel to the fire. Though so long as the people are not themselves fearless and strong, neither laws nor the possession of arms can protect them, they could have been asked to forget and forgive, if the legal repetition of the Panjab horrors had been made impossible.

That being our view, we think Mr. Dwarkadas Jajnadas ought not to have moved his resolution on Panjab affairs. Worse was his withdrawal of the most vital portion of it, recommending the punishment of the wrong-doers.

Forgive Whom?

Mr. Jajnadas's resolution has furnished the occasion for much sickening cant being indulged in, in speech and writing. We have been asked to forgive. But who has asked to be forgiven? Have the chief criminals and their abettors asked to be forgiven? Are O'Dwyer, Dyer, Frank Johnson, Bosworth Smith and the rest

of the wicked crew penitent, and have they asked for forgiveness? Has Lord Chelmsford repented and asked to be forgiven? It is a strange situation this that those who have not directly or indirectly offended ask us to forgive, whilst most of those who have offended directly or indirectly are impenitent, do not ask to be forgiven, are in many cases in the enjoyment of all their honours and emoluments and are still insolent on occasion.

The Spinning Wheel.

We have said in a previous issue that we are not opposed to the use of the spinning wheel; nay, we support its use by those who at present waste their leisure. Mr. Gandhi advocates its use for various reasons, one of which is that it should be used as a means of penance and self-purification. Those who feel at heart the disgrace of foreign rule and are convinced that at bottom it is we the people who are responsible for this disgrace, may certainly choose to undergo this sort of penance. But it should be understood that nothing that is done mechanically and soullessly at the prompting of crowd mentality can lead to self-purification and consequent national salvation.

Other things being equal, an industry carried on in one's home is undoubtedly more conducive to health of soul and body than factory industries engaged in at a distance from the home. But economic laws cannot be overridden. And, therefore, if an industry carried on in the home cannot compete with the same industry carried on in a huge factory, the cottage industry must at least yield a living wage. Men in the mass cannot and do not follow the ideal when that means starvation or semi-starvation. It is true, religious belief is in some cases found to be stronger than the economic motive. Beef may be cheaper than some other kinds of food, but still the Hindu will not eat it. But this kind of religious belief cannot be born for the first time in this modern age.

Some other reasons that may be urged in favour of the hand spinning wheel are that it is very cheap, that it does not require

much capital for its use, that it may be made in India in any numbers, and that we are not dependent for its supply on any foreign country, whereas spinning mills require huge capital, and machinery for the same can be obtained after much delay only from foreign countries.

Still some of the main considerations that guide the choice of any method of production, and which ought to be remembered, are the health and morals of the workers, the amount of capital required, whether the method to be chosen yields a living wage, whether the tools are readily obtainable and repairable, whether the method requires to be adopted in the interests of artistic quality or whether mechanical production would do equally well or better, and whether it is the best means of utilising human energy.

Though the handloom cannot stand economic competition with the powerloom, yet, as it yields a living wage, most of the cloth used in India is the product of the handloom, though the yarn used is mostly machine-spun. Similarly if the spinning wheel can be so improved as to yield the spinner a living wage, it will be largely used, though machine-spun yarn may be cheaper than hand-spun yarn.

Indigenous Treatment of Diseases.

Mr. Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of a college established at Delhi for teaching the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems of medicine. There have been some resolutions moved in some legislative chambers for promoting such education and opening dispensaries at public cost for the treatment of diseases according to these systems. These facts have drawn public attention afresh to the question of the value of these systems. Medical practitioners who follow these systems ought to take up the challenge thrown out by some European doctors, and *scientifically* prove what prophylactic and curative means, methods and medicines these systems possess which the so-called Western system does not possess.

In fact, no science is or can be either

Western or Eastern. Demonstrable truth is the only criterion of science. And, therefore, science, to keep true to its name and connotation, must be progressive, must advance by discarding proved errors and accepting demonstrated truths. The systems of medicine indigenous to the East ought certainly to be studied; but they ought to be studied scientifically, according to the accepted canons of observation and experiment. We are entirely opposed to the unquestioning belief in any system of medicine, Eastern or Western—belief like that which the orthodox of all sects have in their scriptures. There are still many persons who think modern medical science has not made any progress beyond ancient medicine. But we hope even they will admit that the means, methods, appliances, and accessories of modern surgery have left those in use in ancient times far behind.

Mr. Gandhi has great faith in the prophylactic virtues of a pure mind. We also believe in a pure mind. And apart from such faith, it is well-known that some loathsome diseases cannot attack persons of pure character, except in case of contagion or heredity. But it may be said without joking, in the most serious mood, that a pure mind is not a preventive of or remedy for broken or wounded limbs or punctured bodies, or against infectious diseases, &c. So, medicine and surgery, dispensaries and hospitals, physicians, surgeons and health specialists have their uses. The abuses of a thing should not blind us to its legitimate uses.

Those who advocate the establishment of dispensaries of indigenous medicine, ought to combine and be able to guarantee a standard quality in the medicines to be used and a standard of training and ability in the physicians who are to treat patients in the dispensaries.

"Measures of Mass Terror."

An Associated Press message dated Allahabad, November 20th last, began as follows:—

The "Pioneer" says:—A copy of a Bolshevik proclamation which has come into our hand illustrates the methods resorted to against

the people of Kuban and Terek Provinces and the Black Sea coastal area.

One of the methods, according to the same authority, was a threat that,

In cases of risings of entire villages or towns against us we shall be compelled to institute measures of mass terror. For every Red Army soldier killed we shall kill several hundred persons belonging to Bourgeois class.

In this there is nothing new either to us or to the official and non-official Anglo-Indians (old style). The method has been improved upon in its application, having been used "in case of no risings of entire villages or towns."

Ministers' Salaries.

There is probably no civilised country in the world where the difference between the salaries of the highest and higher public servants and those of the lowest is so great as in India. And India can ill afford to pay big salaries, considering the smallness of her total revenues, the state of her education, the practically uncared-for health of her rural inhabitants and the undeveloped condition of her material resources. Therefore it is quite in the fitness of things that attempts have been made according to the law in some provincial legislatures to fix the ministers' salaries at a proper figure. It is true that before the Reforms Act was passed, we wanted that it should not stand in the way of the ministers' salaries being equal to those of the executive councillors. That was because we wanted it to be statutorily recognised that the Indian ministers' work was pecuniarily worth as much as the work of the executive councillors. That point having been gained, if the Indian ministers had of their own accord suggested that their salaries should be fixed at, say, Rs. 1000 per month, *plus* house-rent and conveyance allowance, if necessary, then they would have risen very high in the estimation of both Indians and Europeans. It could then have been also urged that as Indians drawing Rs. 1000 did as good work as the European Executive Councillors, why should we pay the latter Rs. 64,000 per annum? The promise made

by the Bengal ministers to take Rs. 48,000 per annum for their own expenses and spend the remaining 16,000 for public good has not made us proud of them. Nor has it come with good grace. We do not want charity.

The question of the connection between salary and status has been raised, and it has been urged that unless the ministers have the same salaries as the executive councillors, their status would not be equal. This argument is flimsy and untenable. The prime minister of Japan gets Rs. 18,750 per annum or Rs. 1562½ per month, the other ministers Rs. 1000 per mensem, and the Japanese Ambassadors to Great Britain, U. S. A., France and Russia get Rs. 56,250 each per annum; but the status of the prime minister is higher than that of the ambassadors. In England the prime minister is the minister of the highest rank, though he has no salary as prime minister. It is by holding the premiership in connection with some other ministership that he enjoys an official income. But even then his official income is lower than that of the Lord High Chancellor, the Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General. Speaking generally, status depends on an officer's official powers, not on his salary. And when an officer himself chooses to accept a small salary or no salary, that certainly makes him more respectable, even though it may make him less "respectable".

The Indian Science Congress.

It is very encouraging to find from the reports of the different sections of the last session of the Indian Science Congress, held in Calcutta, that many Indian workers produced original papers embodying the results of their researches in various branches of science. In opening the session Lord Ronaldshay, its honorary Patron, made a brief speech, offering welcome, and observed:

"Your labours provide a cogent answer to the strange doctrine which is being preached in some quarters at the present time, the doctrine that a man should allow the intellect with which Providence has endowed him to lie fallow, in other words, that he should bury his talent in the ground."

Some very impulsive persons have, no doubt, said things which admit of this interpretation. But the curricula of the many national institutions started in the country show that their projectors are not blind to the claims of the Arts and Sciences.

Sir Rajendranath Mukerjee, in delivering his presidential address, referred in the very first sentence, with engaging candour, to the fact that he was not a scientific man, and spoke mainly on the application of science to industry. Said he:—

It has now been generally recognised by every business man that scientific research is an absolutely necessary condition of industrial advancement.

In the past, business men were inclined to disregard the usefulness of science as applied to industry or accepted its benefits without being conscious of their source; but they are now firmly convinced that science is an invaluable aid to the development and advancement of industry, and that the dissemination of scientific knowledge with its experiments and discoveries is an essential condition of industrial progress. It has been truly said that the foundation of industrial advance was laid by workers in pure science for the most part ignorant of its utility and caring little about it.

The Crescograph.

Sir J. C. Bose invented the crescograph, a marvellously delicate instrument, to enable him to pursue his researches in pure science. But it has great practical uses also, to which, unfortunately, the government and people of India have not yet paid attention, though enterprising foreigners would not be slow to do so. Professor Bose gave a clue to some of these uses in a recent Friday evening discourse:

The question of stimulation of growth is a matter of great practical importance, for the world's supply of food depends on vegetative growth. It is therefore of the highest importance to be able to discover those conditions which are favourable to growth. The different apparatus hitherto available for investigation have been very crude and inefficient.

The results of investigation [with the crescograph] on various agents which enhance the activity of growth show that we have been using only a few stimulating agents, whereas there are thousands of whose action

ve had no conception. The rule of thumb method hitherto employed in the application of a few chemical stimulants and of electricity has, moreover, not been uniformly successful. The cause of the anomaly is found from the discovery made at the Institute of an important factor, namely, the dose of application, which has not hitherto been taken into account. He has, however, found that while a moderate intensity of electric current accelerated growth, any excess above a critical point retarded it. The same was found to be true of chemical stimulants. A striking practical result was obtained with certain poisons, which in normal doses killed the plant, in quantities sufficiently minute acted as an extraordinarily efficient stimulant, the treated plant growing far more vigorously and flowering much earlier. The detailed account of these investigations are embodied in the Transactions published by the Institute.

Medical science, too, may take advantage of his researches and his instrument, as it has been shewn that in many ways "the life reactions in plant and man are alike: and thus through the experience of the plant, it may be possible to alleviate the sufferings of man."

The Objects of Marriage.

A Reuter's telegram, dated London, February 9, gives the information that

At a convocation of clergy at Canterbury it was decided that the Prayer Book should be revised in accordance with modern developments and the advance of democracy.

Drastic alterations in the Marriage Service have been made and the statement that marriage was ordained for the procreation of children has been eliminated and now reads "Marriage was ordained in order that the natural instincts and affections implanted by God should be followed and controlled," etc.

Our observations on this topic will be made from the point of view of one who believes in the existence of God and all that it implies.

If human life be a good, its renewal in every generation must be a worthy object and a duty. Therefore those who marry ought to know that one of its main objects is to have children.

Therefore, though modern taste or prudery may have dictated it, the words eliminated from the Anglican Marriage Service were words of truth. The words substituted are also true, namely, "Marriage was ordained in order that the natu-

ral instincts and affections implanted by God should be followed and controlled," &c. Of course love is a condition precedent to every ideal marriage, and without love it is not possible to have the best possible children and rear them in the best possible way.

If human life be an evil, those who believe in such a pessimistic doctrine, ought not to marry and have children.

In our view, which is the Hindu view, marriage is a sacrament, and, therefore, it has other objects besides those referred to above. That it is a sacrament means that it is spiritually beneficial to the individual, and that it is a visible representation of something spiritual and invisible. In different theistic faiths, the relation between the human soul and the Supreme Spirit is indicated by saying that He is our Father, or our Mother, or that He is the Divine Lover, the Divine Spouse. Sonship is also a similar spiritual symbol. These spiritual truths are fully *felt* and realised through actual experience of ideal family relations. Human beings get the first faint indications of what their relationship to the Supreme Spirit is, in the inner experience of human fatherhood, motherhood, wifehood, husbandhood, etc. If democracy is to be spiritualised, it, too, must rest on the spiritual brotherhood of man, which implies Divine Fatherhood.

Those who do not believe in the existence of God, may rest satisfied with a merely civil or legal marriage. But a mere civil marriage cannot satisfy a believer in God who yearns to fully realise all relationships to Him.

Again, a few there have been and are who do not admit the necessity or utility of any kind of marriage. They do not advocate promiscuity, but think it enough if two persons live faithfully together for the time being as man and wife. We consider this view wrong and highly injurious to society and the individual. Both reason and the experience of history show that this view is incompatible with the development and realisation of the highest types of manhood and womanhood. The highest good of the children, too, requires that the parents should be joined in holy

wedlock. State parenthood cannot be a substitute for genuine and natural parenthood.

In civic life, many there are who would not kill or steal even in the absence of laws forbidding such acts, but who yet do not proclaim that they are a sufficient law unto themselves; they admit the need of laws for man as he is.

The spiritual, social and legal sanctions of marriage, in addition to their other values, are extra aids to a pure and disciplined life which human society has found needful and helpful through the ages. And it is significant that the highest types of manhood and womanhood in history, those who were qualified to be a law unto themselves and to proclaim the superfluity of the external ceremony of marriage, did not revolt against it or declare it unnecessary. The life-history of the few notable persons who declared against marriage does not prove that they were right. Two such will be briefly referred to here.

George Eliot was by no means a depraved woman. "She wrote admirably about religion and religious persons." But "Her friendship with [George Henry Lewes] led to a closer relationship which she regarded as a marriage," though "Lewes had a wife living at the time." "That she felt the deepest affection for Lewes is evident." "The death of Mr. Lewes in 1878 was also the death-blow to her artistic vitality." "About two years later, however, she married Mr. J. W. Cross,....." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

"Shelley never indulged in any sensual or dissipated amour,.....the mere attraction of a pretty face or an alluring figure left him unenthralled." But "he held that marriage ought to be simply a voluntary relation between a man and a woman, to be assumed at joint option and terminated at the after-option of either party." However, in marrying Harriet, "he waived his own theory in favour of the consideration that in such an experiment the woman's stake, and the disadvantages accruing to her, are out of all comparison to the man's." Yet later in life, while Harriet was still living, he fell

in love with and eloped with Mary Godwin. Afterwards Harriet "drowned herself in the Serpentine" (*Encycl. Brit.*).

Persons who, though not married, live faithfully as man and wife and bear a good character in other respects, may not and should not be classed with women of ill-fame and their male fellow-sinners, but they ought not also to be classed with those married persons who lead faithful and chaste lives; nor should they have the same social recognition. There should not, however, be any differential treatment of man and woman.

Government Grant to Calcutta University.

Mr. Shafi recently said in the Council of State:—

No amount will be provided in the Imperial Budget for 1921-22 for the reconstruction of the University of Calcutta. The question of making a grant for this University has received the careful attention of the Government of India. The allotment of such a grant would be definitely against the spirit of the financial arrangements under the Reforms and even if this were not the case, would be difficult in the present financial circumstances.

This is a very curious statement. Government will call the tune but refuses to pay the piper! As there is money for the Dacca University, there ought to be money for Calcutta, too. Insist on having a strict account of expenditure by all means; but a large grant should undoubtedly be made.

The Chamber of Princes.

The Karnataka has written a very truthful and timely article on the Chamber of Princes. It observes:—

The entire proceedings connected with the Chamber are based on the fundamental misconception that the *Princes* are the *States*. It is as true in India as it was anywhere else that the Princes are not the States, and that the People are the States. Any scheme of constitutional re-construction for India should therefore have taken note of the rights and requirements of the People of the States; and it need have been no part of it to show solicitude for the "rights and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of the Princes and Chiefs." These are duly safeguarded in other ways; and they are not the proper concern of the true constitu-

tional reformer. The Chamber of Princes, as the name itself indicates and as the inaugural dithyrambs fully bear out, is of no practical value whatever to the people of the States.

There are three questions that should have been necessarily tackled, if the much-vaunted New Era should have had any significance to the Indian States: firstly, a recommendation partaking more or less of the nature of a mandate should have come in the name and under the authority of H. M. the King-Emperor for the immediate adoption of constitutional principles and forms of governance in the States.

The other two matters are (1) the revocation of the Government of India Notification of 1891 which once for all threw the States beyond the pale not only of International Law, but also of the principles of that Law, and (2) the devising of a suitable mode of representation for the States—i.e., for their People—in the All-India legislature and the councils of the Empire (or Commonwealth).

The "Next" Gas.

The Inquirer of London, an organ of the Unitarians, writes:

It is not denied that, whatever is done or left undone in the way of reduction of armaments, our own Government have set on foot extensive researches with poison gases, with a view to arming the nation with the deadliest weapon of this kind that can be devised. At the same time the United States is busy in the same direction, and the latest announcement is that means have been found for adding a small canister of solid gas to every soldier's equipment, so that he may do his part valiantly with even so atrocious a weapon. It comforts us but little to be assured that a gas mask has also been devised equal to the new poison gas. It seems that M. Langes, the Norwegian representative at the Assembly of the League of Nations, is only too well justified in saying that the hope of "civilizing war" is illusory. We must either abolish it altogether or it will abolish us.

There is a third alternative, and it is the survival of a race or races of scientific human brutes equipped with the deadliest chemicals and bacteria and bacilli. It may be questioned, no doubt, whether they will profess Christianity like the present dominant Western nations of the world engaged in manufacturing the deadliest poison gases.

Is Ulster Superior or Inferior?

By clever manipulation and supply of news Reuter's and other news agencies try to produce the impression that the Irish people proper as distinguished from Ulsterites

are a criminal, bloodthirsty, ne'er-do-well lot. But according to the *Catholic Herald of India*,

W. A. Mc Knight, in his recent book on Ireland and the Ulster Legend, has told us what the Parliamentary Blue-Books and White Papers say about Parliament's pet child, and the tale varies from that of the politicians. The author shows that in material prosperity, in education and public spirit, in physique and hygiene, and in morale, Ulster is considerably inferior to the rest of Ireland. The average valuation of agricultural holdings in Ulster is £11 lower than in Leinster. The Income Tax assessment per family of land population is £36, 15s 2d. in Leinster, and only £26, 8s. 4d. in Ulster. Ulster is below Ireland's average in literacy, 870 being her proportion to every 1,000 of population, which is 6 below Ireland's average, and 35 below Leinster's.

Ulster heads the criminal list. The proportion of criminals to 100,000 (?) of the population is 2 in Connaught, 6 in Munster, 6 in Leinster and 35 in Ulster. Ulster's "resorts of habitual criminals at large" average 164.8 as against 17.2 for the rest of Ireland. Yet Ulster is not altogether bad, but the line of cleavage has its significance. Anti-Home-Rule Ulster's criminal ratio is 52.22, that of pro-Home-Rule Ulster is only 3.77; and their respective ratios of houses of bad character stand in similar relation, 15.05 as against 1.38.

The Higher Education of Women.

Both the advocates and opponents of the higher education of women in India may profit by what the historian Lecky has written about the higher education of women in England, in chapter x, vol. ii of his *Democracy and Liberty*. Some passages from this work are extracted below.

What effect has education on the character and happiness of women? The question is partly answered below.

"The married state is certainly not likely to be less pure or less happy because fewer women fly to it in despair as their only means of livelihood and occupation, or because men and women have learnt to sympathise more closely with each other in their graver thoughts and more serious interests. The fears that were once expressed, that a highly educated woman would be apt to neglect her home duties, have certainly not been verified by experience, and it is too much to say that for one woman who neglects those duties through this cause, there are hundreds who neglect them through frivolity or vice. The pedantry and the extravagances of taste and opinion which were once associated with the idea of a learned lady were not unnatural so long as such women found themselves isolated and unsupported, at war with the conventionalities of society, and exposed to a storm of ridicule and disapprobation. When their position ceased to be unusual and unrecognised, these eccentricities rapidly diminished."

As regards the beauty and capacity of educated women, Lecky says;—

The beauty of perfect health and of high spirits has been steadily replacing, as the ideal type, the beauty of a sickly delicacy and of weak and tremulous nerves which in the eighteenth century was so much admired, or at least extolled.....To the vast and increasing multitude of unmarried women, whether they be rich or poor, modern education has been a priceless blessing. However much it may fall short of an ideal standard, it at least sends them into the world far better equipped for the battle of life. It gives them more developed capacities, more serious and varied interests, and that discipline of character which habits of concentrated and continuous labour seldom fail to produce.

As to the deeper changes that education may bring about, Lecky observes:—

"Nature has established distinctions between men and women that can never be overpassed. In all ages the positions of wife and mother will be the chief positions to which they will aspire, and in all ages they will bring with them the same dominant interests and affections. It is in the finer shadings of character that change is perceptible. Some lines of character growing fainter, while others deepen and strengthen. Women will probably remain in the future good and bad, selfish and unselfish in much the same proportion as at present, but both their good and evil qualities will be somewhat differently mixed. In the modern type of woman we may expect to find more judgment, more self-control, more courage, more independence, a far wider range of sympathies and interests, than in the past. She will become less credulous and superstitious, but she will also become a little colder and a little harder. Unselfishness will probably not diminish, but it will spring to a greater degree from recognised duty and acquired habit. The emotional, the impulsive, the romantic elements of character, will be less prominent. In the better class a strong sense of duty dominated by an enlightened judgment, will be the guiding influence, and life will be brightened by a large circle of unselfish interests and of worthy pleasures. In the worse class, blind unreasoning passion will play a smaller part, but both religious and social restraints will be weaker....."

Lecky points out some differences between married and unmarried women.

"By the natural law of selection wives are, on the whole, the flower of the sex. They acquire an extent and kind of experience much greater than that of other women and, if their time is more occupied, their judgment is usually much saner, more moderate, and more mature. No careful observer can fail to be struck with the tendency of the married life to repress the extravagances of judgment and feeling to which unmarried women are specially prone."

To Our Contributors.

As there is great pressure on our space, and as every month many important topics cannot be dealt with owing to want of room in spite of the issues being much larger than the normal size, we shall be very grateful to our contributors if their articles do not exceed 4,000 words in length.

To the Authors and Publishers of Vernacular Books.

Owing to urgent requests received from many quarters, we have decided to resume the publication of the notices of vernacular books. Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Panjabi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and Sindhi. Newspapers, periodicals, schools and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, &c., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book received is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, &c., according to the language of the books.



A SIKH PHILOSOPHER

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Mohammad Jala-ud-Din Chughtai

Just as in the old times, when the country was filled with the spirit of the *mela* time, the people were united in the spirit of the *mela*. It is a natural thing that when people meet together, a natural meeting place is created. If you call people to a meeting, they come burdened with doubt and suspicion and it takes time for their hearts to open. But those who come to a *mela* are already in the holiday mood, for they have left their work and hoe and all cares behind. So that when they meet and sit by the roadside and hold converse with them, it is not a district in Bengal where, at present times in the year and at suitable places, *melas* are not held. We should make a list of these times and places to begin with, and then take pains to make acquaintance with our own people through this open door.

If the leaders of the country will abjure party politics and make it their business to give new life and objective to these *melas*, putting their own heart into the work and bringing together the hearts of the Hindu and Muslim, and then confer about the real wants of the people,—schools, roads, water reservoirs, grazing commons and the like, then will the country soon awaken into life.

It is my belief that if a band of workers go about from district to district, organising these *melas* of Bengal, furnishing them with new compositions by way of *Jatras*, *skits* and recitations; with bioscope and lantern shows, gymnastics and leger-main; then the money question will be no trouble. In fact if they undertake to pay the zamindars their usual dues on being allowed to make the collections, they will stand to make considerable profit. If this profit be used for national work, it would result in uniting the organisers of the *mela* to the people with whom they are in contact, and would enable them to be acquainted with every detail of the life of the country. The valuable functions of the *mela* in connexion with education has

always been imparted in our country in the midst of the joy of festivity. These days, for one reason or another, the zamindars have been drawn away to the metropolis, and the festivities on the occasion of the weddings of their daughters are limited to the dinner and dances given for their rich town friends, the poor tenants being often called to pay extra impositions for the purpose. So the villages are losing all their joy, and the religious and literary culture, which was a feature of all festivity, and used to be the solace of man, woman and child alike, is getting to be more and more beyond the means of ordinary people. If our suggested band of organisers can take back this current of festivity to the villages, they will reclaim the desert into which the heart of the nation is fast lapsing.

We should also remember that the drying up or pollution of our reservoirs is not only a cause of water-scarcity, but of disease and death as well. So also many of our *melas*, originating in the name of some religious festival, have degenerated, and far from being a source of education are becoming centres of corruption. Fields which are neglected not only do not yield crops, but breed noxious weeds. If we do not rescue these institutions from such foul decay we shall be guilty before our country and our *dharma*.

I have said this much to give an example of how we can approach our countrymen in a natural way, and also to give an idea how, by organising and regulating our existing institutions, it may be possible to make them fruitful of untold blessings to the country at large.

Those who are unable to pin their faith on petitioning the Government as the highest form of political activity are dubbed pessimists by the opposite school. That is to say, they think that we refuse to beg because we are pessimistic as to the quantity or quality of the alms. But let me say as clearly as I can that I have never been one of those who seek the consolation of the grape-forswearing fox, and that I have never preached the superiority of self-determination because of the big

...but they had to come and stand
in the large door of the village of their
ancestral home as a high-souled
of the community by the meanest
and more than the highest Maha-
conferred by the Sarkar. In
days they had learnt to value appre-
ciation by the motherland in the very
of their being; and the pomp of
metropolis, or the glories of the im-
perial audience chamber never succeeded
drawing their hearts away therefrom.
Therefore, there was no water-scarcity
then, and all the adjuncts of true human-
nature were to be found in the life of the
village.

To-day it adds not to our happiness
that our countrymen should have us as
blessed, and so does our endeavour fail to
be directed towards our country. It has
now become necessary for requests and
reminders to come to us from the Sarkar.
There is nothing within us to impel us to
take the natural course ourselves, for have
we not signed away our birthright to the
white man—are not our very tastes put up
for sale in his shops?

I fear I may be misunderstood. I do not
mean that each one of us should cling
to the soil of his native village and that
there is no need to stir outside it to gain
knowledge or recognition. The Bengali
cannot but be grateful to the forces of
attraction which have drawn him out,
roused his faculties, and broadened his
mind by widening his sphere of activity.
But the time has come to remind the sons
of Bengal that they must not turn to sov-
ern the natural relations of within and
without. Men go abroad to learn, and
come home to spend. To make the best
use of our powers in the outside world, we
must keep our heart true within. But as
the last Provincial Conference showed only
too clearly, we have now changed all that.
We went to confer with our provincial
brethren, but our language was foreign.
We have learnt to look upon the English-
educated man as our next-of-kin, and
cannot realise that all our politics are
false. If we cannot make one with us the
whole community, from the highest to the
lowest, we have become used to keeping

the great mind of the nation
our deliberations. We have
impassable barriers between
ourselves. We have made the
no effort to make the
England, but have been forgetting the
heart of our own country. It
value and requires at least as
striving for its conquest.

The ultimate object of political work
to mould the mind of the people.
It is only in our unfortunate country
the idea finds place of calling a set
operations designed to capture the
the foreigner by the name of
education. If we acknowledge the
quest of the court's hand to be
supreme gain, we must that accept
foreign methods which we have learnt
consider so necessary in business matters
and bring full into our view the great
which have always been open, and still
available as thoroughfares to the heart
the motherland.

Let us try and imagine what we should
have done if we really had gone into
which we wanted to deliver to
country. Instead of getting up a
in the English style we should
organised a grand *mela*. There would
be games for play and song and festi-
gale would bring crowds hailing from
the most distant places. There we could
hold our markets and our exhibitions
home-made goods and agricultural
duce. There we could award prizes to
cards and reciters and those who came
sing or play. There we could arrange
lantern lectures on sanitation. There
could have heart-to-heart talks with each
other, and bethink ourselves of ways and
means, in regard to all matters of national
interest,—and with gentle and rustic air
we could hold communion in our own
language.

Our countrymen are mainly villagers.
When the village desires to feel its voice
the throes of the greater life of the outside
world, the *mela* has always been
of achieving that object. It is
invitation of the
its cottage
the village.

our Government goes for over-
beggars. On the contrary,
dependence on the favours of
the sign of the truly pessimistic
raise to be a party to the atti-
tude unless we bend our knees and
praise, there is no hope for the
future. I believe in our country and I
have great respect for the powers of our
people. And, above all, I know for certain
that our present unity be not a realisation
of India's essential oneness from
above, but something depending on the
mood of his mood by the foreigner,
is it doomed to repeated futility.

Therefore, it is always incumbent on us
to find out what is the true way
of India. To establish a personal relation-
ship between man and man was always
India's main endeavour. Our relation-
ships extended to the most distant con-
nections, continued unrelaxed with chil-
dren even when grown up, and included
neighbours and villagers irrespective of
race or caste. The householder was
bound by family ties to preceptor and
teacher, guest and wayfarer, landlord and
tenant, — not ties prescribed by religion
or law, but of the heart. Some were as
fathers, others as sons, some as brothers,
others as intimates. Whomsoever we came
into contact with, we drew into the circle
of relationship. So we never got into the
habit of looking on man as a machine, or
a tool for the furtherance of some interest.

There may be a bad as well as a good
side to this, but it was the way of our
country, — nay more, it is the way of the
East.

We saw this in the Japanese war. War
is doubtless a mechanical thing now-a-days
and those who engage in it have to act
and become as parts of a machine. And
yet every Japanese soldier was something
more than a machine. He was not reduced
to a blind piece of war material, nor
to a blood-thirsty brute. They all remain-
ed related to their Mikado and their
country in a reverential self-dedication.
So in our old days, our warriors did not
fight like pawns moved by an
invisible hand, but through their chiefs,
dedicated themselves to the Kalia-

tra-dharma. No doubt this made the an-
cient battle-field resemble a vast sacrifice
of self-immolation; and the westerner may
exclaim that it was magnificent, but not
war; but the Japanese by not neglecting
their pristine magnificence, while making
efficient modern war, won the admiration
of East and West alike.

Anyhow, that is our nature. We are
unable to turn necessity to account un-
less we first purify it with the touch of
personal relation. And so we have often
to take on ourselves extra burdens. The
ties of necessity are narrow and confined to
the place of business. If master and ser-
vant are merely so related, their commerce
is confined to the giving and taking of
work, and wages, but if personal relations
are brought in, then is the burden of each
cast on the other through the whole gamut
of their respective joys and sorrows.

Let me give a modern illustration of
what I mean. I was present at the Pro-
vincial Conferences of Rajshahi and Dacca.
Of course we all looked on the work of the
Conference as a serious piece of business,
but what took me by surprise was, that
the demands of hospitality, and not of the
business of the day, were the more con-
spicuous — as if we had accompanied a
bridegroom to his wedding — and the re-
quirements of our comfort and our amuse-
ment were so insistent that they must
have strained our hosts to the limit. If they
had reminded us that we had come to do
patriotic work and that there was no
reason to suppose that we had laid them
under some eternal obligation, they
would have been justified. But it is not our
characteristic to admit business as an ex-
cuse for keeping to one's own concerns.
However business-like our modern train-
ing may be making us, the host must still
be above mere business considerations.
We cannot allow even business to remain
untouched by the heart. And so at the
Conferences we were less impressed by
the business done than by the hospitality
received. Those meetings of our countrymen,
with all their western paraphernalia, were
unable to get rid of their eastern heart.
So, also, with the Congress, that much of
it which is truly national, its heart, its

has played an abiding part in the national regeneration while its work ends in its three-day's session and is heard of no more during the rest of the year.

This eastern hospitality, which is of India's very nature, is a source of great joy to her when it can be offered on a grand scale. The individual hospitality of the householder used to be expanded in the old days into a vast *Yajna* in order to find its completest realisation. That, however, was in the distant past. So when India got this recent opportunity of throwing open her guest-house once more, she was overjoyed, and India's Goddess stepped in and took her long unused seat. And thus it happened that, even in the midst of the outrageously outlandish speechifying and clapping of hands in our Congress and Conferences, our Mother smiled on us once more, happy that she could serve out of her humble store to each one of her guests, albeit understanding but little else of what it was all about! She would have been happier still if instead of this book-learned, this watch-and-chain-bedecked assembly, she had found rich and poor, cultured and rustic, invited and uninvited, gathered together as is the *Yajnas* of old, to join this festivity. May be, in such a case, there would have been less material to go round, but the Mother's blessing would have fallen in richer abundance.

However that may be, what I was saying is, that India is unwilling to forego the sweetness of human relationship, even for work and business, and is ready to take on herself the extra burdens so arising. That is why, in the past, no outsider has had to be concerned with the succour of the helpless, the teaching of the young, the feeding of wayfarers, or any other public good work. If to-day the old samajic duties have ceased to hold, and if the giving of water and health and learning be no longer possible from within the broken Samaj, even that need not cause us to despair.

Indian Dharma has always shown the way for each householder to transcend the narrowness of home or parish and relate himself to the universal. Each house-

holder is still in the habit of his daily offerings of *Pancha-yajnas* to the Gods, the rishis, ancestors, humankind, and all creatures. Why should it not be possible for him to maintain the same relations with his country? Can he not set apart every day some of his rice, be it the smallest coin, be it half an office, in the name of our country? Is it too much to ask of our Hindus that it should unite us in concrete relations with this India of ours, the resort of our gods, the retreat of our rishis, the homeland of our ancestors? The relations of good works with our own land, are not to gain that for each one of ourselves, rather than leave it to others, and take our hearts off elsewhere?

We are ceaselessly bewailing the draining out of our money, but is it a thing of less moment that our heart should be enticed away? Does our patriotism, then, consist simply in urging others to do a good work, and is that what all our Congresses and Conferences are content to be busy with? No, that can never be! This state of things cannot last long in our country, for it is not of India's nature. We who have uncomplainingly shared our hard-earned little with our destitute relations and connections without considering that to be any extraordinary sacrifice—shall we say that we are unable to bear the burden of supporting our Mother? Is the foreigner to be for ever doling out alms and we crying ourselves hoarse because the doles are not generous to our liking? Never, never! Each one of us shall for every day of our lives, take up the burdens of our country. This shall be our glory, this is our *Dharma*. The time has come when each of us must know that he is not alone, that, insignificant though he be, he cannot be neglected, nor must he neglect the meanest.

If to-day we should say to one, "Go and work for your *Swadeshi Samaj*," he would be utterly puzzled to make out how, where, on what and for whom he is to work. It is perhaps just as well that each individual should not be deciding for himself his own work. Therefore

Our bands of workers are often successful in making their enthusiasm blossom forth, but they fail to carry on till fruition. There may be many a reason for this, but one reason is, that they are unable to realise the oneness of their party, and so to maintain it. So each one's slackening responsibility gradually slips off his shoulders and cannot find a place. Our Samaj cannot afford to go on any longer in this way, because the opposing force which is seeking to devour it is well-knit and organised in its unity and moreover has introduced its tentacles through and through our social fabric, from our educational institutions to the shops dealing with our daily necessities. In order to save ourselves from its fatal embrace, our Samaj must make the firmest stand in its united strength. And the only way is, to appoint some Samaj-pati to be our chief, and then for each one to rally round him as the symbol and representative of our union, not deeming it derogatory to render him the fullest obedience, for he shall represent the spirit of Freedom itself.

Such Samaj-pati may sometimes be the best of men, and sometimes not, but if the Samaj be alive and alert, that will not matter, for the worst of them can do it no permanent injury. On the other hand, the appointment of such a Chief is the best way to keep the Samaj in full vigour,—by dint of continually realising its strength in that of its representative it will become unconquerable. Under the Samaj-pati there will, of course, be subordinate leaders for each convenient division of the country, who will see to the doing of all needful good works and be responsible to the Samaj-pati for their due performance. I have suggested that each one should set apart a small voluntary contribution for his country as a matter of daily habit. This could be amplified by larger contributions out of expenditure on all festive occasions. In our country, where voluntary contributions have founded rich monasteries and all monumental temples, it should be as easy possible for the Samaj to be adequately maintained, especially when by its good works it would be entitled to the gifts of the grateful as well.

A little consideration will convince one how necessary it is to have a centre, in which the Shakti of the country may move, where it will accumulate, and from which it can be appropriately distributed. No doubt we should contrive, as best we may, that disease should not gain entrance from without, but what if, in spite of us, it does come? Are we not to have our internal vital force ready to combat it? If such force be there, no outside aggression can reduce us to lifelessness, for its very dharma is to cure wounds, to co-ordinate efforts, and to rouse the fullest consciousness. Even the Government is in the habit of bestowing titles for good work, but we can only be truly rewarded when we receive the benediction of our own country. Such power of reward, therefore, must also be placed in the hands of our Samaj, else shall we deprive ourselves of a potent source of self-satisfaction. Lastly, there is the Hindu-Moslem friction, which it must be the duty of our Swadeshi Samaj to eradicate by equity of treatment and regulation of conflicting interests—failing this, repeated disruptions will only weaken it more and more.

Let us not mistrust our own Shakti, for it is clear that the time has come. Know for certain that India has always been endowed with the power of binding together. Through adverse circumstances of every kind she has invariably succeeded in evolving an orderly system, so does she still survive. On this India I pin my faith. Even to-day, at this very moment, she is wonderfully adapting herself to recent conditions. May it be vouchsafed to each of us to co-operate with her consciously, not to succumb to material considerations and go against her.

This is not the first time that India has come into contact with the outer world. When the Aryans first came in, violent antagonisms were set up between them and the first inhabitants. The Aryans won, but the non-Aryans were not exterminated, as were the American and Australian aborigines. In spite of their different manners and modes of thought they found a place in the Aryan polity.

And, in their turn, they contributed variety to the Aryan Samaj.

Later there came another and more prolonged period of disruption. So long as Buddhism prevailed, there was intimate commerce between India and every kind of foreigner. Such intimacy was far more serious for her than any conflict, for, in the absence of the latter the instinct of self-preservation is not awake, and indiscriminate mingling threatens to turn into disorganisation. That is what happened in the Buddhist age. During that Asia-wide religious inundation, widely differing ideals and institutions found entry unchecked.

But even when weltering in that vast chaos, India's genius for synthesis did not desert her. With all that she had before, and all that had come upon her, she set to work to reconstruct her Samaj afresh, and in the midst of all this multifarious diversity she preserved and consolidated her unity of Ideal. Even now many ask, where in all these self-contradicting mutually-conflicting differences is the unity of the Hindu religion, of the Hindu Samaj? It is difficult to give a clear answer. The larger the circumference, the harder it is to locate the centre; but nevertheless the centre exists. We may not be able to lay our finger on the spot, but each one of us knows that the unity is there.

Then came the Mohamedans. It cannot be said that they had no effect on our Samaj. Synthetical reactions began almost immediately, and a common ground was in course of preparation where the boundary lines between Hindu and Muslim were growing fainter and fainter. The followers of Nanak, of Kabir, and the lower orders of Vaishnavas are cases in point. But our educated classes do not keep in touch with the makings and breakings which are going on beneath the surface of the Samaj among the common people. Had they done so they would have known that these reactions have even now not ceased to work.

There has lastly come yet another religion with its different manners, customs, and educational methods. And so now all the four great religions of the

world are here together—Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohamedanism and Christianity. It is evident that India is God's chemical factory for the making of a supreme religious synthesis.

Here, however, we must take note of one thing. The long and thorough disorganisation which characterised the Buddhist age, left behind it a shrinking timidity in the succeeding Hindu Samaj, an utter dread of novelty or change—which still persists. This constant fearfulness is hampering its further progress, and makes it difficult for it to rise superior to obstacles. Any Samaj which concentrates all its attention on sheer self-preservation, cannot freely move or act and comes to a state of death in life.

The barriers within which the Hindu Samaj then entrenched itself with all it could gather together, caused India to lose her place in the world. Once India was the world's guru, for her free thought ranged fearlessly over religion, philosophy and science, far and wide. But from that high seat she is now deposed,—and that because fear has entered into her soul.

Our timidity has caused us to stop all voyaging on the high seas,—whether of water or of wisdom. We belonged to the universe but have relegated ourselves to the parish. Our *shakti* has become the womanish *shakti* of thrift and conservation, and our masculine adventurous curiosity has owned defeat. Our treasure, which used to multiply by commerce, is now hoarded in the zenana store-room; it increases no longer, and whatever we may lose out of it is lost for good.

We must realise that every nation is a member of humanity and each must render an account of what it has created for the weal of mankind. By the measure of such contribution does each nation gain its place. When any nation loses its creative power, it hangs limp like a paralysed limb, for there is no virtue in mere continued existence.

India never fought for domination, nor scrambled for spoils. China, Japan and Tibet, who are so careful to bar their windows against the advances of Europe, welcomed India with open arms as their

guru, for she had never sent out her armies for plunder and pillage, but only her messages of peace and goodwill. This glory, which India had earned as the fruit of her self-discipline, was greater than that of the widest of Empires.

When with the loss of our glory we, with our bundled-up belongings, were huddled together in our corner, it was high time for the Britisher to come. At his onslaught the defensive barriers of our crouching, run-away *Samaj* began to give way in places, and through the gaps the Outside, in dread of which we had shrunk into ourselves, came hurtling in upon us. Now who shall thrust it back? With this breaking down of our enclosure we discovered two things—how wonderfully strong we had been, how miserably weak we have become.

And to-day we have likewise understood that this policy of funk will not do. The true way of self-defence is to rouse our inherent powers. The policy of protection by imitation of the conqueror is a self-delusion which will not serve, either;—the imitation cannot prevail against the reality. I repeat, therefore, that the only way to stem the tide of waste of heart and taste and intellect is, to become our true selves; consciously, actively and with our full strength. Our dormant *shakti* must awake at the impact of the outside, for to-day the world stands sorely in need of the priceless fruits of the discipline of our ancient Rishis. God will not allow these to go to waste. That is why, in the fulness of time, He has roused us by this agony of suffering.

The realisation of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis amidst variety,—that is the inherent, the *Sanatan* Dharma of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger. So she repels none, destroys none; she abjures no methods, recognises the greatness of all ideals; and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony.

By reason of this genius of India, Hindu, Moslem and Christian need not fight here for supremacy, but will find

common ground under the shelter of her hospitality. That common ground will not be un-Hindu, it will be more especially Hindu. And however foreign the several limbs may be, the heart will still be the heart of India.

If we but realise this God-given function of India, our aim will become true, our shame will depart from us, and we shall revive the undying *shakti* of India. Before that great day comes, call once on the Mother! The One Mother who, through the ages, has been nourishing her children from her eternal store of wisdom and truth, preserving them from destruction, drawing them nearer one another, and to Herself.

We had once learnt to despise riches, to make poverty beautiful and glorious. Shall we to-day insult our *Sanatan* Dharma by falling prostrate before money? Shall we not once more be fit to serve our Mother, to build anew her fallen house, by taking up a clean, disciplined, simple life? It was never reckoned a shame in our country to eat off plantain leaves—the shame was in eating by oneself alone. Shall we not get back this sense of shame? Shall we not be able to forego some of our comforts, some of our luxuries, so that we may have enough to serve to all our brethren? Will that which was once so easy for us become impossible to-day? Never!

Even in her uttermost extremity India's tremendous power has secretly and calmly regained victory for herself. I know for certain that this school-taught obsession of ours will never be able to prevail over that imperishable power. I know for certain that the deep note of India's call has already found a response in our hearts, and that, unknown to ourselves, we are slowly but surely going back to her. Here, standing at the crossing of the ways, with face turned towards Home, and eyes fixed on the pure light of its sacred lamp, call once on the Mother!

Free translation by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

JOURNALISM OF THE FUTURE

MANY things have been attributed to the war—the political unrest, the industrial chaos, financial bankruptcy, moral delinquency. Journalism, too, has been affected by the war, not so strikingly, but, nevertheless, affected. Previous to the war, Journalism was on the road to recovery from some of its chronic ailments, but the tumultuous events of the past four years overturned all its resolutions of regeneration. Many of the chronic faults remained; many of the chronic weaknesses disappeared. This disturbance, confusing as it is, has been laying the foundation for the actual regeneration of the newspaper and the birth of a finer, nobler type of journalism—the newspaper of the future. Before considering the factors which are preparing for the coming newspaper, it would be well to analyse some of the pre-war weaknesses.

Most deserving of condemnation is the tendency which the newspaper-writer had of exaggerating news. Actuated by a desire to increase circulation, and the attractiveness of the newspaper he frequently soared to the heights of imaginativeness for his material. More often than not he succeeded in creating only a feeling of distrust for the readers of his paper. Realizing this, he began to use caution in his language and presentation of fact. But the war, coming as it did, with the best material he had ever had, led the newspaper man to fall back into his former methods of exaggeration and falsehood. Inaccuracy in report was equally flagrant. Emphasis was laid upon what the writer considered the most sensational news items, not the most valuable. Unimportant facts were given columns, and significant facts were dismissed with one line. Words were put into the mouths of people who had never uttered them. In the face of such overwhelming events as were ushered in by the war, the newspaper felt almost justified in permitting inaccuracy and untruth to creep into the news column. Sensational news was the fashion of the hour. The bigger the headline, thought the newspaper man, the more attractive and the more saleable the paper. The desire to increase circula-

tion and prestige of the paper led the writer to invent, color, and suppress news with utter disregard for truth. The desire to display their patriotism led editors into bitter attacks on persons not in accord with their views. Never was the least effort made to right a wrong done editorially. It was considered beneath the dignity of the editor to acknowledge his infallibility. Just as it was eager to elaborate and to give details when some were necessary, so was the newspaper also prone to suppress news when such suppression redounded to the profit of the newspaper. The skilful manipulator of news so presented his copy that whatever the editor thought was right or was paid to think was right appeared in the paper, and whatever did not accord with "editorial policy" was discarded. The editor became, in fact, a propagandist, his newspaper a propaganda sheet. Thus while declaring himself a publisher of news only, he became the agent of some cause and pushed that cause, regardless of effects which his actions might have on the news. This was the policy of the United States throughout the war. In March 1916, President Wilson was re-elected on a peace platform. Newspapers throughout the country acclaimed him the hero of the hour—denounced the militaristic attitude of his opponents and loudly extolled the fine idealism which led Mr. Wilson to declare "he would keep his country out of war." From this, it would seem that the newspapers had a deep aversion for war. Within one year the same newspapers had so changed their tactics that the whole country appeared to be clamoring for war. The people were war-mad. The complete transformation from a peace-loving nation to one ready to send a million of its best blood to continue the fight which it had opposed was well nigh a miracle—performed by the powerful press. This was merely a case of sending forth an idea to the masses and pounding upon that idea until they became obsessed. The same principle has been working in the race-riots of the Southern States, where Negroes, without cause or upon mere suspicion were burnt, tortured, hanged, as a result of the anti-Negro

propaganda of the Southern newspapers. At this moment newspapers are making the most of the Mexican situation, and under direction from Americans who own lands and oil wells in Mexico and are therefore anxious to secure the country for themselves, are trying to prepare public opinion for another war—this time with Mexico. Every paper is filled with the account of outrageous conduct on the part of Mexican bandits, startling facts are cited, and a feeling of animosity towards the Mexicans is being created. When the mass is sufficiently incited to action the invasion will be comparatively simple. These instances are sufficient to show how mighty is the power of the press over the masses, how close the relation between the newspaper and social inflammability.

That this tremendous power will some day be directed towards nobler purposes—towards securing peace instead of war—towards fostering international love instead of racial hatreds—is not an unfounded hope. The present time is a transition stage in journalism. The newspaper has gone, as far as it can, in the direction of evil influence. Now it must swing, pendulum-like, towards the goal of doing good. Many of the old habits are being broken. Many new habits are being formed. Much that was good will be retained. Much that was evil will pass off. Every day sees a new attempt to enforce a code of ethics for the newspaper trade. Every man and woman prominent in journalism is clamoring for a cleaner, better press. Already the social consciousness of the newspaper has been stirred. Through the medium of the newspaper the editor endeavors to exert a stronger, better influence. The ideal of a newspaper for the service of the community has actually been realized and is being realized. In one of the states of the South, the editor of the leading newspaper has converted his sheet into a forum for his city. At one time, when there were no cotton mills, although the city was situated near cotton growing plantations, the editor agitated through his paper for the establishment of a cotton mill, for a month, and finally won his point. For the thirty days preceding his victory he filled his paper every day with editorials, with statistical data, with comments from prominent citizens, on the necessity of a mill, and the benefits which would accrue from its establishment. These daily propaganda talks led one of the businessmen of the

city to agree to build the mill. It is now one of the largest in the United States. In New York city alone every one of the leading newspapers is fathering some movement for civic reform or relief. One paper has established a "Fresh Air Fund" to which money is sent for the children of the slums, who, each year, are sent out to the country. Another paper has secured the co-operation of talented musicians and arranges free concerts for the public. Still another has, through its woman editor, formed a "Housewives' League." This body conducts meetings, sends its members to the state capital to agitate for legislation which will benefit the housewife, as for example, the establishment of a city market, where food may be obtained at cheap rates. In every city there is agitation carried on by the newspaper, for betterment of conditions—housing, street pavements, the food problem, etc. Some departments of a newspaper are devoted to giving medical advice, others to giving legal advice, to their readers. Throughout there is the ideal of service.

These activities are but small beginnings. The possibilities for service are limitless. They await development by the newspaper of the future. This will be not only a news sheet, a chronicler of events, but a power for infinite good. This does not imply that the newspaper will lose its function of news disseminator. That will be more highly developed—will be devoted to the publication of absolute truth. On the editorial side it will give fair and unbiased presentation of the news—both sides of it. On its socio-civic side, the newspaper will promote the best interests of the community. If new pavements are needed it will agitate for them until the authorities become convinced of the need. If a better water system is required, or if the lighting system is defective, if housing reform is urgent, if a change in the method of taxation is called for, the newspaper will give its time and study the needs as they appear, and then will present them so convincingly that its readers will vividly realize the need and will not cease to agitate until it is satisfied. The newspaper's appeal will always bring results. Public-spirited men, honest government officials, shrewd businessmen—all will understand the value of improvements and will endeavor to work out their plans.

Not only should the newspaper be interested in the municipality, it should be like-

wise the medium for international understanding. Foreign affairs are not easily understood by the masses, because in their minds there is no room for the unfamiliar. But a just interpretation and an association of foreign events with the corresponding events at home will make the subject more easily understood. Such an interpretation will make for a broader understanding, for a widened outlook, for the discarding of old superstitions. The newspaper can thus be made a powerful force for international harmony instead of international strife. The editor who realizes the immense potentialities of his paper will use caution and judgment in presenting foreign news, with the thought that he must keep the minds of his readers free from prejudice.

The coming newspaper then will be, first, a news sheet, with dispassionate accurate news items and balanced editorials; second, a financial success; with business

management and advertising on the highest efficiency basis; thirdly, a power in the community for world peace.

The newspaper of the future will be equipped with trained men and women in the editorial, business and mechanical departments. It will exercise the most discrimination in the publication of news. It will, in cases of necessity, exercise its influence negatively, i. e., by becoming silent rather than committing itself and becoming prejudicial and unjust. The newspaper of the future will indulge in no sensationalism, in no personal attacks, in no recriminations. It will be an independent paper, ready to tell the majority when it is wrong, challenging public opinion without fear when it is right. The newspaper editor will have no axes to grind, no theories to expose, no hobbies to ride, no object to reach except one—the desire to do good.

MINNIE MILLER.

THE PLACE OF THE PESHWAS IN MARATHA HISTORY

THE period of the first three Peshwas is yet entirely dark. It is in this period that the form and substance of the Maratha constitution twice underwent important transformation, once at the accession of Shahu in 1707, in order to meet the situation created by the great war of Independence; and secondly at the time of Shahu's death in 1749. The first change may be attributed to the first Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath, whose policy was after him consummated by his son and grandson.

At the beginning the Marathas did not care for any theory of a constitutional form. They went on providing for the situation as it rose, being entirely influenced by its exigencies (as Prof. Surendra Nath Sen of the Calcutta University has pointed out). Consequently they drifted into results, which cannot be well explained on the assumption of a particular theory. Shahu's position, for instance, at his coronation in January 1708, and for some five subsequent years, was very desperate. It was turned to his advantage, mainly by the resourceful and astute Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, who stands

preeminent in ability and statecraft among all his contemporaries, whose worth we now can definitely estimate. So deviating from the principle of hereditary offices and Jagirs, a principle which had already taken deep root in the mental soil of Maharashtra during the calamitous times of the great war, Shahu selected Balaji for the office of the premier as the ablest individual among his followers devoted to his cause, and capable of safeguarding the national interests. Shahu's release from Mogul captivity started a civil war, so cunningly planned by the dying Emperor; the long and successful war of independence had infused a new war-like spirit among the roving Maratha bands, who would surely have ruined their own country by taking opposite sides in the civil war, if no new work had been supplied for their rising ambition outside. Shahu, unlike Shivaji, considered himself a loyal vassal and supporter of the Mogul Empire, against which he would refuse to rise in open arms. Balaji, grasping these conflicting demands of the situation, with the shrewd foresight of a politician, created a useful diversion by

engaging to employ the Maratha arms in the affairs of the Mogul Court, thus covertly contriving to put an end to the disastrous civil war. He had already managed to silence the scheming Tarabai by getting her imprisoned through the instrumentality of her step-son Sambhaji.

There was no question here of reviving Shivaji's institutions. Two great innovations had come to stay, viz., the principle of hereditary Jagirs, and the abeyance in practice of the cabinet of the Eight Ministers, which indeed had never successfully worked after Shivaji's death in 1680. Thereafter whoever of the ministers had the ability and the opportunity came to the front; he, who lacked them, sank into insignificance. There was nothing, for instance, to prevent the Pratinidhi getting control of the situation at the advent of Shahu in 1708. In fact, Shahu would more readily have entrusted his cause to the Pratinidhi than to the new and untried Balaji, if the former had shewn the loyalty and necessary capacity. As a matter of fact, during his long reign of forty years, Shahu tried his very best to encourage and bring the Pratinidhi to power against the Peshwas; but the ability of the former could never shine beyond the sphere of domestic matters. Balaji Vishwanath, grasping the various factors of the situation as they worked from 1680 to 1710, laid the foundation of his policy on them, trying to evolve as smooth and vigorous a course as possible out of the various incongruous and jarring elements that existed, towards not only preserving what little remained of the Maratha Kingdom, but making it capable of extension on a vastly larger scale. No other statesman of Shahu, as we know them all now, can even distantly approach this first Peshwa, in the new stroke of policy which he formulated, and to which the contemporary *bakhars* bear testimony.

Another contrivance, also due to this Peshwa, was the cementing of friendship with Rajput States of the north. Soon after Aurangzeb's death, and out of revenge for his wicked policy, the Rajput kings formed an offensive and defensive alliance against the Mogul Emperor, and heartily welcomed the advent of Maratha arms into the north. Letters of Jaysing and others fully bear out the joint aspiration of the Marathas and the Rajputs in respect of founding a new Hindu

Empire, thus fulfilling the object of Shivaji. But for the support of the Rajput kings and chiefs, the work of Balaji Peshwa and his son Bajirao, beyond the Nurbudda, would have been hopeless. Jaysing II and Bajirao were close and life-long friends. It must be noted in this connection that the Rajput hostility towards the Marathas is of a later date, and that their relations during the reign of Shahu were entirely amicable and helpful.

The policy of Balaji, however, was so hazardous that it would have been a great national failure on account of his sudden death in 1720, had he not fortunately left behind a son, more able than himself by virtue of personal valour, to put it to its logical ends undaunted by failures or jealous calumniators. Bajirao had ever since his boyhood, been associated with his father in all his undertakings sharing his fortunes and anxieties and gaining the necessary experience for future action. Had it not been for Bajirao's dashing boldness, the astute Nizam, fully imbued with the spirit and policy of Aurangzeb, would have successfully carried out what the great Emperor, in vain, struggled for twenty-five years to accomplish, viz., to put down the Marathas. This can be readily understood by reference to the wonderfully learned history of the later Mughals with which the late Mr. Irvine has enriched the history of our country. Shahu, like Queen Victoria in recent years, possessed the rare ability of detecting the strong and weak points of his ministers and subordinates, and knew how to utilize the former for the national service, avoiding the danger of the latter. Consequently he allowed Bajirao quite a free hand in carrying out the accepted policy, at the same time firmly checking his rash and independent spirit when, on occasions, it was found to be wrongly directed. Bajirao's son Nanasahab was, however, more successful in winning the confidence and the affection of his master Shahu, who, fully relying on his ministers, put forth the utmost effort that the Maratha nation was capable of, both in arms and diplomacy.

The death of Shahu on December 15, 1749, caused another transformation in Maratha politics. Prof. Sen asserts "that Shahu made Balaji his real successor." This does not give a correct view of the situation at the death of Shahu. Since 1743, Shahu had begun to show signs of declining powers.

The Peshwa had to run back hurriedly from Behar in May of that year, having received a report of Shahu being on his death bed. But he had recovered before the Peshwa arrived. Having no direct male issue, Shahu began, about the year 1745, to look out for an heir capable of undertaking after him the heavy responsibilities of the Raj. He had brought and kept with him one or two young men from the original Bhosle families. His two wives, with the help of some prominent members of the court, started intrigues, with which Shahu soon got utterly disgusted and which impaired his mental powers all the more rapidly. The Peshwa had already, in 1740, worked for a solution by contracting a secret undertaking that Sambhaji of Kolhapur should succeed Shahu at his death: Shahu, however, was dead against bringing in Sambhaji, his life-long opponent, who also was getting equally old and had no issue either. At an opportune moment, Tarabai revealed to Shahu the existence of a direct heir from her own son, whom she would not bring out for fear of the intrigues of Rani Sakwarbai. For four long years, Shahu was revolving this question of his successor. He consulted all and discussed with all and did all he could to secure a capable ruler to look after and expand the growing concerns of the Raj. Neither Shahu nor any one else had any knowledge of Ramraja's capacities; or Shahu would not have nominated him for succession. The Peshwa is not responsible for having got to the throne an incapable ruler in order to gain some selfish ends; for, in this disposal, the Peshwa kept studiously indifferent, though carefully watching the development of events. To all intents and purposes, Shahu, the Peshwa and other responsible advisers, all believed that Ramraja would turn out capable and would conduct the affairs of the State, at least, as cleverly as, if not better than, Shahu himself. Before his death, Shahu tried all expedients, consulted nearly every one, as to who, among his Sardars, was the most capable to undertake the responsibilities and carry out the posthumous arrangement; and one and all unanimously pointed to the Peshwa as the fittest person to do it. Thus, after several years' deliberation, Shahu wrote down in his own hand and when he was fully conscious, two small *chits*, now known as his wills, facsimiles of which have been lately reproduced which leave no doubt that they are genuine, though unfortunately they bear

no date. In these two papers Shahu associated his confidant Govindrao Chitnis (a Prabhu) with the Peshwa and commanded them to bring Ramraja to the throne and conduct the administration under his orders. Shahu only laid down a pious hope that Ramraja would not deprive Balaji of his Peshwaship. But there was nothing to prevent Ramraja from doing it, if he had found Balaji mismanaging. But Ramraja proved altogether incapable and was kept a close prisoner by Tarabai at the fort of Satara until her death in 1761.

It thus appears that Balaji did not purposely contrive to snatch power out of the Chhatrapati's hands; it was thrust on him by circumstances and it is creditable that he manfully accepted it and tried his best to further the interests of the State on the former lines. From his first nine years' work under Shahu, one almost thinks that Balaji could have done greater service than he did if he had had a more capable master over him after the death of Shahu. For then he could have acted with redoubled strength, and creating fewer enemies at the same time. He doubtless committed many blunders, for which history will hold him responsible; as for instance, deliberately destroying the Angria's naval power with the help of the British and leaving the handling of North Indian affairs, for eight long years, into the hands of his incapable and inexperienced brother Raghoba, which ultimately resulted in the disaster of Panipat. But the Peshwa cannot be accused of having usurped regal power at the death of Shahu, whatever Scot Waring might say. Capable and vigorous rulers are always liable to such a charge at the hands of interested critics. Bajirao II's misrule and his persecution of the Chhatrapati cost him his position and the British writers of those days found it convenient to denounce all the Peshwas as traitors to their master, so as to defend their own assumption of power and justify their position as saviours of the situation.

Let us, for a moment, consider what would have happened if Balaji had not manfully come forth to assume the management of affairs at the death of Shahu. That event was a signal for the breaking up of the component units forming what was known as the Maratha kingdom. It was a critical moment in the history of India. Between 1750 and 1760, both Bengal and Madras had fallen into

foreign hands, the British naval net having already encompassed the surviving Indian Powers round the eastern coast. The west coast alone escaped, owing mainly to the strength of the Marathas in that region. If the Peshwas had not kept their grip on affairs at Poona and Satara, the Maratha power would have fallen an easy prey to the British arms, synchronously with the battles of Plassey and Wandewash. The two biggest powers of those days, the Marathas and Mussalmans, were breaking each other's heads on the field of Panipat, a phenomenon, which roused exultation in the minds of the British, for having their two possible rivals fatally weakened by mutual conflict. The papers published by Forest about the affairs of those times are full of import. The object before the Peshwas was not so much of self-aggrandisement as of self-preservation, whatever the western writers might assert in consonance with their mentality. That the Peshwas succeeded in preserving the independence of their nation for about half a century longer is their only credit, if it be credit at all; for a study of the contemporary history, doubtless, reveals the irresistible conclusion that sooner or later, the western foreigners were going to be the masters of India.

Balaji Vishvanath was not responsible for making the Peshwaship hereditary. The principle of heredity had already worked into the system so much that if the Peshwa had tried to put it down, the selfish Maratha Sardars would certainly have deserted to the enemy, as was done by men like Chandrasen Jadhav and Rao Rambha Nimbalkar. This experience was a sufficient warning to Balaji as to his future methods of government. That the two or three successors of the first Peshwa were pre-eminent in ability, was not their fault. If Shahu had more capable men about him, he would certainly not have appointed Bajirao or his son Nanasaheb (i.e., Balaji Baji) to the Peshwaship. The one outstanding feature of the situation seems to be, that the ablest member dominates the situation and dictates to the less able, as much in a state as in a private household. This feature is as much western as eastern and works through the best western democracies, even to this day, as much as in the worst autocracies of the east. Capacity brought the Peshwas into prominence, want of capacity cost Chhatrapatis their power.

राजा कर्त्याचे आहे, भोगव्याचे नव्हे (Kingdom or power is of the doer, not of the enjoyer) is a maxim, which should be remembered by all rulers. So, unless it can be proved that the Peshwas took wilful and positive measures to put down the power of the Chhatrapatis, the charge of usurpation cannot stand. While Shivaji's family from Maloji to Shahu can boast of five generations of proved ability, the Peshwas could put in with difficulty only four, when they, in their turn, suffered the same fate as their masters; the power devolved on more competent hands of Nana Fadnis.

Prof. Sen has quoted several instances of ill-treatment of the Chhatrapatis by the Peshwas. Such instances mostly occur during the regime of Bajirao II; but up to the time of Madhavrao I, the Peshwas' conduct was not much to blame.

This line of thinking is suggested by a study of the copious original historical letters, which I have chronologically arranged and critically analysed and then synthesised for my Marathi History, Vol. II (just out). The right attitude for reviewing the doings of the Peshwas, can only thus be settled.

The principle of hereditary holdings, however queer it may appear to us in this twentieth century, was formerly a part and parcel of the whole system, not only of Governments, but of private houses as well. The whole governmental service, civil as well as military, from the lowest peon to the highest official, was staffed on this principle. It had its advantages and weaknesses. The Chitnis, the Fadnis, the Potnis, the Karkhanis and other offices were, throughout the kingdom, recruited on this hereditary principle, so much so, that all the chitnises, for instance, were supplied for all the ministers and Sardars by the principal chitnis family of the Chhatrapatis and so on. Without such allurements, recruiting for any service or craft would have become impossible in those rough days, when want of communication had kept people woefully separated for any kind of combination. Every village had its own hereditary crafts, in order to have its needs supplied within its own boundaries, a state of things, which has given us so many evil castes and groups, which hamper our social progress today. Anyway, let us not try to explain old phenomena, by reference to conditions prevailing in the twentieth century.

The Peshwas tried to put down the inde-

pendent spirit of the various Maratha Sardars. e.g., the Angrias and the Bhosles of Nagpur. If the Peshwas had not done this, there would have been an end of the Maratha Empire. The first three Peshwas did succeed in reducing to obedience the Angrias in 1713, the Dabhade in 1731, and the Bhosle in 1743.

I trust I have succeeded in convincing the reader that Maratha history is yet to be critically studied and put into an impartial and proper historical setting. Students in Maharashtra are working in this direction; and it is hoped that in a few years an authori-

tative history of the Maratha nation will be ready for use. Occasional papers in reviews and magazines like the present one, are very helpful in settling controversies and sifting the truth.

It is only by keeping our minds ever open to newly discovered documents or correct new interpretations of long known records, it is only by relentlessly rejecting our pet theories and cherished views in the light of new facts, that an abiding history of any part of our country can be produced.

GOVIND SAKHARAM SARDESAI.

A PEEP INTO THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CHRISTIANS

I HAD recently a conversation with an educated Indian Christian who was a pious and devout follower of the religion he professed, and a sincere believer in the Christian creed of salvation. The subject was the peculiar difficulties of his position and the future of his community as a whole. He was unmarried, and born as he was of high-caste Bengali Hindu parents, he was experiencing some difficulty in finding a suitable match amongst his own people, owing to the restricted field of choice. The welfare of the Indian Christians cannot but be a matter of grave concern to the rest of India. Taking my clue from the arguments addressed to me by my friend, I shall therefore try in this short article to outline the salient features of the position of the Indian Christian in the body-politic, in order to see whether and how far it is susceptible of improvement.

The Indian Christian, as my friend told me, is in an unfortunate position peculiar to him alone among the various peoples of India, for his whole nature is torn asunder by the clash of two conflicting loyalties. By birth he usually belongs to one or other of the races from which Hindus claim their origin; by religion he is an exotic affiliated to a foreign race—the Europeans. The Indian Mussalmans, it is true, are also mostly of Hindu origin, but in their case there is no such clash, for their religion possesses this supreme virtue that as soon as one becomes a follower of the Prophet all racial distinctions are effaced and he is absorbed in the great brotherhood of Islam. Christianity, on the other hand, is the religion of the white races, and they can never mingle with the non-white Christian races in the way Moslems recruited from different ethnic groups do. Moreover, Christianity is the religion of the rulers of India, and between these rulers and the

ruled even where they happen to profess the same religion, a great gulf is fixed. Unlike the Muhammadan, therefore, the Indian Christian cannot lose himself in the general body of Christians irrespective of his racial origin. The Christian convert, in other words, is not permitted to forget his race, and this keeps his racial kinship with the Hindus green in his memory. Thus the racial tie is a fundamental and vital factor in his composition. Similarly, if he is a sincere believer in his adopted faith, the religious element must be an equally fundamental factor in his make-up. Ram, Krishna, Sita and Savitri, the Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, the philosophies and the Upanishads, do not convey to him the same meaning as they do to the Hindu; the legends, the myths, the ritual upon which the Hindu has been nurtured from his birth onwards, do not appeal to him; the traditions, the associations, the outlook on life and death, even the prejudices and superstitions, in a word, all that go to the making of what is known as Hindu culture, have no intrinsic value in his eyes or compelling force on his mind. The hopes and fears that move the Hindu and regulate his life are unknown to him, and his whole course of life is shaped by other hopes and fears—those that are associated with the Christian creed. To him Jesus, Moses, David, Saul and the prophets are greater realities than any of the names in Hinduism, round which the imagination has twined the tendrils of a thousand endearing fancies and memories, palpitating with love and hope and aspiration. The convert cannot help believing that it is Christ Jesus alone through whom salvation can be attained; and the inevitable corollary to this doctrine is the eternal damnation of the rest of humanity. Can there be any real sympathy with one whom

I feel to be foredoomed to perdition, a lost soul whose redemption depends entirely upon his ceasing to be what he is, viz., a non-Christian? Thus by his religion the Indian Christian is drawn inevitably to his European brother in Christ, with whom he can entirely sympathise, and whose outlook on all the great problems of existence is the same. Unfortunately, the European has a deep-rooted conviction, which is practically deeper than his Christianity, and it is neatly expressed in the Kiplingite dictum that 'the East is East and the West is West and never the twain shall meet.' The European, by thus keeping the Indian Christian at arm's length compels him to emphasise the other strand of his composite nature which he would otherwise perhaps fain forget, viz., his racial affinity with the autochthonous peoples inhabiting this land. Thus tossed between rival interests and opposing loyalties, if he approaches the people of his own race what does he find? An indifference and an apathy almost as discouraging as the contempt of the white European. The Hindu or the Moslem does not simply care to know what the Christian convert is, and though the Moslem does not object to mix socially with him, in all the intimate relations of social intercourse, the Indian Christian finds the gates of a Hindu house solidly barred against him. Shut out from both European and Indian society, the educated convert turns to his own people, and finds the respectable portion of his community too limited in numbers for the play and expansion of his mind as well as for the cultivation of social relations. In the circumstances, he cannot but nurse a secret grievance against the Brahmo Samaj. But for this reforming schism in Hinduism, most of the respectable and enlightened people who have joined its ranks would, he imagines, have gone over bodily to Christianity. He does not stop to think that growing minds do not abjure one class of superstitions to embrace another, but seek satisfaction for their spiritual needs in the rationalistic tenets of some new cult. The Indian Christian is interested in Brahmoism because the social life of the Brahmo Samaj agrees most nearly with the sort of life which enlightened Indian Christians lead in their own homes, and the cultured Indian Christian could not look to a better field than the Brahmo Samaj for the choice of his bride. Unfortunately again a Brahmo girl would not ordinarily marry an Indian Christian, and even if she did the latter, if he is strict in his religious views, would not marry her unless she accepted Christ as her saviour, and even then, unless she did so from genuine spiritual conviction, she would not be acceptable to a devout Christian. It is difficult to find a mate in the Brahmo Samaj who would satisfy so many conditions, and so the Indian Christian must ordinarily look for a wife in his own community, and failing this, in the ranks of Europeans or Eurasians.

The Eurasians present a problem by themselves, and their future deserves careful study. But leaving the question alone for the time being, it cannot be denied that by intermarrying with Europeans or Eurasians the Indian Christian is further alienated from the racial stock from which he has sprung, and becomes the founder of a hybrid family which is bound to be merged in the well-defined community of Eurasians. The denationalisation of the Indian Christian will then be complete.

In spite of what I have called the apathy of the Hindu and the Moslem, the Indian Christian cannot but feel that in India his lot is cast with them. If he is to rise, he must rise as a member of the great Indian community of which the Hindu and the Moslem form numerically the largest part. And not numerically alone, but politically also the Hindus and the Mahomedans are the most important sections of the body-politic, and wield the largest influence, an influence which is destined to grow more and more under any scheme of representative government. In all the varied ranks of literature, art, science, commerce, industry, social service and religious reform, and the other manifold activities of a nation's life by which its greatness and capacity for progress are tested, it is the Hindus and the Mussalmans who count between them the best known names, and as time runs it is they who will come more and more into prominence in all these fields of national activity. To be great themselves, the Indian Christians must identify themselves with the national movement espoused by the rest of India. In association with the vast communities of Hindus and Mahomedans, feeling themselves as part of the same people, and serving the cause of the same motherland, the future of the Indian Christian is assured. He, too, can make his influence felt not only among the Indian peoples but on the world outside, as the Christians of Japan do, by regarding himself as an Indian first and a Christian afterwards, though this need not involve any sacrifice of principle. Apart from the present stock from which he has sprung, in isolation and mutual exclusion, the small community to which he belongs will dwindle into unimportance and its influence will count for little in shaping the destiny of the motherland. It is from a reasoned conviction of this kind that the educated convert becomes a nationalist. He sees that the future of his community is bound up with that of the rest of the population of this vast country, and he therefore tries to minimise the differences and emphasise the points of similarity between himself and the people from whom he claims descent. In practical life we all know that it is easy to widen the gulf that separates us from our fellow beings by making too much of the *differentia*, while at the same time it is possible to reduce to the narrowest limits by insisting on the common factors tending to unification.

Between the Indian Christian convert and the parent stock of Hindus the sharp line of division may be considerably toned down by bringing the common elements into bolder relief. Dress is no longer a distinguishing element, as the European male costume is used as the official dress by followers of all religions in India, and the European female skirt, my Indian Christian friend assured me, is being rapidly replaced by the beautiful Indian *sari*, worn in Brahmo fashion, in Indian Christian homes. Again the Christian convert who retains his father's surname reveals his Hindu filiation and advertises to the world his belief in the doctrine that blood is thicker than religion. The graceful compliment is appreciated by his Hindu neighbours and leads to greater cordiality with them. To the same nationalistic tendency must be attributed the fact that even the personal names of the converts are now-a-days, chosen more and more from Hindu as distinguished from Biblical sources. There are, I know, bigoted Christians who regard this new tendency in anything but a favourable light. They are of opinion that Hindu names should be eschewed as the names of Hindu Gods and Goddesses and mythological personages are associated with superstitious and idolatrous practices. To them it would be useless to point out the equally gross superstitions that cluster round Biblical characters from Jesus Christ downwards, or to say that personal names have in all countries lost their theological significance and stand now-a-days more for a particular type of culture than for the divine or sacred associations of their origin. The other objection of the orthodox convert to a Hindu nomenclature is more plausible. Just as he retains his patronymic to indicate that he is descended from Hindu parents and is related to Hindus by blood, so he gives himself a Christian personal name to show that he is a follower of Jesus Christ, and is connected by religion with the ruling race in India. In the opinion of these zealous converts the exiguous Indian Christian community stands in great danger of being engulfed by one or other of the reforming sects of an all-embracing Hinduism like the Arya Samaj, and as one of the safeguards against such a fate every proselyte should proclaim his exotic creed in the very name by which he is called. But my orthodox Christian friend, though opposed to the tendency among Indian Christians to call themselves by fully Indian names, is nevertheless convinced that he is a staunch nationalist, in proof of which he explained to me that the promotion of a non-Christian Indian to high office under the Crown fills him with greater joy than that of a European, who is of course a Christian, to the same post. With his exclusive and orthodox religious views, I doubt if he would have felt the same sympathy in the present case with his kindred of race, had the Indian Christian been given a perfectly equal chance with Europeans

or Eurasians in the public service, and had no racial discrimination been made against him equally with other Indians. But taking his statement to be a correct reading of the actual situation, we are confronted with the fact that among Indian Christians, there is bound to be a clash of loyalties, the loyalty to religion drawing them towards the alien rulers of the land, the loyalty to race leading them to make common cause with the children of the soil. From this unfortunate divergence of interests neither the other sections of the Indian community nor the Europeans in India have to suffer, and it is this fundamental weakness of their position which prevents them from being as effective a factor in the national life as they could otherwise have become.

The hard case of the Indian Christian, as exposed by my friend, admits of no doubt. But to regard it as an insoluble problem, as my friend seemed to suggest, is to preach a gospel of despair, and no community ever rose to greatness upon such a foundation. Indeed the outlook need not be so hopeless, unless the Indian Christian community, by giving unduly exaggerated importance to their loyalty to religion, purposely make it so. If the Indian Christians are determined not to go under and to survive, and be effective and efficient, and fully resolved to achieve success, they should, and can find out a solution of their difficulty. As we have already said, if there is anything regarding them which can be asserted with perfect confidence, it is the fact that the Christian convert can only rise along and in association with the Hindus and Mahomedans whose motherland, like his, is India. And if that association is to be sincere, intimate, fruitful and vital, it must be based on mutual religious toleration, and the obliteration of all minor points of difference. Nationalism and religion, in the case of the Indian Christian, need not present an antinomy of conscience unless both are carried to extremes. Close association with his ethnic kindred in the field of politics and social service and the like will afford the necessary sustenance to the Indian Christian's consciousness of national identity. But such association is possible only if the religious divergence is not too much emphasised, and kept as much as possible in the background. For an example, the Indian convert need only turn to Europe and America. More blood has been shed in the past in Spain, France, Italy and the Netherlands in the cause of religious fanaticism than has ever been the case in India, and yet in Western Europe today Roman Catholic and Protestant and Jew boast of their common nationality and work in harmony for the welfare of the commonwealth. While every man is free to hold to the essential doctrines of his creed, no one has the right to regard the followers of other religions as outer barbarians, destined to eternal damnation. The Christian

convert has only to turn once more to the nations of Europe and America for light in this connection. Among these nations, the leaders of thought, the men of intellectual and moral eminence, whom the professional clergy cannot ignore and whose opinions are alone held worthy of acceptance by the lay public, have all been influenced by the Higher Criticism of Christianity which originated among the great German historians of the last century, and while regarding Jesus Christ as perhaps the greatest man that ever lived, few of them are disposed to give him the divine rank. Indian Christians must also learn the historic method, and take a liberal view of their religion, instead of being more doctrinaire and dogmatic than European Christians themselves whose religion they have adopted. The ferment of the intellect must penetrate the secret recesses of their theological gloom and the freedom of thought which flooded Europe and transformed the Dark Ages into the progressive era of the Renaissance must supplant the medievalism of their minds. Above all, they must study the ancient faith of their forefathers, "their wealth of spiritual instinct and their fervour of religious passion" (Rev. W. E. S. Holland), and learn to appreciate all that is great, beautiful and noble in it. In this respect a great and a wholesome change of spirit is visible among European Christian missionaries of the present day, some going the length of apologising for their past misconduct (see *the Crown of Hinduism*, by J. N. Farquhar, Introduction, page 57, also page 35). They no longer delight in ignorant abuse of the Indian religions but approach their study in a reverential spirit. The human mind, after all, is fundamentally the same everywhere, and the same joys and sorrows, hopes and fears and aspirations, feelings and sentiments, sway the mind of man, whatever may be the colour of his creed. The beautiful and poetic myths of Hinduism, its lofty philosophies, its hoary traditions instinct with much that is loveable and noble, the grand mythological and epic creations in which the figures of Rama, Sita, Savitri, Damayanti and Bhishma and the like stand out prominent, should appeal to a cultured Christian convert as much as they do to a rationalistic and enlightened Hindu who does not pin his faith to every item in the immense repertory of Hinduism. A convert who looks to India and Israel as the sacred lands from which his religious traditions flow, does not deserve to be called cultured if in addition to his somewhat unnecessary knowledge of hagiology and church history in foreign lands and among alien peoples, he has not had a thorough grounding in his mother-tongue, and some rudimentary acquaintance with the classic literature from which it has sprung, and with the sacred traditions of his own motherland which abound in them. A Brahmo is naturally heir to all his rich inheritance, and why

should the Indian Christian voluntarily deprive himself of this vast treasure-house lying ready to hand? Because of their common cultural background, a Hindu does not consider a Brahmo as one very different from himself, though the one is an observer of caste and may be a polytheist or an atheist while the other does not believe in caste and is a theist, and in political and other matters they can and do work in close co-operation for the uplift of the country. The Indian Christian and the Hindu may also meet on an equal footing, more often than is the case at present, if the former is a little more appreciative of the cultural traditions of his forefathers. He must learn to divest himself of the Christian prepossessions and prejudices, which are not so much Christian as racial and European, imbibed from the hot gospeller breathing fire and brimstone, who converted him or his father. In all non-essentials he must learn to meet the Indian halfway, and the cardinal doctrines of every religion are wonderfully few, and wonderfully alike. The Indian in his turn, must also learn to be tolerant, and there are many among educated Indians who appreciate the spirit of Christ, which is far from being the something as Christianity, more truly perhaps than professed followers of the gospel. With the spread of education and of a feeling of common nationality, the exclusiveness of Hinduism is bound largely to disappear, and caste scruples have already become sufficiently lax among educated Hindus to permit of mutual social intercourse on terms of cordiality. In thus pointing the way to a closer union of hearts among the Christian and non-Christian populations of India, I do not mean to suggest that I have exhausted all the possible modes of reconciliation, far from it. I have only hinted at a few outstanding features of the situation, in the firm belief that where the spirit is willing the flesh will not prove too weak in working out a solution. United we stand, divided we fall. Let orthodox Christian converts show a little more regard to the habits, customs, manners and faiths and even the prejudices of their non-Christian kinsmen, and I can assure them that the feeling will be reciprocated in generous measure, and the mutual suspicions which render social relations difficult at present will be replaced by mutual goodwill. My friend argued that during the Sepoy Mutiny and even recently during the Punjab disturbances the Christians were the only section of the Indian population to suffer violence at the hands of the mob. If so, is it not partly due to the estrangement and misunderstanding arising out of the aloofness which, as a whole, the community has so long maintained in regard to the people in whose midst they lived and from whom they have sprung? Was there not in some quarters a disposition to regard themselves as the specially favoured residents of an ideal city of God, of a little

Goscher in the wilderness of paganism? It would be a disastrous mistake on the part of the Indian Christians to argue from this mob-violence that their fate is linked with the foreign rulers of India and that they must sink or swim together. It is notions such as these, more than anything else, that have so long kept them strangers within their own gates—their common motherland of India. Again the matrimonial difficulty is not insuperable. If religion be considered to be essentially a thing between a man and his maker, and we are prepared to respect the individual conscience, marriages between Christians and Brahmos, each retaining his or her religion, need not be an impossibility, and in course of time, intermarriage between different castes will pave the way to, and find its logical conclusion in such marriages between Hindus and Christians. This may be looking a little too far ahead, but the times when such things will be feasible are not so far off as many seem to imagine. Already England returned gentlemen, who are to all intents and purposes Hindus have married English-Christian ladies. The Civil Marriage Act may unjustly compel the former to declare themselves non-Hindus for the purpose of such marriages, but they adopt no other religion and remain Hindus in their views and sentiments. It is not difficult to foresee the time when Hindus will no longer find it necessary to abjure their faith even in form in order to get married to the women of their choice. There is therefore no reason why similar marriages between Hindus and Indian Christians should be proscribed, given a little charity, which is not an exclusively Christian virtue, and toleration on either side. Thus the Indian Christian community will be able to replenish its blood from the parent stock, and its national consciousness will not suffer any detriment, as in the parallel case of intermarriage with the alien nations of Europe it is sure to do. In the vast expanse of Hinduism, a few such intermarriages are not likely to produce any deleterious effect; but the individuality of the small community of Indian Christians will be swamped out of existence by promiscuous interbreeding with foreign races. That wellknown friend of India Mr. C. F. Andrews, in his book on *The Renaissance of India—its missionary aspect*, approvingly quotes an Indian Christian writer who says: "India will form her own church and express Christ in her own terms," and Mr. Andrews adds: "The Indian Church of the future must embrace not only every race in India, but also all the higher religious instincts of the people. The great heritage of the Indian past must be conserved.....for the Christian ideal will find acceptance just in proportion to its embodiment of all that truly belong to the heart of India." And he forecasts three types of the future Christian church of India,—the Southern, emotional and sensuous, warm in

colour and rich in ceremonial; the Northern, more practical and austere; and the Eastern or Bengali, which coming near the Southern Church in emotion and sensuous imagination, will have the added qualities of keen speculation and radicalism of thought. Rev. W. E. S. Holland in his excellent missionary book, *The Goal of India*, correctly interprets the Indian sentiment when he says: "There can be little doubt that in large measure it is true to say that India's religious soul has been disappointed with Western Christianity." Christ, after all, was an Oriental, and the spirit of his religion of renunciation and other-worldliness (the Kingdom of Heaven) will find a truer echo in Indian hearts than among Europeans, whose Christianity is usually of too muscular a variety to suit the Indian character. The vital needs of the Indian Christian community can hardly be supplied by the thousand and one churches and sects into which European Christianity is divided and subdivided. The type of Christianity which has the greatest chance of surviving in India is the one to which the Indian mind has made its own original contributions, and which is therefore in harmony with his spiritual requirements. The best minds of the Indian Christian community, in devoting themselves to this task, will find a perennial source of inspiration in the Hindu philosophy and the spiritual and emotional cults of Vaishnavism and other reforming sects. The Indian Christian, fed exclusively on the pure milk of some uncompromising church doctrine, may ignore them as alien to his religious teaching which they are not, but he can no more grow out of them than he can help breathing the Indian air. The spirit of Gautama Buddha and the Vaishnavite saints, of Sankara and Ramanuja and Chaitanya and Kabir, pervades the religious atmosphere of India and it is this spirit which a Christian convert, who would make the dry bones of the valley instinct with life, must cultivate. He has only to understand how much he owes to the spiritual culture of the ancient race from which he has sprung not to be too anxious to exchange the legends and traditions, the customs and superstitions of Palestine or Galilee for those of his own native land. The spirit of Jesus is, after all, that which matters, and for the rest, it is for the Indian Christian to make his own church history instead of slavishly copying that of other lands. Like the enlightened Hindu, he must learn to sift the good from the bad in the customs and practices of his own country and to hold catholic views. So doing, he will find the gates of Hindu houses which were hitherto barred to him open with a wide welcome. As one of the most favourite doctrines of Hinduism is that no one should abjure his ancestral faith, he need not fear that by coming into closer touch with the Hindus he will be called upon to make compromises with his conscience or repudiate the religion which he perhaps holds

dearer than life itself. All that will be required of him is that he should give up his religious prejudices, and cultivate a more rational and liberal attitude towards the religion of his forefathers. The future of his community will then be linked with that of the non-Christian communities of India in a silken chain which no power on earth will be strong enough to break.

The world's advanced thinkers are already looking forward to a great synthesis of religions as well as of nationalities; the great war just over has hastened the dawn of universal brotherhood of which poets have sung and mystics have seen visions. In the opinion of many great Indians, India is pre-eminently the land where the great religious synthesis will be worked out. That, according to them, is India's divine mission, for which her past chequered history is a long preparation. That is why, perhaps, Providence has made her soil the meeting place of all the great world-religions. Those who would welcome the coming of that brighter day cannot but regard the softening of religious differences and mutual animosities in the interests of a common nationalism, which is becoming more and more evident in India, as

the happy augury of a healthy process working to that supreme end. The Hindu as much as the Christian, the Mussalman as much as the Buddhist, must contribute his quota to that blessed consummation. Each must be prepared to sacrifice the non-essentials of his faith, and circumscribe the area of dogma and ritual which constitute so large a part of the religion we profess and are so destructive of the spirit that giveth life, and long and arduous as the march may yet be, all the peoples inhabiting this historic land will echo the words of our great national poet Rabindranath Tagore:

"Come thou, ye Aryan and ye non-Aryan, ye Hindu and Mussalman, come to day, O come, thou Briton and Christian; come ye Brahmin, and with heart purified, clasp the hands of all the others; and come, O thou depressed, purging your mind of all the load of humiliation. Come, O come quick at the anointing of mother India with the waters of all the sacred rivers collected in the vase sanctified by the touch of every hand at the great commingling of the races on the Indian seashore."

(Translated by the writer from the Bengali *Gitanjali*.)

A. HINDU.

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE

By KRISHNA BINOD SAHA, M.A., LECTURER, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

FOR a long time after its establishment, the gold exchange standard in India was working with admirable success. The rupee which was given an artificial value of 1s. 4d., was maintained, with slight exceptions, at that level until the recent disaster. Hitherto the price of silver keeping low, the only danger that seemed to underlie the system, was a fall in the value of the rupee in times of adverse balance of trade and all precautionary measures were taken with that single object in view. When on the outbreak of the war, the financial system of many countries broke down, there was considerable apprehension as to whether the artificial system in India would be able to bear the shock. To the great relief of the Government it recovered from the first effects of the war with comparatively little efforts and its easy success drew the admiration of economic and financial experts who unanimously pronounced that the gold exchange standard in India has

successfully passed its greatest ordeal. Unfortunately the subsequent development of events has completely falsified such optimistic confidence.

The unexampled rise in the price of silver opened the eyes of the Government to a new kind of danger that was awaiting so long at the other extreme. During the war there was a continued heavy balance of trade in favour of India; and the difficulties of obtaining gold left the Council Bills as the only available means of remittance to this country. But the sale of Council Bills within the prescribed limits entailed a loss on the Government on account of the high cost of silver and the prices of these bills were raised. There was also the likelihood of the rupee going into the melting pot. The persistent rise in the price of silver made it necessary to frequently raise the value of the rupee until in December 1919, it was as high as 2s. 4d.

BABINGTON SMITH COMMITTEE'S REPORT

It has been already said that the undervaluation of the rupee caused by the high price of silver was the special danger that beset the Indian currency system during the war. The attention of the Currency Committee was naturally focussed to the solution of this particular problem. The course of silver price at the time made it of the first importance that the melting point of the rupee should be placed at a safe height. As the report says: "When the exchanges are at par, the prices of silver at which the principal silver coinages of the more important countries have a bullion value equivalent to their nominal value are, as follows:—England 66d.; France (5 franc piece)—60½d.; U. S. A. (dollar) 59½d." If the rupee is given the value of 2s. gold, its melting point lies a little above those of the American dollar and the French five franc coin, but still below that of the English shilling. Recently the shilling has been further debased. When all these facts are considered it is difficult to maintain that the value of the rupee as recommended by the Committee was unreasonably high.

THE FLAW.

It will be asked "where lies the flaw then?" The answer is that it lies in the miscalculation of the Committee as to the future course of our foreign trade, and their desire that the rupee should be at once established at 2s. gold. They expected that India should continue to have a favourable balance of trade in spite of a high exchange, the immediate effect of which is to make our exports dearer and imports cheaper. Very probably the enormous excess of our exports over our imports in the year 1919 led them to make such a calculation. But in doing this they failed to take into consideration some very powerful economic forces which were held in abeyance by the abnormal conditions produced by the war and it was the operation of these neglected forces that brought about the failure of the Government in their attempt to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee.

GOVERNMENT'S ACTION.

The policy of the government in introducing the currency reforms was a series of mistakes. It is said that the causes that contributed to their failure were beyond their control. No doubt there is a large

element of truth in this statement, but the fault of the Government lies not so much in their failure as in the mistakes they committed and in the huge loss they incurred as a result of those mistakes. In their implicit faith in the absolute validity of the Committee's recommendations and in their zeal to put them into operation, they completely lost sight of the altered circumstances, and displayed a daring disregard of economic forces and a rare lack of foresight.

In January 1920, distinct signs were visible that the tide of remittance was turning against India. British concerns in this country made during the war large profits which were awaiting remittance and were ready to burst out at the first opportunity. When the general uncertainty regarding the course of exchange was set at rest by the publication of the Babington Smith Committee's report and Government's acceptance of it, the demand for remittance of these accumulated profits and other funds appeared in full force.

In pursuance of the Committee's recommendations Government began to sell Reverse Councils at the sterling equivalent of 2s. gold, which was considerably above the market rate. As the amount of Reverse Bills was strictly limited and quite insufficient to meet the demand there were two rates substantially different from each other prevailing at the same time. The exceptionally cheap rate offered by the Government created an additional demand for remittance and drew into the exchange market the wildest speculators. As Sir Montagu Webb has said, people began to beg, borrow or steal in order to buy sterling. Contrary to the expectation of the Babington Smith Committee, the balance of trade began to turn against India. Several causes combined to produce this result. Not the least important of them is the recommendation of the Committee that the rupee should be at once stabilised at the high value of 2s. gold and Government's attempt to do it. Businessmen calculated their cost prices of foreign goods on this basis and they found them relatively cheap. This gave an immense stimulus to our imports. During the war many of the commodities normally required by India could not be obtained and the demand for them was postponed for the time being. Naturally when these demands reappeared, they swelled our imports. The

termination of the war found the world overstocked with some of our principal exports, while the scarcity of food-stuffs in India led the Government to put restrictions on their export. The feverish industrial activity of Japan has been as usual followed by a sharp reaction causing a great slump in our cotton exports.

When it was realised that the immediate stabilising of the rupee to 2s. gold was an impossible task, the Government tried to fix it at 2s. sterling. But even this relatively modest ambition could not be fulfilled. After selling fifty-five million sterling of Reverse Councils at a cost which has been estimated to be about 35 crores of rupees at the 1s. 4d. basis, they gave up the attempt as hopeless.

FUTURE POLICY.

Since September last the Government have discontinued the sale of Reverse Councils and their present attitude is to wait until there is another swing of the pendulum of trade balance. It is unfortunate they did not adopt this course much earlier, so that a part of the huge loss might have been saved. The sudden abandonment of the policy of supporting exchange has been followed by a sharp fall in it. We are not surprised at the indignation of the commercial people. There is no denying the fact that it has brought enormous losses on our importers who have thus got a legitimate grievance against the Government, however earnestly the Finance Member may try to explain it away.

The only justification is that it was a hopeless task and a mistake; it would have been a greater mistake to persist in it and incur further sacrifice of public money after it was recognised to be so.

A successful stabilisation of the rupee at 2s. gold implies as a necessary condition a corresponding adjustment of the price level. India forming a part of the world market cannot remain unaffected by the world forces of demand and supply. A state of normal condition can only be established when the price level in India as expressed through the rate of exchange is the same as the world price level, allowance being made for the impediments. Other things being equal a higher value of the rupee requires a corresponding fall of the price level. This adjustment of the prices of things can be effected in several ways:—(a) by a contraction of the circulating currency, (b) by a suspension of

coinage and addition of currency to circulation, (c) by a combination of both. The first method which in a gold exchange country generally takes the form of selling foreign drafts such as the Reverse Councils is more drastic and can attain the end in a short time, but it is risky when a large adjustment has to be made. The Government of India adopted this course but the forces to combat were so powerful that the attempt had to be given up.

The second is the line of least resistance and is sure of success; but it takes time. If there is no addition to currency, the natural growth of trade causes a fall in general prices and a rise in exchange. This was the policy adopted in the last decade of the 19th century when the silver standard was abandoned, and it produced the desired result. When the mint was closed in 1893 the exchange was at 14½d. The downward movement continued for a time and in the following year it fell to 13½d. But the revival set in soon and by the time of the Fowler Committee it reached 16d. At the present moment the exchange stands at about 1s. 3d. and the downward movement seems to have nearly reached its culmination. If the rupee is to be given the value of 2s. gold, the ground to be recovered is considerably larger than that in the former case. Of course any improvement in the sterling in relation to gold will help the process by so much. But even supposing that the sterling attains its gold parity in the meantime, the rupee has to make a long journey. In all probability it will be long before the necessary adjustment takes place.

There remains the third alternative of taking a middle course: a slow and cautious contraction of currency together with no addition to circulation. If greater emphasis is placed upon the first process, it will virtually turn into the first method we have discussed. If the Government choose to adopt this course they should proceed very cautiously so as to avoid the mistakes of the past. Any sudden change may set into operation forces which will more than neutralise the result attained and which will farther remove the goal. A slow recovery is much to be preferred to any abrupt change not only because the former is more sure of success, but also because it causes less disturbance to trade and commerce. One special danger inherent in any sudden improvement in the

value of the rupee is that it makes gold cheap. India has got such a peculiar fascination for that metal that it is likely to give rise to a great rush of demand for it and to turn the balance. The average Indian cannot adapt his mind to the idea that gold which was selling at 35 rupees per tola only a short while ago will be always obtainable at 16 rupees.

There is another particular aspect of the question which should not escape our consideration. It can be maintained that a high exchange during the transition period puts a handicap on our young manufacturing industries. The statement is true so far as it

goes. But one of the effects of the war has been to alter the cost of production in India and Western countries in favour of the former. The rise in the cost of production has been greater in those countries than here and this will offset any disadvantage caused by a higher exchange. There is also another compensating advantage. The present fiscal policy of the Government of India affords some amount of protection to most of those industries which are likely to suffer by the currency policy advocated by the Babington Smith Committee.

SUGGESTIONS OF AN APPROACH TO REALITY BASED ON THE UPANISHADS

The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy by S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, the University of Mysore. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Pp. xii + 463. Price 12s.

THE book contains 13 chapters. The subjects dealt with being Science, Religion and Philosophy, Recent Tendencies in Philosophy, The Monadism of Leibniz, The Philosophy of Professor James Ward, M. Bergson and Idealism, Bergson's Idea of God, Pragmatism, The Pluralistic Universe of William James, The New Idealism of Rudolf Eucken, The New Realism of Mr. Bertrand Russell, Personal Idealism, Suggestions of an Approach to Reality Based on the Upanishads.

"The last chapter is put in to rescue the book from the charge of being wholly polemical and negative in its results..... Indications of a positive idealism which are found scattered in the course of the book are brought together in the last chapter" (Preface, p. ix). Here the problems are dealt with constructively and the author's suggestions are said to be based on the doctrines of the Upanishads. Today we shall review only this chapter.

(I)

HIS LANGUAGE.

The author can write with facility and his language and style are eloquent and charming. But his grammar sometimes reminds us of the Irishman who said, "I will be drowned and no one shall save me." Here are some examples:—

(a) "For if we argue about the problem.....we will be drowned in a sea of contradictions" (p. 430).

(b) If we attach any predicate to it we will bring it to the level of the finite (p. 430).

(c) So long as we feel ourselves to have individualities of our own, we will be beset with conflict and contradictions (p. 437).

(d) If we think in the acquired dialect of the intellect we will not be able to reach the highest (p. 429).

And there are many more. Even our schoolboys will be able to correct the mistakes. But I forget. This is an age of boycotting, and our author has boycotted "shall."

(II)

His knowledge of the Sanskrit language and literature is defective and superficial.

(a)

He quotes the following passage:—

"All beings form his foot" (Taittiriya Aranyaka, III. 12), p. 446.

Our author thinks that the original of the sentence is to be found in the Taittiriya Aranyaka, whereas the fact is that it is a sentence of the Purusha Sukta which is quoted in the T. A.

The author's translation is misleading. The original is:—पादः अस्व विश्वा भूतानि Padah asya visva bhutani; which is followed by Tripat asya amritam divi विपात अस्व अमृत दिवि. Here the contrast is between one foot and three feet. The meaning of the whole is:—"All beings are a quarter of him and his three quarters are immortal in heaven."

Asya padah (अस्व पादः) means "one foot of him" or "his one fourth." But if we translate the first part of the sentence by "All beings are his foot," as the author does, that would suggest that these beings are his foot and not any other limb (e.g., head, eye, etc.). But the meaning of the Rishi is that "all these beings are but a part of that Purusha (and not the whole), the remaining portion being in heaven."

(b)

A Mantra of the Svetasvatara Upanishad is translated thus:—

"I know *Maya* as *Prakriti*, him who is controlling her as the great ruler" (IV. 10), p. 444.
The Padapāṭha of the text is

मायाम् तु प्रकृतिम् विद्यात्
मायिनम् तु मच्छेरम ।

In the text we find विद्यान्मायिनम्, which = विद्यात् मायिनम्. विद्यात् does not mean "I know." It is in the 3rd person, singular.

(c)

In a foot note (p. 165) our author makes a curious remark :—

....."they (the Absolute and Mulāprakṛiti) are indiscriminately called (अव्यक्ता) Avyakta".....

Avyakta is written with the last 'a' long, i.e., as अव्यक्ता which is in the feminine gender. This word can never be and has never been applied to Brahman (ब्रह्मन्), which is neuter.

Even in the Sāṃkhya philosophy, the technical word used for Prakṛiti is Avyaktam (अव्यक्तम्) and not Avyakta (अव्यक्ता).

In this connection it may be noted that though the same word 'Avyaktam' (अव्यक्तम्) is applied to both, the meaning in each case is not the same.

In the Sāṃkhya system, it has acquired a technical meaning. Avyaktam is a name of *Pradhāna* which is undeveloped but is afterwards developed in the form of Buddhi (Intellect), Ahaṃkāra (egoism), Manas (mind) etc., and the material universe. In the Vedānta it has two meanings, viz. :—

- (i) the ordinary meaning,—
- (ii) the technical meaning of the Sāṃkhya system.
- (i) Brahman is Avyaktam—unmanifested or imperceptible and it remains always so (Vide Brāhma S. III. 2. 23).

In the Gīta it is distinctly said—अव्यक्तं व्यक्तिमापन्नं मन्यन्ते मामबुद्धयः (VII. 24).—Those without intellect consider me, the Avyaktam (unmanifest), as becoming Vyaktam (manifest).

(ii) In some of the Upanishads it is used also in the technical sense, for example, in the following passages of the Katha Upanishad :—

अव्यक्तात् पुरुषः परः (III. 11), Puruṣa is beyond the Avyaktam. अव्यक्तात् तु परः पुरुषः (VI. 8), Puruṣa is certainly beyond the Avyaktam.

So our author's assertion is wrong and misleading.

(d)

Professor Radhakrishnan quotes the following from the Aitareya Aranyaka (II. III. 2. 4) :—

"The Atman is expanded only in man (a). He is most endowed with intelligence. He speaks what is known, he sees what is known (b). He knows what is to come, he sees the visible and the invisible worlds (c). He desires to obtain immortality by appropriate means (d). Thus endowed is man" (p. 424).

The author has thoroughly misunderstood the section. The Rishi does not say that "the Atman is expanded only in man", on the contrary he says that the Atman is manifested not only in man but also in animals; and in herbs and plants. But it is manifested more in animals than in herbs and plants; more in man than in animals. We have no space to quote the Sanskrit text of these passages. The text corresponding to the passage (a) quoted above is :—

पुरुषे तु एव आविस्तराम् आत्मा.

Here the most difficult word is आविस्तराम्, which is equal to आविः तराम्. The word आविः = manifested, and the suffix तराम् is a sign of comparative degree.

So the word आविस्तराम् = more manifested. The meaning of the whole sentence is—"The Atman is manifested more in man." But our author says—"expanded only in man." The sentence marked (b) is unintelligible. It has been fully explained by Sayana. The meaning is—"He speaks what he has known, he sees what he has known." The sentence marked (c) has been mistranslated. The text is वेद लोका लोको! वेद = knows, लोक = Heaven, and अलोक = this world (or hell). The meaning of the sentence is "He knows the heaven and this world (or hell)." Our author's rendering is—"He sees the visible and the invisible world." The Rishi speaks of "man." Can a man see the invisible world?

The text of the sentence (d) is मयं न अमृतम् ईप्सुमि. Does the word मयं न mean "by appropriate means"? It means "by means which perishes."

The author has written the whole passage within quotation marks and every sentence has been translated, so he cannot say that he has given only the purport of the passage.

(e)

Our author quotes the following with approval :—"Matter decays without life. Life dries up without matter. These two (life and matter), when they have become one, reach the highest state, i.e., Brahman (Br. Up., V. 12. 1), p. 417.

The author has quoted MaxMüller's translation with omissions here and there, and has changed the word "food" for 'matter' to suit his own convenience. The author has thoroughly misunderstood the meaning of this section. What is advanced as the doctrine of the Upanishad was what was really rejected therein. Pratida, the son, arrived at that conclusion and then asked the father :—"Shall I be able to do any good to one who knows this, or shall I be able to do him any harm?"

The knower of Brahman is above good and evil. No one can do him any good or evil. Pratida asked his father whether the knower of the unity of food and life was such a person. In reply to this, "the father said to him beckoning with his hand, 'Not so, O Pratida; for who could reach the highest state, if he has only got to the oneness of these two?'"

So this knowledge is not the knowledge of Brahman. True knowledge of Brahman is moksha (salvation), but the true knowledge of the oneness of food and life,

leads to something different. (Vide the concluding portion of the section V. 12).

So what is considered by our author to be the doctrine of the Rishi was positively rejected by him.

(f)

The following passages are said to have been quoted from the Taittiriya Upanisad :

(i)

'Matter is rooted in life and life in matter' (T. U. II. 3), p. 417.

(ii)

'This *Prana* (life) is the soul of the body' (no reference) p. 418

(iii)

'Vijnana is the soul (spirit) of Manas (T. U. II. 4), p. 421.

These sentences do not occur in the Taittiriya Upanishad or the author has mistranslated passages which have altogether different meanings.

(III)

His knowledge of Hindu Philosophy is lamentably defective. He is ignorant even of its fundamental principles.

(a)

According to him the *Purusha* is active and *Pra-kriti* is passive. He says :—

"Creative life is the active determining element (*Purusha*)", p. 167. "Its life appears as spirit and its *maya* as matter and these two are never disjoined during the manifestation. The supreme spirit is thus both force and matter, active and passive, male and female (*Purusha* and *Prakriti*)", p. 164.

Purusha and *Prakriti* are technical terms originally used in the *Samkhya* Philosophy. According to this system, *Purusha* is never active, he is always *उदासीनः* (indifferent), *अकर्ता* (non-agent) and *केवलः* (aloof, alone).

Some of the later Upanishads and the Gita have adopted these words and even there the meanings of these words remain unaltered.

According to the *Svetasvatara* Upanishad, the self is *nishkriyah* (निष्क्रियः), *nirgunah* (निर्गुणः) and *kevalah* (केवलः) (VI. 11 and 19). (निष्क्रियः means inactive; निर्गुणः = without qualities, which according to the *Samkhya* Philosophy are the springs of action; केवलः = aloof, which means that the self stands alone and is never associated with anything).

In one place the Gita says—"He truly sees who sees all actions to be in every way done by *Prakriti* alone and likewise the self to be not the doer" (XIII, 29).

Again—"This inexhaustible Supreme Self, being without qualities.....does not act....." XIII. 31.

Our author quotes the following passage from the *Maitrayana* Upanishad.—"Purusha (the self) is the eater, *Prakriti* (not-self) is the food and abiding within it he feeds" (VI. 10).

He thinks that the Vedanta Philosophy has thereby resolved the antithesis between the self and the not-self (p. 431).

The position of this Upanishad is peculiar. It represents neither the pure Vedanta School nor the *Samkhya* system, but is an amalgam of both and contains elements which are foreign to both of them. According to this Upanishad the human self is the food of *Prakriti*—who is his maker (तस्य अशम् भूतात्मा हि अन्नम्; अस्य कर्ता प्रधानः, VI. 10). *Purusha* also has been said to be the eater, but this eating has been declared to be metaphorical. As the Devas eat through the mouth of Agni, so the *Purusha* enjoys the three qualities through the mouth of *Avyaktam* (इन्द्रः हि अन्नं मुखेन विरूपम् भुङ्क्ते, VI. 10).

In II. 6, the rishi definitely mentions that though the self seems to be an agent (कर्ता), he is really not an agent (अकर्ता एव).

(b)

Here is another passage :—

"The self is God and the not-self the matter of the Universe. All Hindu systems of Philosophy posit these two ultimate principles (Italics ours). In the *Samkhya* it is *Purusha* and *Prakriti*; in the Vedanta it is *Iswara* and *Maya*; in *Vaishnavism* it is *Krishna* and *Radha*; and in *Saivism*, it is *Shiva* and *Shakti*. *Maya*, *Radha* and *Shakti* are respectively the intellectual, the emotional and the volitional aspects of *Prakriti*" (Page 444).

(1)

Herein we find an example of Cross-Division. *Vaishnavism* and *Saivism* are not different from Vedantism. The *Vaishnava* schools of *Ramanuja*, *Nimbarka*, *Vishnuswami*, *Ballabhacharya*, *Madhva* and *Baladeva* are all Vedantism and even there are *Saiva* versions of the Vedanta Philosophy.

(2)

Our author says—"In the Vedanta, it is *Iswara* and *Maya*." But what does he mean by the Vedanta? Does he mean the Upanishads? If so, he has made an egregious blunder. The *Brahma-Mimansa* recognises the authority of ten classical Upanishads. In none of them, the theory of *Iswara* and *Maya* was formulated. If the 'Vedanta' means the *Brahma Sutras*, it can be positively stated that there is no such theory in that philosophy. In the *Sankara* School of Philosophy, one principle only is formulated. According to this School, the absolute existence of even *Iswara* is denied and Illusion (*maya*) has no real existence.

(3)

There are many sects of *Vaishnavism* and all of them do not recognise *Krishna* and *Radha*. *Ramananda* and *Ramanandins* worship *Rama* and *Sita* instead of *Krishna* and *Radha*. In the system of *Ramanuja*, the names of *Radha* and *Krishna* are conspicuous by their absence. In the system of *Madhva* no mention is made of *Radha*. Only in the systems of *Nimbarka*, *Ballabha* and *Chaitanya*, we find the worship of *Radha* and *Krishna*.

Again no *Vaishnava* system has dichotomised the Absolute into two principles or has posited two ultimate principles. *Ramanuja* recognises three eternal principles, viz.—*chit*, *achit* and *Iswara*. *Nimbarka*, *Ballabha* and *Vishnuswami* derive the first two (*chit*

and achit) from the third, though from different standpoints.

Madhva and Chaitanya recognise five eternal distinctions.

According to our author Radha and Shakti are two aspects of Prakriti. No mistake can be grosser. Vaishnava sects have enunciated a female principle under different names, viz.,—Sri, Lakshmi, Radha and many others, and there is a dispute as to whether this principle is identical with or different from Vishnu or Krishna. According to Madhva, Lakshmi belongs to the category of eternal free spirits, different from the Lord, though dependent on Him. But according to the Vishnupurana and Chaitanya school, She is identical with Vishnu. This female principle is not an aspect of "not-self" but a prominent aspect of the self.

According to the Saivas, there are three principles and not two, as our author imagines. These principles are (i) *Pati* or Lord, (ii) *Passu* or the individual self, and (iii) *Pasa* or fetters.

Saiva philosophers and theologians have sharply distinguished the *Sakti* of the Lord from *Maya*. *Maya* is non-intelligent and belongs to the category of *Pasa* (fetters). But "*Sakti* of the Lord is Pure Intelligence. Where there is Intelligence, there is Will and Power. As such the Will and Power will be manifested also by the Supreme *Chit Sakti*. This one Para *Sakti* becomes three as *Ichcha* (Will), *Jnana* (Intelligence) and *Kriya Sakti* (Power)" (Siva Jnana Siddhi Yar, III. 1. 62, 63). There is no difference between the Lord and his *Sakti*. "He and his *Sakti* are related as the tree and its inner solid core" (Ibid, III. 1. 67). "When Pure *Jnanam*, he is called *Sivam*; when Pure *Kriya*, he is called *Sakti*; when *Jnana* and *Kriya* are equally balanced, he is called *Sadasiva*. If *Kriya* predominates he is called *Maheswara*. When *Jnana* predominates he is called *Vidya*" (III. 1. 65).

Hence it is evident that *Sakti* is the inner nature of the Lord and belongs to the category of *Pati* and cannot be identified with *Prakriti* or *Maya*, which belongs to the category of *Pasa*.

(c)

In a note the author writes:—"In Indian Philosophy, the Absolute becomes the self-conscious *Iswara* facing the other" (p. 164).

This is not the fact. Except the Vedanta Philosophy no classical system of Indian Philosophy recognises the existence of the Absolute. Even the Vedantists are not unanimous on this point and some schools have definitely rejected the Absolute.

Iswara is not recognised by and has no place in the Samkhya system. In Patanjala system, his existence is recognised, but it is limited and is not the Absolute. Both the Kumarila and Prabhakara schools of Jainini Philosophy are atheistic.

(d)

According to our author the Absolute grows. In one place he writes:—"The word 'Brahman' which stands for the Absolute in the Vedanta Philosophy is derived from the root *Brih*=to grow. It is the nature of the Absolute to grow" (p. 443).

The word 'riva' comes from a root which means a river. Are we then to suppose that all rival candidates are those who are always quarrelling over a river?

The original meaning of the word 'Brahman' is 'Mantra' and this is the meaning in the Veda Samhitas and even in some later works. Whatever might have been the original meaning of the word 'Brahman', that meaning does not apply to the *Brahman* of the Upanishads.

Now the question is—whether Brahman may be said to grow or develop or change.

The Upanishads comprise a variety of culture and in the same Upanishad there are divergent and contradictory dogmas. So we cannot say that there are not passages which attribute change to Brahman. Brahman has been, in some places, described as being unhappy and afraid and has been anthropomorphised in many other ways. But these were relics of old mythological crudities and were swept away by the advancing currents of philosophic thoughts. Yajnavalkya and other Rishis de-anthropomorphised the deity and definitely formulated the theory that the inner nature of Brahman is eternal, perfect and unchangeable and is incapable of growth or development and its perfection does not depend upon the existence or evolution of the Universe. The idea of Brahman's growth and development has been rejected by Badarayana and all the important Schools of the Vedanta Philosophy.

(e)

THE MAYA THEORY.

(1)

Our author rightly thinks that the Illusion (Maya) theory follows from the assumption that Brahman "is homogeneous. But according to him, Brahman is not a homogeneous one but a unity or a harmony of different constituent elements. The absolute is the fulfilment and completion of everything that is in the universe and not their extinction" (p. 445).

In the Upanishads there are different shades of opinion. There is realism as well as illusionism. So the passages proving realism do not disprove illusionism. Illusionism is proved from the following facts:—

(i) The real nature of the Self or Brahman has been identified with *sushupti* (सुषुप्ति) or dreamless sleep (vide Chhand. Up., VI. 8.1 and Brih. Up., IV. 3.21-32). What this world is to such a sleeper at this state, that is the whole universe to Brahman. That is, the universe is non-existent to Brahman. This also follows from what has been said about the *Turiya* (तुरीय) or the fourth state.

(ii) There are other passages which lead us to the same conclusions.

In the Brih. Up. Brahman has been called *Anantaram* (अनन्तरम्), *Abahyam* (अबाह्यम्) (II. 5. 19 and III. 8. 8).

Anantaram (अनन्तरम्) means "having nothing inside".

Abahyam (अबाह्यम्) = having nothing outside.

In another passage Brahman has been called *Anantarah* (अनन्तरः) and *Abahyah* (अबाह्यः). (IV. 5. 13).

In such a system, this universe of selves and not-selves possesses neither a substantive nor an adjectival mode of being. Brahman is homogeneous, having nothing within, nothing outside. The doctrine of Maya will naturally follow from this.

(2)

The author writes in one place: "The *Maya* theory simply says that we are under an illusion if we think that the world of individuals, the pluralistic universe of the intellect, is the absolute reality" (p. 445).

But he has not quoted chapter and verse. Historical facts cannot be manufactured out of imagination to fit one's own philosophical ideas. They have an objective validity and existence. The fact is that according to the *Maya* theory the whole universe with its creator, preserver and destroyer is an illusion. This theory was not formally expounded in the classical Upanishads recognised by Bādarāyana. But therein are found germs which developed in some later Upanishads, e.g.,—the Svetasvatara Upanishad and Maitrayana Br. Upanishad. The nature of *Maya* is discussed in the Nrisinha U. Tap. Upanishad. But the theory was formally promulgated by Gaudapada and elaborated by Sankara.

Our author makes much of the saying of Gaudapada that this universe is the Svabhāva (स्वभाव) of the Lord (p. 443). Even if we take the word Svabhāva (स्वभाव) to mean "one's own nature", it must here be referred to Visva (विश्व), Taijasa (तैजस) and, Prajñā (प्राज्ञ), because it is written in the Karika on the passages relating to them and not to Turiya (तुरीय) the Absolute.

(3)

Even if we attribute "Maya" to the Absolute, the position of the author will remain untenable. In commenting on the Bhashya of Sankara on that line, Anandagiri says that "Svabhāva (स्वभाव) means Maya".

Now this *maya* is not independent; its manifestation depends upon the existence of the Absolute. The very presence of the Absolute will make *Maya* to evolve this Universe out of itself. In this sense it may be called Lord's Svabhāva or Lord's *Maya*, though it is not organically connected with the Absolute. In one place Gaudapada also calls it Lord's *Maya* (*mayā eṣha tasya devasya माया एषा तस्य देवस्य*, II. 19).

(4)

Moreover Svabhāva (स्वभाव) is a word which had acquired a technical meaning long before the age of Gaudapada. It is found in the Svetasvatara Upanishad and the Gita. In the Sv. Up. Brahman is sharply distinguished from Kāla (काल), Svabhāva (स्वभाव), Niyati (नियति), etc., and these are not considered as the inner nature of Brahman (I. 2; VI. 1). In the Gita also the word Svabhāva occurs:—

न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकास्तु लज्जति प्रभुः ।

न कर्मफलसंशयो स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते ।

V. 14.

"The Lord is not the cause of actions or of the capacity of performing actions among men, or of the connection of action and fruit. But Svabhāva (स्वभाव) only acts (V. 14)."

According to Sankara, Anandagiri, Madhusudana, Sridhara, Dhānapāti and many others, the word Svabhāva (स्वभाव) here means 'maya'.

So the technical meaning of 'Svabhāva' is not the inner nature of the Absolute, but simply 'maya', which, though not organic to the Absolute, yet depends on it for its own evolution in the form of this Universe.

(5)

According to some commentators, the *svabhāva* theory mentioned above is not the conclusion of Gaudapada but the doctrine of some philosophers which has been described by him as a historical fact, and not as his own opinion.

(6)

Our author thinks that his position is supported by Gaudapada, but the fact is quite the reverse. According to Gaudapada this Universe has been evolved from *Maya*, and not only the whole Universe but also *Maya* itself is non-existent. We may quote some of the verses from his Karika:—

(i) Those entities which are said to be produced are not really produced; their production is comparable to *maya* and this *maya* does not exist (संज्ञमाया न विद्यते, IV. 58).

(ii) As is what is seen in dream and illusion (*maya*), or as is a castle in the air, so, say the wise, is this Universe according to the Vedānta. There is no dissolution, no creation; none bound and none under discipline; none desirous of liberation and none liberated (II. 31 and 32).

So this Universe of experience is illusion and this is fully corroborated by Sankaracharya and his school.

(f)

FIVE BRAHMAN.

In the Taittiriya Upanishad there is a dialogue between Varuna and his son Bhrigu, the subject of the discourse being the nature of Brahman. The father said, "That from whence these beings are born, that by which, when born, they live, that into which they enter at their death, try to know that. That is Brahman."

From that the son began to find out the answer. His first answer was—"Annāṁ is Brahman." The father was not satisfied. The son thought again and then found that "Prāṇaṁ is Brahman." That, too, was not found to be satisfactory. Then he thought and found that "Manas is Brahman." That, too, was not final. His next discovery was "Vijñāna is Brahman." His final discovery was "Anandam is Brahman." From these suggestions our author has tried to construct his own philosophy; or it would be more correct to say that he has interpreted the Upanishad so as to suit his own purpose. He looks through the spectacles of Hegelianism and Neo-Hegelianism; and the result is that the Upanishads in his hands have begun to 'hegelise'. Owing to this bias he has not been able to correctly interpret the scripture.

(1)

According to him, "Annāṁ" represents unorganised

matter; *Pranam*, the vegetable world; *Manas*, the animal world; *Vijnana*, man or intellectual level, and *Anandam*, the blissful state.

He writes—“*Annam* is used as equivalent to matter. See the Vedanta Sūtras, Adhyaya III; Pada I; Sūtras XII and XIII. Vidyaranya, referring to a Chhandogya passage, says: ‘Hereby *Annam* is meant Earth or matter’” (p. 415).

The reference is not to Adhyaya III but to Adhyaya II; not to pada I but to pada III. The interpretation of the word *Annam*, referred to by the author, was originally given not by Vidyaranya but by Badarayana and Sankara. It was borrowed by Bharatitirtha in his *Vaiyasika Nyayamala*—the very language of which was quoted by Sayana (or Vidyaranya) in his *Bhashya* on the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*. Our author has failed to grasp the meaning of the interpretation.

The Sūtra II. 3. 12 refers to a Chhandogya passage (VI. 2. 4). There it is said that “*Annam*” was produced from water. According to the author of the Vedanta Sūtras and all the commentators, the word there means *Prithivi* (‘Earth’). One of the reasons cited by the commentators is this:—

According to the *Taittiriya Upanishad* *Prithivi* sprang from water. According to the *Chhandogya Upanishad* “*Annam*” sprang from water. Those who wish to harmonise different Upanishads must conclude that the “*Annam*” of the Ch. Up. = *Prithivi* of the *Taittiriya*. But does it follow that “*Annam*” of the *Tait.* Up. also would mean *Prithivi* or that *Annam* in every place must mean *Prithivi*? Were it so, every man would starve.

We quote below the passage of the *Tait.* Up. referred to:—

From that self sprang *Akasa*, from *Akasa* *Vayu*, from *Vayu* *Agni*, from *Agni* water, from water *Prithivi*, from *Prithivi* herbs, from herbs ‘*retah*’, from ‘*retah*’ man. Man is thus अन्नरसमयः ‘*Annarasamayah*’, i. e., made of the essence of *Annam* (II. 1).

No one can say that here ‘*Annam*’ means *Prithivi* (Earth or matter). *Annam* is produced from herbs and herbs from *Prithivi*. So *Annam* and *Prithivi* cannot mean the same thing. The second and the third chapters of the *Tait.* Up. treat of the so-called five sheaths, one of these sheaths being that of *Annam*. Our author has taken the word ‘*Annam*’ and his texts from these two chapters. As there *Annam* and *Prithivi* are not synonymous, his reasoning and conclusion are vitiated.

Our conclusion is strengthened by the following fact also. In the 2nd chapter of the *Tait.* Up. the self is successively called

- (i) *Annamaya* (made of *Anna*)
- (ii) *Pranamaya* (made of *Prana*)
- (iii) *Manomaya* (made of *Manas*)
- (iv) *Vijnanamaya* (made of *Vijnana*)
- (v) *Anandamaya* (made of *Ananda*)

The subject of the 2nd and the 3rd chapters is the same but is treated from different standpoints. The 2nd chapter is really the key to the 3rd chapter. Without the former the truth of the latter cannot be properly understood. In the second chapter, the self is said to be ‘*annamaya*’ and the different parts of the physical body are described to be the parts of the ‘*Annamaya*’ self. From this it is evident that the

self is identified with the physical body. It is called ‘*Annamaya*’, because without “*Annam*” the body cannot live. Here ‘*Annam*’ must mean “food”.

(2)

Then “*Prana*” is considered to be the essence of the self. Our author has identified “*Prana*” with the vegetable world and has translated the word by “life”. In Sanskrit we have two words—*Jivana* (जीवन) and *Prana* (प्राण), both of which are translated by the word “life” and our author has been misled by the translation. ‘*Jivana*’ and ‘*Prana*’ do not convey the same meaning, ‘*Jivana*’ is wider than ‘*Prana*’. Both plants and animals have ‘*Jivana*’, but only animals have ‘*Prana*’. Literally ‘*Prana*’ should be translated by “breath”. According to the ancients the plants did not breathe, but as they had “*Jivana*” they were sometimes called “*Jiva*” (*Chhand.* Up., VI. 11).

In the *Aitareya Aranyaka* a distinction has been made between (i) *Oshadhi-Yanaspati* (ओषधिवनस्पति herbs and trees) and (ii) *Pranabhrit* (प्राणभृत्) = those having *Prana*, (breath) i. e., men and animals, etc. (II. 3. 2).

This conclusion is corroborated by the description of *Prana* given in the *Taitti.* Up., II. 2. There *Prana*, *Vyana*, and *Apana* are described to be the limbs of the *Pranamaya* self. These are characteristics of men, animals, birds, etc. And can never be referred to the vegetable world, as our author asserts.

(3)

According to him, ‘*Manas*’ refers to the perceptual consciousness which is a characteristic of the animal mind. Here also he commits a mistake. In the corresponding portion of the 2nd *valli* of the same Upanishad (II. 3), *Yajus*, *Rik*, *Saman*, *Adesa*, and *Atharvangirasa* are described to be the limbs of “*Manas*”. Can an animal compose, understand, learn by heart, or recite the *Vedas* or perform sacrifices? When that is not the case, ‘*Manas*’ can never represent the animal world. It must refer to the human mind, and especially to that phase of the human mind which we call desire, attention, determination and volition.

(4)

What he says about ‘*Vijnana*’ is substantially true.

(5)

The last stage is ‘*Anandam*’. Our author’s exposition is rather vague. It really refers to the emotional aspect of the mind. This is proved by the fact that *priyam*, *moda*, *pramoda* and *ananda* are considered to be the limbs of the ‘*Anandamaya*’ self.

According to the author “self-forgetfulness characterises the *Ananda* (bliss) condition” (p. 437).

As far as this Upanishad is concerned, this is not true. We quote below what the *Tait.* Up. says about the blissful condition, in its concluding sections:—

“Having as much food as he likes, and as many forms as he likes, he sits down singing this ‘*Saman*’ ‘*Havu ! havu ! havu !*, I am food, I am food, I am food ! I am the eater of food, I am the eater of food, I am the eater of food ! I am the poet. I am the

first born of the Right (ऋत Rita). Before the Devas, I was in the centre of all that is immortal. He who gives me away, he alone preserves me: he who eats food, I eat as food. I overcome the whole world,—I endowed with golden light" (III. 10, 5, 6).

It is not self-forgetfulness but self-exaltation. The Rishi has not been able to reach that stage of emotion which is characterised by self-forgetfulness.

So we see our author's exposition of the Tait. Up. is biased and unreliable.

(g).

MORALITY.

According to the author the Vedantic morality is a ceaseless growth (p. 449) and morality is the life of a soul (p. 441).

A greater mistake could not have been made. According to the highest Vedantic ideal, morality is a transitory stage and is transcended in a higher life. To the saint both virtue and vice belong to the same category. "He does not distress himself with the thought 'Why did I not do what is good? Why did I do what is bad?'" (Tait. Up. II. 9). "He shakes off both good and evil (दुष्कृपादि)" (Mund. III. 1. 3; Mait. Up. VI. 18). "He kills all actions good and bad (Subhasubham शुभाशुभम्)."

According to the Gita, too, actions both good and bad are fetters (IX, 28) and should be abandoned (XII. 17).

That morality is a passing phase of the so-called life of the self is also proved from the fact that Sushupti (सुषुप्ति dreamless sleep) is the very nature of Brahman. Brih. Upanishad distinctly says that in that state—

"A father is not a father, a mother not a mother... He is not followed by good, not followed by evil, for he has then overcome all the sorrows of the heart" (IV. 3. 22).

This condition is considered by Yajnavalkya to be the highest state or the highest world or the Brahmalokah (ब्रह्मलोकः).

In another place the Rishi says—"He does not become greater by good works nor smaller by evil works" (IV. 4. 22).

In fact the self is always perfect—above everything, above even morality.

(h)

ENVIRONMENT.

According to our author, "The world glows with God" (p. 432). "Self and not-self do not run counter to each other. They are no rivals, rather do the two help each other in fulfilling the mission of the divine. They are co-operating and not conflicting elements in the whole" (p. 432). "It is unnecessary for man to tear himself away from his environment" (p. 432). "The antithesis between the self and not-self is resolved in the Vedanta philosophy and the two are reconciled" (p. 431). Then the author quotes a sentence from the Mait. Up. (VI. 10) which we have discussed elsewhere.

Here is another misreading of facts. With the solitary exception of the Isa Upanishad, the tendency

and even the explicit doctrine of all the classical Upanishads are to renounce the world. Even the Maitrayana Upanishad on which our author takes his stand is for renouncing the world. Raja Brihad-ratha renounced the world and described its abominableness to the Saint Sakatayana who was well pleased (supritah सप्रोतः) on hearing it. According to this Upanishad we must rise from the body and must be freed from all sensible objects (II. 2; IV. 4), must turn away our eyes from all objects of sense (VI. 1).

In one place we find the following passage:—

"He who does not touch the objects of the senses when they intrude on him, as no one would touch women intruding into an empty house, he is an ascetic, a Yogin, a performer of self-sacrifice" (VI. 10).

This is the ideal state according to this Upanishad.

The doctrine of salvation according to the Mait. Up. is very important. It is Kevalatvam (केवलत्वम्) aloofness or aloneness (VI. 21). This idea is borrowed from the Samkhya philosophy. Purusha is altogether different from Prakriti. Their apparent co-operation is what is called bondage; and complete detachment is salvation. To express this idea, the word Kevalatvam (केवलत्वम्) has been used in the Samkhya system and this ideal has been incorporated in the Maitr. Upanishad.

In other Upanishads also we find the same idea. In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, Yajnavalkya says:—When Brahmanas know that self and have risen above the desire for sons, wealth and worlds, they wander about as mendicants (III. 5).

In another section, the same Rishi says:—"Wishing for that world only, mendicants leave their homes. Knowing this, the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said, we who have this self and this world of Brahman? And they having risen above the desire for sons, wealth and worlds, wander about as mendicants" (IV. 4. 22).

The state of a house-holder is considered to be inferior to that of forest-dwellers. The former goes after death by the path of Pitriyana (पितृयान) and has to come back to this earth again and again. But the latter goes by the path of Devayana (देवयान) and obtains salvation and never comes back (Chhand. Up., V. 10; Br. Up., VI. 2. 15, 16).

From whatever point we start, we arrive at the same conclusion, viz.:—

The self and this world run counter to each other and if we wish to obtain salvation we must tear ourselves from this world.

This is the doctrine of the Upanishad.

Our author has misunderstood and misinterpreted even the fundamental principles of the Upanishads and the Vedanta Philosophy. But he is better informed outside Hindu Philosophy.

Our review has run to an inordinate length and we must stop here.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

ON THE INDO-SCYTHIAN DYNASTIES AND THEIR PLACE
IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILISATION

BY STEN KONOW, PROFESSOR IN THE KRISTIANIA UNIVERSITY, NORWAY.

It is a well-known fact that foreign tribes, usually called Indo-Scythian, invaded parts of India and founded more or less extended kingdoms in the centuries preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era. Saka rulers are known to have held sway in Surāshtra and Mālva, in Mathurā and Taxila, and the so-called Kushāna dynasty ruled over a wide territory in Northern India. We know the names and the titles of a long series of Saka and Kushāna rulers, and we learn from old Chinese literature that the Sakas as well as the Kushānas came to India from Central Asia. We do not, however, know what kind of people they were, to which race or races they belonged, or what sort of language they spoke before they became Indianised in India, nor has any serious attempt been made at defining the role these foreign rulers may have played in the development of Indian civilisation.

The various questions connected with the so-called Indo-Scythians have, however, been discussed with keen interest by many learned scholars, and it has long been a matter of regret that our knowledge about them is so scanty. In the last few years much new material has been brought to light, and it may perhaps be worth while to make some indications about the results of modern research in the Modern Review, though it is not possible to solve all difficulties and give a complete account of Indo-Scythian history.

In Europe people began to take an interest in these tribes at an early date, and ancient Greek and Latin authors probably knew a good deal about them. They tell us that they made an end to Greek rule in Bactria, but only scanty fragments have been preserved of their accounts about the tribes themselves and their history.

Strabo mentions some nomadic tribes who were, he says, the most famous of those who took Bactria from the Greek: the Asioi, the Pasianoi, the Tokharoi and the Sakaranloi, and he adds that they came from the country beyond the Iaxartes, in the direction of the Sakas and Sogdiana.

The Latin historian Pompeius Trogus, who lived in the times of the emperor Augustus, has apparently given a fuller account of Indo-Scythian history, but his work has been lost, and we only know, from a later author, the principal contents of his treatise. We learn that, in the 41st book of his history, he dealt with the state of things in Bactria, where Diodotos founded an empire in the third century B. C.*

He then went on to describe how Diodotos had to fight Scythian tribes, the Sarancae and Asiani, who finally conquered Bactria and Sogdiana.†

It has usually been assumed that Strabo and Trogus have the same facts in mind, and Strabo's Asioi have been identified with the Asiani of Trogus, Trogus' Sarancae with Strabo's Sakaranloi. Strabo's Tokharoi are further mentioned by Trogus who goes on to describe how the Asiani were, or became, the kings of the Tochari, and how the Saraucae were annihilated.‡

More information can be gleaned from Chinese sources. An old people called Ta-hia seems to have been settled in Kansu in the oldest period of Chinese history as the neighbours of the Chinese. They are repeatedly mentioned as living on the border of the desert. Later on we hear of

* In Bactrianis autem rebus ut a Diodoto rege constitutum imperium est.

† Deinde quo repugnante Scythicae gentes Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupaverunt et Sogdianos.

‡ Reges Tocharorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum.

another people, the Yüe-chi, in north-western Kansu. The two tribes cannot have been identical. While the Ta-hia seem to have been peaceful traders, the Yüe-chi were apparently a vigorous warlike race.

In the course of time wild barbaric tribes pushed forward and separated the Chinese from their old neighbours, and when we again hear of them, they are apparently settled at a considerable distance from the Chinese empire.

In the year 176 B.C. Moduk, the king of the wild Hiung-nu, sends a message to the Chinese emperor and informs him of the fact that he has subjugated the Yüe-chi and other neighbouring tribes. The bulk of the Yüe-chi are said to have left their homes and wandered westward, along the southern slopes of Tian-shan. Here they came into contact with a tribe, whom the Chinese call Sai-wang, i.e., Saka-lords, whose country they occupied. The Sai-wang migrated towards the south and occupied Ki-ping, i.e., parts of Afghanistan and North-western India. The Sai-wang are no doubt the same people which are known in Indian tradition under the designation *Suka-murunda*, *murunda* being a later form of a Saka word *murta*, which has the same meaning as Chinese *wang*, master, lord. In Indian inscriptions and coins it has frequently been translated with the Indian word *svamin*. Etymologically it has perhaps the same meaning as *kshatrapa*, which is an adaptation of the Persian designation *khshathrapāvan*.

We further learn that the Yüe-chi were later on, about 160 B.C., attacked by another tribe, the so-called Wu-san. They therefore continued their wanderings towards the west, till they reached Bactria, where the Ta-hia were now settled. The Ta-hia were inferior soldiers, and the Yüe-chi settled down as masters in their country.

The Chinese do not identify the Ta-hia of Bactria with their old neighbours in Kansu. That has, however, been done by modern scholars such as Marquart and Franke, and I have no doubt that they are right in doing so. The Ta-hia of Bactria were a peaceful people of traders, and the

same seems to have been the case with the Ta-hia of Kansu. Franke is perhaps also right in thinking that the connection between China and the west was, in ancient time, negotiated by the Ta-hia, wherefore, the ancient Chinese had no direct knowledge of western countries.*

The Ta-hia of Bactria were, as we have seen, subjugated by the Yüe-chi. This event has long ago been compared with the accounts given by Greek and Latin authors of the Scythian tribes that replaced the Greek in Bactria. The Yüe-chi have usually been identified with the Tochari. Some scholars are, however, of the opinion that the Chinese Ta-hia correspond to the Tokharians, the people who gave their name to Tokharistan. And I feel confident that this identification is correct. Muhammedan authors describe the inhabitants of Tokharistan as an unwarlike race, just as the Chinese characterise the Ta-hia. In the case of both tribes we hear that there was no firm political consolidation but a series of small states or provinces without any strong central government. Moreover the Chinese would in older times naturally transcribe a name such as Tokhara with Ta-hia, because they usually avoided using more than two signs in re-producing foreign names. Later on, when they began to be more careful in their rendering of such words, we find another fuller transliteration Tu-ho-lo.

If now the Ta-hia were the same people as the Tochari, Tokharoi of classical authors, we should probably compare the Chinese account of the Yüe-chi conquest of the Ta-hia country with Trogus' remark according to which the Asiani were or became the kings of the Tochari, and identify the Yüe-chi with the Asioi or Asiani of classical authors.

So far it would be possible to proceed by comparing the classical fragments with the Chinese records. But we should not be in a position to say anything about the nationality or race of these Scythian peoples. But now we have got new information from another quarter. The modern explorations of Central Asia have

* cf. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 117 ff.

brought to light a series of facts which have an immediate bearing on the Indo-Scythian problems.

It is a well-known fact that excavations and research in Chinese Turkistan have revealed the existence of ancient towns and villages in localities where, at the present day, the sand of the desert has rendered it impossible for human beings to live. Numerous finds have shown that the old inhabitants of these places were no barbarians, but were in the possession of a highly developed civilisation. Sculptors and painters exercised their craft, with great skill and ability, and the people were in possession of a rich literature. The greater part of the finds belongs to the sphere of Indian civilisation, other ones point to Persia, and there is further a strong influence of Chinese ideas and institutions. Even Christian communities can be shown to have flourished there at an early date.

Manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts are very numerous among the antiquities brought to light in Chinese Turkistan. If we bear in mind that so many of the finds point in the direction of India, we shall not wonder at the frequency with which Sanskrit has been used in these remains. Several important Sanskrit works, which seem to have disappeared in India, have been brought to light in the sand-desert, where they have been remarkably well preserved. The oldest Sanskrit manuscripts in existence have been found in Turkistan. In addition to Sanskrit we find an ancient vernacular, hailing from North-western India, and this Indian tongue has evidently been used as the common language of administration during the first centuries after Christ all over the southern part of Chinese Turkistan. From this fact we can gauge the extent of Indian influence on the civilisation of Central Asia.

It is further a consequence of the general state of things that we find numerous remains written in Chinese, Tibetan and Turkish languages, and also such when Persian dialects have been used. The country is situated between China, Tibet, India and Persia, and it is, at the

present day inhabited by Turkish tribes, who have been settled in that neighbourhood so long as we can trace their history. Its importance for international trade was considerable and trade interests can also be traced in the old remains.

It was, on the other hand, something of a sensation that was created when manuscripts and documents were discovered in languages which were up till then quite unknown, but which had evidently replaced the Indian vernacular as the languages of public administration. The only natural inference would be that these forms of speech had once been the national languages of Eastern Turkistan.

In the beginning the transliteration and interpretation of such remains presented considerable difficulties. Gradually, however, we have learnt to read them, and at the present day there cannot be any doubt about their general character. There are two such new languages, one which apparently belonged to the north-eastern corner of Turkistan, and another which seems to have been spoken all over the south. And both languages belong to the Indo-European family, what few people would have suspected.

The north-eastern language occupies a somewhat independent position within the family, with certain points of similarity with the Kelto-Italian forms of speech. The Swedish scholar Charpentice has therefore tried to show that it was the tongue of an old Keltic tribe. His arguments are, however, very much removed from being convincing, and his theory need not detain us in the present connection. What is of interest to us is that we know how this language was named: the Ugurs called it *tokhri*, i.e., Tokharian, the language of the Tokharians, and in the manuscripts themselves it is designated as *ārshi*, and this *ārshi* has been identified with the Asioi of Strabo, the Asiani of Trogus. In other words we have here recovered the language spoken by the old Tokharians, and that language was an Indo-European form of speech.

The southern language is an Iranian dialect, related to Middle-Persian and, more especially, to that form of speech

from which the modern tongues of the Pamirs are descended. It has variously been designated as North-Aryan (Lenmann), East-Iranian (Pelliot) and Khotani, i. e., the language of the Khotan Oasis. None of these names is, however, quite appropriate; North-Aryan, because such a designation leads us to think that it is not Iranian; East-Iranian, because this term has also been used to denote the language of the Avesta, and Khotani, because the dialect was spoken over a much wider area than the Khotan Oasis. For our present purposes it is, however, of no importance which name we choose.

It follows from the state of things revealed by the literary remains found in Eastern Turkistan that the tribe which classical authors called Tokharoi or Tochari spoke an Indo-European language and probably therefore were of Indo-European race. We have seen that the Ta-hia, whom we have identified with the Tokharoi, were once settled in Kanen and on the outskirts of the Central Asian desert, and here the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-tsang speaks of old Tu-ho-lo, i. e., the ancient home of the Tokharians, between Niya and Cherchen, on the southern border of the Takla Makan desert. In the southern part of Eastern Turkistan, however, there are no remains of the Tokhri, i. e., Tokharian language, which seems to have been spoken in the north-eastern corner of the country. In the south the Tokharians have accordingly, so far as we can see, been replaced by the tribes who used the Iranian dialect just mentioned. In my opinion it was a dynasty of this tribe that came to rule over the Tokharians and led them on their wanderings. These Iranian rulers were the Asioi or Asiani mentioned by Strabo and Trogus, and their name or title is preserved in the designation *ārshi* found in Tokharian texts. It cannot be objected that *ārshi* certainly denotes the language of the Tokharians and not the speech of the Iranian tribe of the south, whom I identify with the Asioi, and that we should consequently have to assume that the Asioi or Asiani were originally Tokharians. The state of things, in my

opinion, exactly the same as in Modern France and Russia. French is not the tongue of the German tribe who have given their name to the language, and Russian is not a Swedish dialect though the ancient Ros Russians were Swedes.

In this place I shall only mention the principal line of argument which have led me to this conclusion.

We know that the establishment of the Yüe-chi as rulers over the Ta-hia, i. e., Tokharians, of Bactria led to important consequences for the subsequent history of India. One of the Bactrian clans, which the Chinese called Kuei-shuang, conquered the other clans and started on an expedition of conquest. The result was the foundation of an empire in Afghanistan and India, under a dynasty which the Indians called Kushāna, Kushāna being no doubt the same word which the Chinese have made into Kuei-shuang. The Kushāna rulers held sway in Northern India down till the fourth century A. D., and here they apparently became the successors of the Sakas and carried on the work begun by them.

Some of these Kushāna rulers in their coin legends use a form of speech which is, to all practical purposes, identical with the Iranian tongue of Southern Turkistan, where we also find the same royal titles as are used by the Kushānas and even the name Kushāna itself. I am unable to see how we can avoid the inference that the conquest of India that started from the country of the Tokharians in Bactria, was effected by Iranian chiefs of the same race which was once settled in Southern Turkistan, and which I, for various reasons, identify with the Yüe-chi of the Chinese. If the Tokharians had themselves furnished the leaders of the expedition, we would fail to understand why they did not make use of their own language but of the Iranian dialect of Southern Turkistan, in their coin legends. Moreover, everything that we learn about the Tokharians is to the effect that they were peaceful traders and incapable of such military efforts as a big conquest. The Tokharians or, as the Indians say, the Tukhāras, are, it is true, mentioned in

Indian literature, never, however, in connection with the Kushānas and frequently so that we must think not of warriors, but of tradesmen, who, among other goods, brought Chinese silk to India. Occasionally also the word *Tukhāra* is used to denote the Turks of Tokharistan.

So far as we can judge, especially from Chinese sources, the role played by the Tokharians in history is mainly limited to trade and the interests of trade. As merchants and business-people they have probably been instrumental in the interchange of ideas and civilisation between the different nations with whom they traded. Politically, on the other hand, they apparently owe their position in India and the Indian borderlands to the circumstance that they came under the sway of strong Iranian princes.

The Indo-Scythian rulers of India and the Indian borderlands, therefore, were probably Iranians. We seem to be able to prove this in the case of the Kushānas, but the same was the case with the Sakas, whose language seems to have been closely related to that of the Kushānas. Language is not, of course, an absolute proof of race, and the hosts that invaded India under the leadership of Sakas and Kushānas were probably not a uniform people but contained elements of different origin. But the Scythian conquest of India can safely be characterised as an Iranian conquest.

These Iranian conquerors have played a role in the history of civilisation of which we can only see the mere outlines. They do not seem to have developed a civilisation of their own, but they freely borrowed from the different nations they came into contact with. It is quite characteristic of their general attitude towards foreign civilisations that one of the Kushāna rulers, in the famous *Ara* inscription, wears the Chinese title "Son of Heaven," *devaputra*, the Persian "king of kings," *rājātirāja*, and the Roman *Kaisara*. They kept their ears and eyes open and borrowed from all sides. Above all, however, they were strongly influenced by Indian civilisation, as has been the case with all foreign peoples who entered

ancient India, be they Persians, Greek or even Germanic adventurers. The Tocharian traders who lived under Indo-Scythian rule may have been instrumental at this general adaptation and mingling of foreign civilisations, but it is impossible to arrive at certain results in that respect. At all events the Indo-Scythian period became a fertile time in Indian history.

In Central India Saka rulers resided in Ujjayini, and Ujjayini became one of the principal places wherefrom Greek science and Greek ideas were able to penetrate into India. Here it was that Greek astronomy was transplanted into Indian soil, recast and rearranged by the Indians, and developed into the scientific Indian astronomy.

Farther to the north, Scythian rulers took up the work inaugurated by Greek princes, to introduce Greek art into India. It is a well known fact how great an influence this mingling of Greek technics and Indian ideas has exercised on the development of art in Asia. Here as in other spheres where India has borrowed from Europe, it is noticeable that the spirit, the inspiration is Indian, even in such works as are due to Greek artists. Through the Greek element which was here introduced, however, some of the narrow fetters that tradition had created, were removed, and the development became richer and fuller.

Also in other respects it is possible to observe how the interchange of impulses during the Indo-Scythian period was instrumental in relaxing the traditional bonds and stirring up the educated society. Intellectual life became less one-sided and more fertile. It is scarcely a mere accident that the author of the oldest Indian *mahākāvya* which has come down to our times, the famous *Asvaghosha*, lived at the court of the most famous amongst the Kushāna kings. *Asvaghosha* is also the oldest known Indian playwright, and it is very probable that the higher Indian drama came into existence in the country ruled over by Indo-Scythian princes. Its roots are to be found in popular representations of the lower stage, which were now raised into

the sphere of higher literature. It is allowed to doubt that such would have been the case without that greater activity and movement which resulted from the intermixture with foreign elements under the rule of the Indo-Scythians. Nay, we might even doubt whether poets like Bhāsa and Kālidāsa would have been able to write their immortal works in classical Sanskrit without that intellectual agitation which released poetry from the bondage of theology under Indo-Scythian rule.

Indian civilisation, however, went on developing under Indian inspiration, and after a few centuries every trace of foreign influence seemed to have disappeared. But it had got a wider outlook, a freer view. The Indo-Scythians had given a strong impulse to the development, they had not ruled in vain.

They themselves became Indianised, they learnt to think and to feel like their Indian subjects, and one of the Kushāna kings, the famous Kanishka is one of the foremost protectors of Indian Buddhism. In adapting themselves to Indian ideas and Indian notions, they further became instrumental in spreading civilisation to their old home in Central Asia. The connection with Turkistan was not severed, and even from far-away China attempts were soon made at entering into relations with the powerful Indian rulers. The results are easily seen.

Buddhism, the new religion of the Scythian conquerors, spread from their courts into Chinese Turkistan and farther, at a very early date, into China. The whole of Eastern Turkistan was for a long time Buddhist, and the first information about Buddhism came to China about the times of Christ. It is not necessary to say anything about the great influence exercised by Indian Buddhism on Chinese civilisation. The facts are too well known. We should only remember that the Buddhist propaganda in the east took place through the instrumentality of the Indo-Scythians.

In the wake of Buddhism Indian ideas and Indian institutions found their way into Chinese Turkistan. An Indian dialect became the language of government, and

Indian political methods mingled with Chinese ideas and brought about a system through which the distant country could be well and effectively ruled.

In the Buddhist monasteries literature and intellectual research flourished, and we find a rich development of the fine arts. Central Asian civilisation has never reached such a high standard as in the Buddhist period. As the communication with the neighbouring countries became secured, trade increased, and the civilisations of the East and the West could meet and influence each other. In most cases we have no sufficient information for drawing up the outlines of the development, in one sphere, however, we have sufficient knowledge for appreciating the intellectual activity displayed in the ancient home of the Indo-Scythian tribes.

Through Buddhism the Greco-Indian art found its way into Central Asia and farther into China, where Buddhist missionaries had paved the way. Considerable remains of Buddhist art have been brought to light in Chinese Turkistan, and everything points to the conclusion that the country owes its artistic refinement to the wave of Indian civilisation which came as a consequence of the introduction of Buddhism. In technical details this art still points back to the workshops of Greek painters and sculptors. The inspiration, on the other hand, is Indian. Chinese taste gradually influences the execution of the works of art, but the Indian stamp is never quite effaced.

Without the intervention of the Indo-Scythians this rich development of the fine arts would not have been possible. And art-experts go still further. They tell us that the flourishing Chinese art in the T'ang period is largely indebted to the Indo-Greek current which the Indo-Scythians were instrumental in conducting into the oases of Central Asia.

There are even indications which tend to show that the Buddhist art introduced in the Indo-Scythian period has exercised an influence on the artistic development in Europe. In Turkistan the civilisations of India, Persia and China came into contact with old Christian communities

and there was a wide scope for mutual interchange of ideas and ideals. We are as yet not in a position to decide which role Eastern Turkistan has played in spreading Asiatic, especially Indian, folklore to Europe. We know that numerous popular tales of Indian origin have found their way into every corner of Europe. Some of them have been transplanted through literature, and it is a well-known fact that great Indian collections of such stories have been translated from language to language. Many of them, however, have wandered from mouth to mouth, till they are now told as national tales in every European country. We can safely infer that the lively trade that passed through Central Asia has been largely instrumental in transplanting such stories. The same is perhaps the case with artistic and decorative details in European architecture, wood-carving, weaving and so forth, which seem to point to Asia as their origin. And it is almost certain that Christian art is to some extent indebted to the Buddhist art of Central Asia.

I shall not, however, make any attempt at going further into details. Our knowledge of the Indo-Scythian period and its civilisation is still too limited. It will be sufficient to sum up what we really know at the present time.

We know that great migration took place in Central Asia in the last centuries preceding the Christian era and continued for some centuries. The result was a dislocation of several ancient tribes and important political changes. Central Asian tribes settled down in the Indian borderlands and founded kingdoms and empires there and in India itself. In India, they came under the spell of Indian civilisation but they were also influenced from other sources, from Persia, from Greece and from China. And they became instrumental in bringing these various civilisations to bear upon each other. In this way their new home in India came into contact with foreign countries more than had formerly been the case. The influx of new ideas contributed to widen the scope of intellectual activity and to break the fetters of traditionalism, so that the in-

tellectual and artistic activity of the common people was elevated into the rank of higher civilisation. The development became freer and quicker.

These Central Asian invaders gradually became mighty rulers, who tried to extend their influence into their old home and into the Chinese empire. In this way Indian thought and Indian ideas, as also the new Indian art, spread over Central and Eastern Asia and furthered the intellectual development.

These Scythian tribes have accordingly played a role in the history of human civilisation. Not as creative geniuses through their own ideas or intellectual activity, but because they brought about an interchange of ideas between different Asiatic countries and between Asia and Europe, and also because they opened up new land for higher civilisation. It is not only through its own independent contributions that a people can advance the development of mankind. Human progress is also indebted to those who are instrumental in propagating the civilisation developed by other nations and in transplanting ideas and institutions from people to people. That is the mission of the Indo-Scythians in the world's history.

Here I might stop. It is of no consequence to which race those old princes and chiefs belonged. Their importance remain the same whether they are of Semitic, of Mongolian or of Indo-European origin. I cannot, however, help being pleased to know that the Indo-Scythians have sprung from the same stock as most European peoples and our cousins in India and Persia. Everybody knows how largely human progress is indebted to the intellectual work done by the Semitic and Hamitic nations. Indo-European peoples have, however, also had their large share in the development. That was not only the case in India, whose ancient civilisation has always received the admiring attention which it so well deserves, or in Persia whose strong rulers made Persian refinement and Persian methods respected all over the ancient world, but also elsewhere. Whether the Hittites were Indo-Europeans, I know not, but they were certainly to some

extent acquainted with Aryan thought and Aryan institutions. And Aryan chiefs and Aryan gods are repeatedly met with in ancient history in such countries where we are accustomed to look on the civilisation as purely Semitic. And now the

explorations in Central Asia have shown that Indo-European tribes were also in later times largely instrumental in advancing the case of the world's intellectual and artistic development.

THE INDIAN RAILWAY COMMITTEE

THE following important note has been received from Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasada, who is an authority on the subject, and whose forthcoming work on Indian Railways will show how tremendous have been the losses India has suffered in the past by the employment of British companies. It deals with all classes of Indian railways from the year 1848-49 to 1918-19. Its special feature is that it presents the facts and figures from the Indian point of view. With his intimate knowledge of the Railways from the inside for the past 44 years he has been able to bring out facts which have been hitherto lying in the obscure corners of official publications. It will give full particulars of the constitution of the Railway Companies and of the Railways of the Indian States.

"*The Citizen* of 29th January wrote 'that the witnesses who pleaded for the State-management had to pass a severe ordeal and give their experience of State-managed railways, while those who were for Company management were hardly put to the test and asked to substantiate their position'; but my impression after giving my oral evidence on the 9th February at Bombay was that the Committee did not care to have useful information to solve the questions at issue.

"On the 31st of December last, I sent to the Committee a written memorandum in answer to their questionnaire setting forth my reasons in favour of State management. A fortnight later I wrote to the Committee that I was fully prepared to substantiate every one of the points

brought out in my memorandum. Accordingly on the 9th February, when I went before the Committee, I took two large bundles of papers containing facts and figures relating to the railways in India. My intention was to very largely supplement the abstract points given in my written statement, but I was very much disappointed, as the President disposed of me by putting a few questions on minor points. It is quite possible the Committee were satisfied with my written arguments, and I take it that they were so satisfied, because they did not raise any question on the broad statements made in my written memorandum.

"One or two small remarks made by some of the European members left the impression in my mind that they favoured Company management. In my written statement, I had stated that the high proportion of the maximum salary to the minimum on the Indian State Railways is most remarkable, that the maximum pay of an Agent is Rs. 3500 per month, while the minimum pay before the war was only Rs. 7, giving the proportion of 500 to 1, against the highest proportion of 22 to 1 on the Continental railways. In this connection, I was asked whether there was any servant at the present time on Rs. 7 per month, and I said that during the recent conference railwaymen I learnt that the J. B. Railway still paid as low as Rs. 6 or 7 per month to some of its servants. Upon this one of the Committee members pointed out, 'that was State management'. My rejoinder, of course, was that I did not

approve of the State management as it was carried on at present. But what is the minimum pay on the majority of the Companies' lines? They pay thousands of their men at the rate of Rs. 13 or 15 per month even now, which gives a proportion of over 233 to 1, against 8 to 1 or 22 to 1 of the Continental countries, during the pre-war days. Does not this show that the salaries of the higher officials in India are pitched too high, without regard to the condition of the masses?

"The President referred me to large rates of salaries in England and America, and I pointed out that the conditions of those countries are quite different to those obtaining in India. The minimum pay of Rs. 7 or 15 per month is not even dreamt of in those countries. I do maintain that the high monthly salaries of thousands of rupees in a country where the minimum wage is so low as Rs 15 a month, are totally unjustifiable. The Conference of Railwaymen have appropriately passed a resolution that in no case should the pay of the Agent or the Head of a Railway Department be more than twenty-five times the lowest pay on the railway.

"Those in authority should bear in mind that the people who are made to pay for the high salaries have to live with the small means they earn on the average. The high rates of America or England are totally inapplicable in India. It is a wonder that the individual officers drawing as much as Rs. 2000 per month, receive increased pay owing to rise in prices; whilst poorer men, justly asking for an adequate increase on that score, are considered unreasonable.

"I would particularly draw the attention of the public to Question No. 27 in the Questionnaire of the Railway Committee, where the net profits of the State-owned and State-managed railways are compared with the State-owned but Company-managed railways. The question, to say the least, is misleading in the extreme. The figures seem to demonstrate the superiority of Company management, while there is no hint as to the varying factors which govern the profits of the two sets of railways. The framer of the

question was evidently unaware of those conditions or has not realized the effects of misdirection which those figures are likely to cause, especially with laymen who are not acquainted with the details of railway working. The question clearly shows the partiality of the framer of the question to Company management.

"It must be clearly borne in mind that railways are instruments of development, not of creating revenue. In this connection I would particularly draw attention to the fact that the State Railways are owned by the Indian people, who have defrayed all charges and losses on account of the railways in the past. The people are therefore entitled to a reasonable service from the railways at no more than the cost of working the railways including the interest on the capital outlay. This principle is generally recognized wherever State Railways have been provided, and ought to be recognized in India. As an instance I would cite the case of the Belgian State Railways. In the original law of 1834 authorising the construction of the first Belgian railway by the Government, all idea of running them for a profit was completely eliminated. According to article 5 of that law, there were three and only three objects to which the income of the railways was to be devoted: first, the payment of interest on the capital invested; second, the liquidation of the bonded indebtedness; and thirdly, supplying of operating expenses and of funds for the general maintenance of the road.

"The late Major Conway Gordon, R. E., Director General of Indian State Railways, who gave evidence on behalf of the Government of India, before the Select Committee of 1884, emphasised the fact that any profits made in the working of State Railways virtually amount to a transit duty or extra taxation, that every rupee taken out of the country by an English company in excess of the normal rate of interest, constitutes practically a direct tax on transit, which must have its effect in checking the export and import trade and on the general development of the country.

"I would particularly draw the atten-

tion of the Committee to the strong feeling prevailing in India, especially at the present moment, against the Company management of the Indian State Railways. I think no Government can afford to ignore such feeling. The railways in the past have been managed with autocratic authority, and the people of India are not likely to consent to that sort of administration in the future. This is the first time that a public enquiry into the working of the railways is being conducted. In all previous enquiries about the railways, Indian opinion was not even invited, it was totally ignored. Now the consciousness of the people will not accept any arbitrary dealings with the vital principle of working the State Railways.

"The case for State management was fully made out during the discussions which took place in the Viceregal Council during the years 1910 to 1918. From the Indian point of view there was no need to appoint the present Committee. The decision of the matter should rest with the Indian Legislature. The action of the Secretary of State in appointing the Committee practically interferes with the business of the Indian Legislature. It is hoped that the Legislature will not agree to the Report of the Committee being considered by the Secretary of State, without previous discussion of the matter in India.

"The Railway Committee are taking evidence which has been tendered largely by the representatives of the Railway companies. The general public in India have not sent a sufficient number of their representatives before the Committee. I would advise every town in India to convene a public meeting and pass resolutions in favour of State management, sending copies of the same to the Railway Committee. I hope the non-co-operationists will not interfere with such meetings of the public.

"In my written statement, I made the following comparison of Indian maximum and minimum salaries with rates found on some of the Continental railways before the last war :—

| | Maximum per Month. Rs. | Minimum per Month. Rs. | Proportion of maximum to minimum. |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Indian State Railways ... | 3,500 | 7 | 500 to 1 |
| French " " ... | 989 | 75 | 21 to 1 |
| Belgian " " ... | 469 | 56 | 8 to 1 |
| Swiss " " ... | 781 | 73 | 11 to 1 |
| German " " ... | 750 | 69 | 11 to 1 |
| Norwegian " " ... | 450 | 55 | 8 to 1 |
| Swedish " " ... | 1,387 | 63 | 22 to 1 |
| Danish " " ... | 900 | 73 | 12 to 1 |

"In reference to this, the President asked me where the figures had been obtained from as he felt very doubtful as to their accuracy, and he desired to know the designation of the Belgian officials whose salaries were given.

"Directly I returned home, I gave him the following particulars :—

That the figures for Belgian State Railways were taken from pages 67-68 of Parliamentary Blue-book 'Cd. 5106' of 1910—'Reports to the Board of Trade on Railways in Belgium, France and Italy.' The designation of the highest administrative officer was 'Inspector of Control and Director of Service.' His maximum salary was given at 9000 francs per annum=750 Fr.=Rs. 469 per month; the lowest pay was 90 Fr.=Rs. 56 per month for a fireman or gas stoker.

"Sir W. M. Ackworth replied that 'the salary given in the blue-book is accurate for the position named, but this position corresponds not to an Agent of an Indian Railway but more nearly to an Assistant Traffic Manager or District Traffic Superintendent.'

"In reply to this I observed that no doubt the salary of 6000 to 9000 francs per annum of the Belgian Inspector of Control and Director of Service corresponds to that of an Assistant Traffic Superintendent of Indian Railways; but in the Parliamentary Blue-book he is shown as the head of the 'Administrative Staff' of the Belgian State Railways. Accordingly I have taken his post for comparison with the Agent of Indian Railways.

"The topmost post of the Belgian Railways is shown to be that of the Railway Councillor, whose position to my mind

corresponds to that of the Hon'ble the Railway Member of the Indian Council, and for this reason I did not compare it with the Agent. The Belgian Railway Councillor's salary shown in the Report is 12,000 to 13,200 francs per annum, which equals to Rs. 625 to Rs. 687½ per month. Even this gives a proportion of 1 to 12 against 1 to 500 in India. But the pay of the Hon'ble the Railway Member of Council in India is much higher than that of the Agent. In my statement I have taken the pays of the administrative, not ministerial, heads for all the countries. I did not take even the pays of the members of the Indian Railway Board, which were Rs. 4000 to Rs. 5000 per month. I gave also the designations of the highest officials of all the Continental countries named and their salaries in their own currency.

"The President has now given me his final answer, assuring me that he never doubted my desire to give the most accurate information in my power. He notes that 'after all, there is no doubt that salaries of men at the top are immensely higher in England than they are on the continent of Europe,' but adds, that 'it is the English standard, not the Continental, that governs the scale for India.' I am sorry I cannot accept this proposition. If the Continental countries can and do find equally good or better officials on lower pay than England does, I see no reason why India should not regulate the salaries of its officials on the Continental system which is based on reason and principle. Even in England the proportion of maximum to minimum is more like the Continental than like the Indian. My point is that the high salaries of thousands of rupees per month for individual officials are not justifiable in India where an ordinary man's wage varies from Rs. 7 to 15 per month.

"Sir William Ackworth does not think that the question of the relation between the highest and the lowest salary is really germane; after all, he thinks, 'a railway coolie or a station master must be paid relatively on the same scale of wage or

salary as the corresponding class of work commands in outside employment.'

"The President of the Railway Committee is inclined to lay down two different standards for fixing the salaries of railwaymen, viz.:—the English standard for the higher officials, and the Indian standard for the subordinates and workmen. It is scientifically wrong to apply two different standards to the same service, and if you proceed on a wrong basis, the result cannot but be wrong. We should not therefore have two standards. If we had them in the past, they were still wrong. A wrong cannot be right. The sooner the wrong is righted the better. The Royal Commission on Public Service favoured equal pay for all officers who do the same work; equal pay should be taken to mean also one standard of basis. Therefore we should have one standard for all. Is the English standard suitable for India? The answer must be 'no', because the economic conditions of the two countries are so different. Then it follows that India should have its own standard according to its own needs and conditions. What bases should govern the salaries and wages in India? There are only two bases, viz.:—(1) the cost of living, of education, etc., and (2) the market value of the service according to merit, demand and supply.

"If you admit the first basis,—the cost of living, then you should admit also that the maxima salaries should be in some relation to the minima. Even in determining the market value of service we generally take into consideration the cost of living, of education, etc. Merit goes with efficiency and efficiency goes with opportunity for training. Supply in India is plentiful but opportunity for training or demonstration of merit is denied to a very large majority of the people.

"Then you cannot ignore the capacity of the people who pay the officials. A people whose average income, according to the most recent announcement in the Legislative Assembly, is Rs. 51 or Rs. 80 per head per annum, should certainly not be made to pay as much as

Rs. 42,000 to a single official. This gives the proportion of 1 to 525.

"If the artificial restrictions against the employment of Indians be removed, and the training grounds be improved and extended, there should be no need for

India to import railway officials. As a matter of fact the railway service has all along been recruited in India, there is no reason why the English standard should be observed for the higher officials."

CHANDRIKA PRASADA.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Orya, Panjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, Periodicals, School and College text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE DECCAN: by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Doctor of the University of Paris, Professor, College, Pondicherry. Translated into English by V. S. Swaminadha Dikshitar, B.A., L.T. Officier d'Academie, Professor of English, Colonial College, Pondicherry. Pondicherry: sold by the author, 6, Dumas Street. 1920. Price: 3 Rupees.

In this volume the author has presented materials for the study of the history of the Deccan, excluding the southernmost kingdoms, from the time of Asoka to that of Pulakesin II. He has made use of the mass of new matter and fresh discussion accumulated since the publication of the Early History of the Dekkan by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts by Dr. Fleet. He has thrown a flood of new light on many obscure problems of Trans-Vindhyan history. His account of the southern campaign of Samudragupta is very valuable. He has disposed of the view that the Gupta conqueror carried his arms to Mahārāshtra and Khandesh. He has assigned to the Vākatakas their proper place in the history of the Deccan. His treatment of the other southern dynasties is also edifying, though it is difficult to accept many of his conclusions. He reiterates the view of Mr. Jayaswal that the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela is dated in the 165th year of the Muriya Kāla, but Mr. Jayaswal has himself given up the reading which was supposed to support that date. The reading of the name of the contemporary king of Magadha (Bahapati) and his identification with Pushyamitra are problematical. The Magadhan contemporary of Kharavela had his capital at Rajagriha,

whereas Pushyamitra held his court at Pataliputra. As regards the Andhau Inscriptions, our author rejects the theory of the conjoint rule of Chashtana and Rudradāman propounded by Professors Bhandarkar and Majumdar, because there is no "cha" after Rudradāman in the text of the inscription, but in his own translation he unhesitatingly makes use not only of "and" but also of the words "grandson" and "great-grandson" no trace of which can be found in the original record. The theory of the conjoint rule of Chashtana and his grandson Rudradāman is supported by the fact that Jayadāman did not live to be Mahākshatrapa and must have predeceased his father (Chashtana), as, unlike Chashtana and Rudradāman, he is called simply a Kshatrapa even in the inscriptions of his descendants. There is nothing to show that in the year 52 (the date of the Andhau Inscriptions) Chashtana, and Rudradāman were ruling anywhere excepting in Kutch. It is not till the year 72 that we find Chashtana's dynasty triumphant all over western India. There is thus no need of crowding the events mentioned on page 29 within five years (between the year 46 the last known date of Nahapana and the year 52 the first known date of Chashtana and Rudradāman). The date 50 A. D. for Kujula Kadphises (p. 32) is itself an assumption, and conclusions based on assumptions seldom carry conviction. It has not yet been proved conclusively that the Taxila date 136 refers to the Vikrama era. The Kanishka of Tibetan and Chinese documents may have been Kanishka of the Ara Inscription dated the year 41, which, if referred to the Śaka era, would give a date in the second century A. D. and accord with Tibetan and Chinese evidence. Our author accepts Sten Konow's conclusions with regard to the impossibility of Kanishka being the

founder of the Saka era, but he ascribes the dates 103, 113, 122 and 136 mentioned on page 33 to the Vikrama era in spite of all that Konow has said on the point. Our author surmises that from 400 to 550 A. D. the Pallava Empire remained divided into two kingdoms, Tondaimandalam in the south with Kānchi for its capital and the present districts of Guntur and Nellore in the north with Tambrāpa, Palakkada, Memmeturā and Dasanapura for capitals. But the evidence of the Chendalur plates which connect Kumāravishnu II. of Kānchi with Karmākarashtira (Nellore), is fatal to this theory. The genealogy given on page 70 is mainly conjectural. Our author attaches too much importance to the Udayendiram grant which, in the opinion of Fleet, cannot be accepted as genuine and as proving anything that is mentioned in it. The author's attribution of the Nachna stone inscription to Prithivisena II. is improbable in view of the fact that from the time of Prithivisena II.'s great grandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A. D. 528 the princes of Dabhalā which intervened between Nachna and the Vakātaka territory, owned the sway of the Gupta Empire. Now as Vyāghra of the Nachna record acknowledges the supremacy of the Vakātaka Prithivisena, this Prithivisena can only be Prithivi-Sena I. who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II., and not Prithivisena II. during whose rule the Guptas and not the Vakātakas were the acknowledged suzerains of the Central Provinces as we know from the Parivrajaka records. The Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta refers to Samudragupta's victory over Vyāghrarāja of Mahākantara; it is probable that this Vyāghrarāja is identical with the Vyāghra of the Nachna inscription whose synchronism with Samudragupta is proved by the fact that his overlord's son Rudrasena II. was a contemporary of Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II.

It is impossible to do justice to Professor Jouveau Dubreuil's learned work in a short review. The book deserves to be studied by all students of ancient Indian history.

"A PEEP INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA": by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., K.C.I.E., etc. with a Preface by H. G. Rawlinson, Principal, Karnatak College, Dharwar. Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1920.

Every student of ancient Indian history will welcome the publication of a reprint of the "Peep" which, as Dr. Smith observed long ago, is "the best short account of the early history of India." The plan and scope of this monumental work have been explained fully in the Preface written by Principal Rawlinson, and little more need be said by way of introduction. We only beg to draw the attention of the publishers

to the fact that the essay is 21 years old, and during this period numerous discoveries have been made, e. g., Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown (*Indian Antiquary*, 1914, P. 155) that the real name of the king mentioned as Sakasena on page 36 is Śrī Sata. He has also shown that the interpretation of the Sahasram Rūpnāth edict given on page 15 cannot be upheld (*Indian Antiquary*, 1912, P. 170). The same scholar has pointed out the real significance of the word Petenika mentioned on page 14 (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, P. 80). Prof. Beloch and Dr. Hultzsch have suggested that Alikasudara (P. 14.) was Alexander of Corinth not of Epirus. The statement (P. 1) that "India unfortunately has no written history" requires to be modified in view of the existence of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, no reference to which is made in the Introduction. The remarks on the Buddhist Council (P. 19) also require modification in view of the discovery of the Sarnath edict. As to the princes called Sakas on page 24 et seq., we should remember that some of them bear Parthian names and, as Dr. Thomas observed, any discrimination between those who are Sakas and those who belong to the Pahlava group is hardly possible. The coin described on page 33 as a joint type of Vonones and Azes, is really a coin of Maues (Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore p. 93). As to the Kushan chronology we need not add anything to what has been said by Mr. Rawlinson in the Preface.

There are a few misprints, e. g., Kathā Upanishad on page 7 would be Katha (कठ) Upanishad; akasa on page 8 would be akasa (आकाश), ajivakdi on page 18 would be ajivika. We need not multiply instances.

The above remarks do not take away from the merit of the publication as a whole. We only desire to find future editions to be free from the shortcomings to which we have drawn attention.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN CONGRESS WEEK: *The National Literature Publishing Company, Bombay. Price annas nine.*

GANDHI OR AUROBINDO? by B. C. Chatterji, *Bar-at-Law*. Published by S. C. Roy, 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT IN INDIA: by J. B. Raju. *Price annas eight. Nagpur, 1920.*

These are three booklets on the burning question of Non-co-operation. The first consists of a collection of speeches on non-co-operation delivered at Nagpur and Madras by Extremist and Moderate leaders. The second is a comparison and contrast between the situation in Bengal in 1905 and 1920, in which emphasis is laid on Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's doctrine, the use of partial Swaraj as a step and means to

wards complete Swaraj. The third is a study of the fundamental principles involved in Mr. Gandhi's movement, and the writer purports to show wherein the gospel which he preaches falls short of the ideal. "If Mr. Gandhi by his movement of political non-co-operation had but opened the eyes and quickened the thoughts and hearts of the many sections of the peoples of India to the grave dangers and sore evils of the subtler and more insidious contagion of social non-co-operation to which we have so long been blind and insensible, he would indeed have done a great and lasting service to India and the world alike."

THE WORKING CONSTITUTION IN INDIA: by S. M. Bose, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), Barrister-at-law, and Member, Bengal Legislative Council. Oxford University Press, 1921. Printed at the Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.

This is a most timely and useful publication and will be of immense service to members of the various legislative councils as well as public bodies and journalists. It contains the Government of India Act, 1919, as well as the principal Act, the Report of the Joint Select Committee, the rules and standing orders of the various councils, and a copious and complete Index, references and cross references and notes. One useful feature is that passages in the Report of the Joint Select Committee have been distributed under the different sections of the Government of India Act, 1919, for purposes of convenient and easy reference. The book is simply invaluable to publicists and will be widely appreciated.

JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD: *The man and his work; with a foreword by Lajpat Rai*. Published by S. Ganesan & Co., Madras.

This is a nicely printed and ably written sketch of Colonel Wedgwood's life. Truly does Lala Lajpat Rai say: "India has no more sincere, devoted and truer friend in the British Isles than Colonel Wedgwood." His life is inspiring reading and it has been presented in an interesting and lively form in this small volume, and the many admirers of the gallant Colonel and friend of India will peruse the volume with pleasure and profit.

DYARCHY: By L. Curtis Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1920.

This is a big volume of over 600 pages containing a map of India and an Index, and a collection of various papers relating to the application of the principle of Dyarchy to the Government of India. Most of them were from time to time published by the author in the shape of open letters to the people of India, and some others are now published for the first time. There is a very complete and exhaustive table of contents and the Report of the Joint Select Committee and the Government of

India Act, 1919, have also been embodied in the volume. The object of its publication will be found in the following passage of the Introduction: "The arguments for and against the principle upon which the Government of India Act, 1919, is based are scattered through vast numbers of official despatches, proceedings of committees, debates in Parliament, and writings in the Press. After many years the future commissions may find some difficulty in collecting and digesting all these papers. As most of the leading points will be found argued in the documents contained in this volume, I have availed myself of the generous offer of the Oxford University Press to place them on record in this form."

In the Introduction Mr. Lionel Curtis takes pains to point out that he is not the author or the originator of the scheme of Dyarchy introduced in the Government of the Indian provinces, though it is the least fraught with mischief and the only feasible scheme among the various alternatives proposed. Further advance along the line of the Minto-Morley reforms would paralyse the Government without introducing a sense of responsibility among Indian leaders. Towards the close of the Introduction he puts in a vigorous plea for the cultivation of better manners among Englishmen resident in India in their relations with Indians. He quotes some examples of ill treatment and insult from his own experience, and says that this is what really embitters educated Indians against the British connection. "But in gathering these papers for publication, I must guard against giving the impression that I think, or have ever thought, that the Indian question can be solved merely or primarily by granting a liberal constitution. I am perfectly sure that it cannot be solved without wise constitutional change, but I am equally sure that no political reform has the least chance of succeeding unless Government deals decisively with the small class of Europeans who are all unconsciously undermining the only foundations upon which it can rest." He proceeds to say that Europeans in India have assumed the place of an exclusive caste, and their dominant position has made them unloveable and has dangerously reacted on their manners. India however is no longer prepared to accept this domination and the challenge is both inevitable and wholesome. Mr. Curtis then proposes a concrete solution for the evil: "I am strongly of opinion that governors should be vested with powers to investigate judicially cases where Europeans are alleged to have outraged Indian feeling. Wherever a case of wanton and unprovoked insult, such as those I have cited, is proved, Government should have power to order the culprit to leave the country.....a few deportations would soon effect a definite change for the better."

Finally, Mr. Curtis has a few words of advice

for his Indian friends on their way to the goal of responsible government. "My belief is that progress towards responsible government will be most rapid in that province where ministers and legislators openly exercise their influence to support the enforcement of law.....your influence as popular leaders if exercised in the cause of law and order will be final and conclusive and conduce more than any one factor to the perfect tranquillity in which India can move most rapidly to the status of a self-governing dominion. I am thinking always of the time when Parliament will send commissions to India to report progress. The principal point to which they will look is how far Indian electorates can be trusted to maintain order through their own representatives. In any crisis first ask yourselves what material you are going to provide the commissions for framing an answer to that question.....To tell people what they want to hear is an easy task. The difficulty lies in getting a hearing for the still small voice of reason; but no genuine choice begins to be exercised until there are men like Gokhale with the courage to make it heard. The only true servants of popular government are those bold enough to voice opinions which are for the moment unpopular. Appeals to reason, calmly and persistently made, prevail in the end.....It [the war] compelled England, as nothing else could have done, to recognize that the principles for which she was fighting could not be restricted to the peoples of Europe, America and Australasia, but must be extended to those of Asia and Africa.....In solving the problem of responsible government for herself this vast and complex Oriental community will find, she has solved it for the whole of Asia; and, in the fullness of time, for Africa as well.....India has now a candle which once kindled will never be put out till all the nations of Asia and Africa walk by its light."

BUREAUCRATIC GOVERNMENT: *By Bernard Houghton (late of the Burma Civil Service). Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs 1-9 (English Edition by P. S. King & Son, London, 1913).*

This book has by this time acquired a considerable reputation in India, and Messrs. Natesan & Co. have done well to bring out a cheap Indian edition. The following extracts will, we are sure, prove interesting and instructive:

"Having come to regard his own judgment as almost divine, and the hierarchy of which he has the honour to form a part as a sacrosanct institution, he tolerates the laity so long as they labour quietly and peaceably at their vocations and do not presume to intermeddle in high matters of State: That is the heinous offence. And frank criticism of official acts touches a lower depth still, even *lise majiste*: For no official will endure criticism from his subordinates, and the public, who lie in outer

darkness beyond the pale, do not in his estimation rank even with his subordinates." p. 33 (English Edition.)

"That is really what the government of a country by a bureaucracy amounts to, the setting of a course and the direction of policy by men who, though admirably versed in the details of government, find it difficult, for that very reason, to take generous and far-sighted views of a nation's destiny. The traditions and prepossessions of a lifetime of official routine distort their vision of the more distant horizon. They suffer, in short, from an incurable political myopia." p. 35.

"Surely it might have been thought that they would have hastened to clear away all political barriers to progress and to inculcate, both by precept and by the provision of a suitable education, the seeds of a more generous outlook on life. Alas! the very contrary has been the case—so far from striving to clear the path to a freer atmosphere, they have too often only strengthened the barriers and riveted the gyves that hinder development, on more generous lines. The temptation has indeed been great. It is so pleasant to rule over a people entirely amenable to discipline, which accepts without demur rules and regulations however vexatious and oppressive. To guide them to a freer life means so many rebuffs, even contumely and insolence. The bureaucracy has naturally chosen the path of least resistance, which also entirely harmonises with its own secret inclinations. It is true that it holds out on some distant horizon the vision of a more autonomous nation with freer institutions. But this vision is so nebulous and distant—to borrow the language of a typical bureaucrat, it is like some far-off peak of the Himalayas whilst we are yet traversing the plains—that it really does not enter into practical politics. It is merely a pious aspiration which may or may not hereafter materialize. If the people of India are at school, it is a perpetual school, where greybeards will ever sit at the feet of youthful foreigners, where the syllabus never alters, and where the pupils will pass out at the Greek kalends."

"We make bold to say that by the inculcation of submission, and the crushing of personal initiative, the bureaucracy is inflicting the gravest moral injury with which it is possible for one people to curse another. To deprive a people by conquest of its political independence is an evil, for it wounds its self-respect and enfeebles its vitality, but it is an evil which material prosperity may to some extent counterbalance. But to maintain them after conquest in a state of perpetual tutelage, to treat them as children who shall have no will of their own, whose chief glory shall lie in servile obedience to commands—that is a sin against humanity. It is as though after making a man captive we drugged him with opium

in order to keep him quiet and obedient to orders.

"For the stultification of national and personal ideals, which results from a despotic system, is nothing short of be-dwarfing inspiration in a nation's manhood. Nations advance, a people becomes great not through docility and submissiveness, but by the free play of aspiration and thought, the liberty to advance along all lines of legitimate progress in a self-respecting independence of spirit. That is the very antithesis of the bureaucratic ideal. Efficiency of the machine, not the living organic growth of a people; progress, if such there be, on the initiative of the Government, not progress on the initiative of the people; such are its watchwords." pp. 55-58.

"To a bureaucrat, education, unless confined within the strictest limits, is of necessity odious. If you educate the proletariat, if you scatter schools broadcast, you prepare the ground for the dissemination of all kinds of disloyalty and upstart ideas, you make people critical and impatient of official control, and worst of all, you teach them to be independent and to think for themselves, quite possibly on lines which officials regard as pernicious. Much better that they should retain their traditional docility to rulers, who alone know what is best for their subjects. Once the people really begin to think for themselves, it is impossible to say to what lengths they may be led, what crude and ill-advised ideas may begin to ferment. The office of Government, or at least of a bureaucratic Government, is to guide and control the people, and an educated people is notoriously impatient of control from without." pp. 67-68.

"A people can be killed by efficiency." p. 113.

"No bureaucracy will voluntarily abdicate powers, however irksome, to the common people, which conduce to the convenience of officials, or which strengthen their grip upon the country." p. 145.

"Because the monastic schools [in Burma] inculcate docility—like monastic schools in all countries—because they are cheap, they will ever be beloved by a bureaucratic Government. *It is not education so much as docility that officials desire.*" pp. 153-4.

"Will a bureaucracy ever learn that mechanical accuracy is not life, that a drilled automaton is no substitute for the life and spirit of a living organism?" p. 157.

"If you deprive a nation of all share in its own government, in the forging of its destiny, you emasculate its energies, undermine its character, and sear, as with a hot iron, its self-respect. In the sphere of the intellect such a government spells, not progress but decay." p. 160.

"But woe to the country in which it [bureaucratic Government] is regarded, not as the gateway of government but as the goal itself! The hinges will grow rusty and the gate fast

and immovable—a barrier to progress. In such a country as in India, the sinister interests of the bureaucracy must ever more and more tend to usurp the rightful heritage of the people it governs. The criterion by which proposals will come to be approved or discarded will be, not so much the good of the governed as their effect on the prerogatives of the governors. Even when popular reforms are imposed by the supreme authority, they are apt to emerge from the bureaucratic workshop, pale ghosts of the original design. As for the community itself, how can it possibly develop into a virile nation when persistently relegated to the position of little children divorced from all public affairs, divorced from all that makes for the soul of a people? Naturally in the circumstances manly virtues decay, docility and submission are all the vogue. It is not the freeman but the thrall whom the bureaucrat delights to honour. Every flash of independence will be snuffed out; only a nation of helots, brooding over past independence in a twilight of effete materialism, remains. Officials would no doubt deprecate such a consummation as the goal of their rule, but except in so far as that rule is modified and its aims amended by outside influences, it must undoubtedly produce that result: What avails it to prate of some vaguely remote self-government when all the time every act is sapping the virility that alone make of self-government a success?" pp. 169-70.

"Bureaucratic government, if long continuedso cramps and atrophies the life of a nation that, unless some happy accident comes to burst its trammels, no healthy growth can take place." p. 171.

"If experience, if history teaches clearly any one lesson, it is that a bureaucracy will in no circumstances reform itself. If it is to be reformed at all, it must be by powers outside it and antagonistic to it.....It will oppose a hundred technical objections, a hundred difficulties and petty dangers which may conceivably wreck in practice any proposal for popular government. The average official forgets that, granted the principle is sound, time and experience can usually smooth away practical difficulties. Even when generous measures are imposed on a bureaucracy by the powers above, they are apt to suffer a sea-change before being transmitted into the law of the land.....In spite of plausible protests to the contrary, we must clearly recognise that a bureaucracy as such is, and from its nature will always be hostile to a popular government." pp. 177-78.

"In cogency, in dignity of utterance, and in statesmanlike breadth of view, the speeches of the unofficial members [of the councils] can bear comparison with those of the Imperial Parliament itself." p. 182.

"But they [the Secretary of State, Viceroy and the three Presidency Governors] are not sufficient in themselves to withstand the cons-

tant official pressure. Either through direct opposition or by the poison of a more subtle suggestion, their well-meant reforms are too often whittled down into insignificant concessions." p. 184.

"The menace, the real peril, lies not in the grant of more popular government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present bureaucratic system, a system which has served its purpose but which India has now outgrown. That is the real danger, and it is one which those who prate of disloyalty will do well to consider very seriously. The great popular movement springing from the impact of Western knowledge and modern ideas, quickened into life by the war in the Far East, will neither ebb nor remain quiescent. On the contrary, it must wax from day to day; in spite of rebuffs and humiliations—nay, rather drawing fresh strength by each instance of official opposition." p. 197.

"Bureaucracy has served its purpose. Though the Indian Civil Service were manned by angels from heaven, the incurable defects of a bureaucratic government must pervert their best intentions and make them foes to political progress." pp. 199-200.

NON-CO-OPERATION: ITS PROS AND CONS: by J. R. B. Jejeebhoy, Joint Hon'ry. Secretary, Western India National Liberal Association and Anti-non-cooperation Committee, Bombay. With a foreword by Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha, Kt. 1921.

A pamphlet in which the arguments against non-co-operation are ably set out.

THE NEW REFORMS: by A. D. Dhopeswarkar, Professor, Karnatak College, Dharwar. 1921. Cloth bound, Rs. 2.

This is an excellent summary of the despatches, reports, and the rules which together constitute the Reforms. The book is fit for the students of higher forms, and will be a good general introduction to a deeper study of the subject.

NANDA, THE PARIAH SAINT. Natesan & Co. Madras.

This is one of the popular four-anna series of books with which the publishers have made us familiar. The life of this Southern saint is full of instruction for us, and will be widely appreciated.

HISTORY OF BISHNUPUR RAJ: by Abhaya Pada Mallik, B. A., B. T., Assistant Head Master, Bishnupur H. E. School. With a foreword by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. 1921. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

Bishnupur, though no longer the capital of an ancient Hindu kingdom, is still a city of considerable size, having a population of a quarter of a lakh; its temples are the glory of Bengal; not only the big temples which Government has preserved; but also the smaller ones,

built of brick or stone, which are to be found in every street corner, and the number of which is legion. Nowhere else in Bengal are so many temples of solid masonry to be seen, and a visit to this ancient city gives one a better idea of what a Hindu town must have looked like in the days of Hindu supremacy than a journey to any other place in Bengal. Though so close to Orissa, the notorious Kalapahar could not carry his depredations into Bishnupur. The excellent state of preservation of the relics of Hindu architecture is of course largely due to the geographical situation of the capital. It is situated on the western borders of Bengal, far away from the sea of the big inland rivers of the deltaic area which so frequently change their courses, and in a laterite soil with abundant rocks in the neighbouring hills to quarry the stones from. The natural beauty of the landscape is captivating. Hills and artificial lakes (*Bandhs*) meet the eye on all sides, varied by vast stretches of undulating uplands with their park like scenery and scanty vegetation, and forests of sal and mahua trees which emit a sweet fragrance when in blossom. In the lap of such picturesque surroundings the Rajas of Bishnupur raised this almost impregnable fortress, which not even the repeated raid of the Marhattas could storm. The large piece of ordnance known as Dal Madal gives ocular demonstration of the martial vigour of the Raj in the days of her prime. Though with the adoption of Vaishnavism as the state religion in Bir Hambir's time (corresponding to that of Akbar) the military spirit began to decline, music, literature, commerce and industries grew and the accounts of Abbe Raynal and Holwell would go to show that the arts of peace flourished exceedingly. We leave the reader to trace the tragic downfall of this historic Raj in the pages of Babu Abhaya Pada Mallik's excellent narrative, which is adorned with many photographic illustrations and extensive quotations from Vaishnavite and official records. The book is nicely printed at the Kuntaline Press and handsomely bound, and so far as available materials permit, is an exhaustive account of the history, art of government, manners, customs and civilisation of the ancient capital of Mallabhum, which in modern times has given birth to the great saint Paramhansa Ramkrishna, the finest flower of the atmosphere of love and devotion which the Vaishnav cult had introduced into the land four centuries ago.

POLITICUS

METAPHYSICS OF ENERGY: C. R. Malkani.

Mr. Malkani sets out to examine in this volume the different conceptions of energy. The introductory chapter is devoted to an exposition of author's general position and incidentally to a formal polemic against the ordinary notion of energy. The first chapter discusses the concept

of energy as it obtains in the physical sciences. The discussion reminds one of the works of Ward Mach and others to whom the author acknowledges his debt. Still, the arguments are often new or put in a new garb so that the stamp of the author's own mind is unmistakable. In chapter II, Bergson's system comes in for its share of criticism. The polemic is vigorous and interesting, though not always fair to the opponent. The next two chapters are given to a study of the problem of motion mainly after Lotze. The last chapter gives a positive construction of author's views which are frankly Advaitic.

The author has proved himself an able student of Philosophy. We should have been glad, however, to find in the work before us a greater familiarity with the technical terms and fewer ambiguous phrases.

CHILDREN'S DREAMS: C. W. Kiviwins (Longmans).

The researches of Freud and his followers have brought to light the immense significance of dreams. Dreams like every other mental event, stand in certain determinate relations with what may be called the unconscious conative tendencies. These tendencies again constitute, as the theory goes, the inner core of personality. Thus a study of dreams would enable us to gauge the real character of the individual and to understand the springs of action that determine his responses. The importance of a study like the present one for educational purposes cannot be over-estimated. It would lead to a better appreciation of children's nature by those who shape the course of training for them. The author of the volume gives a classified statement of the dream-contents arranged according to age and sex. There is also a chapter on dreams of deaf and blind children. The scheme of classification adopted here is not altogether satisfactory. But typical dreams are reproduced in the book and anyone may adapt his own plan of classification and interpretation.

N. N. SEN GUPTA.

FOLK-TALES OF THE KHASIS: by Mrs. Rafy. (Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1920.) Price Re. 1.

A collection of Indian folktales, is always welcome to the students of Indian life and Indian mentality. When it relates to a primitive hill tribe like the Khasis it is expected to be of special interest to the student of Ethnology and comparative folklore. The rendering of the Khasi folktales by Mrs. Rafy is in simple and delightful English, and the book undoubtedly fulfils the object of the publication as stated in the Preface, namely, "rendering more cheerful an hour or two in the life of its readers during these busy and strenuous time." But as for fulfilling the expectations of the student

of Ethnology, we regret the author had neither any such object in view nor does her book contribute much towards such an end. In the first place, we are not told by whom and under what circumstances the stories were told and whether they were recorded in the manner in which they were originally related or in a different style. Then there has been no attempt at classifying the tales in appropriate divisions such as 'stories about natural phenomena,' 'stories about animals,' 'stories about spirits, deities' and so forth. Thirdly, there has been no attempt at discriminating the foreign elements from the indigenous elements of the stories. Notes giving analyses of the stories, and parallel plots and incidents in the folklore of other peoples, which the student of Anthropology expects to find in a collection of folktales are necessarily absent in a book meant for the popular readers. Again, the serious student will further regret the omission of the author's attempt to give the different versions of the same story, although she says she met with several versions of some of the stories (but selected only the most unique and graceful). But even to the serious student, such a book cannot fail to be of some interest; whereas to the general public, the personal of the book cannot fail to cheer and to give pleasure. The get-up of the book is excellent; and besides helping to give pleasure to the general reader the book may be usefully placed in the hands of young boys and girls in our schools as prize books and class and library books.

LIFE IN ANCIENT BRITAIN: by Norman Ault. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1920).

We welcome this clear and succinct survey of the social and economic development of the English people from the earliest time to the Roman conquest. The leading facts appertaining to the economics and sociology of 'Palaeolithic', 'Palaeolithic' and 'Neolithic' men, and the men of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Ages in Britain are concisely but clearly presented. And the author has succeeded in making his reader realise the history of man as a 'living, developing and organic whole.' The general reader will, I am sure, read with profit and pleasure this scientifically reliable, succinct up-to-date survey of the origins and early development of the social and economic civilization of Britain. A map of England showing the places connected with the skeletal, industrial and artistic remains of ancient man, would, I venture to think, enhance the usefulness of the book.

THE CHAMARS, by G. W. Briggs, M.Sc., (Oxford University Press, 1920). Price not stated.

Drs. Farquhar and Macnicol are doing a valuable service to students of Indian Ethnology, and Sociology by their projected series of books on 'The Religious Life of India.' The

two books of the series already published, particularly "The Village Gods of South India" by the Bishop of Madras, are admirable productions. The present book, which is a complete monograph on a particular caste, in certain respects, surpasses in interest its predecessor in the series. This careful and exhaustive monograph is an excellent performance and all who are interested in the castes and tribes of India, specially all students of Ethnology, will be amply repaid by a perusal of this useful handbook on the Chamars. It is indeed a far more solid production than much of the modern 'ethnological' literature published in India, the dominant characteristic of which is unfortunately a hasty generalization from insufficient data.

S. C. Roy.

THE THAMES AND THE GODAVERY: By Oswald Couldrey, (Blackwell, Oxford, 5s. net).

We confess we have not known the Indian Educational Service as much of a nursery of poetic genius and we have therefore a specially cordial welcome to this volume of English verses by one of its members serving as the Principal of a Government College in Southern India. The verses are of striking excellence and show not only fine poetic feeling but also graceful facility of execution and great naturalness of expression. The lines are all hit off very happily, without apparently any exertion on the part of the writer; in fact, the ease of writing is almost a fault in a few places. And when the work is also distinguished almost throughout, as it is, by a perennial freshness and buoyancy of spirits, it is sure to command wide appreciation. It is undoubtedly the accent of the true poet that is heard in lines like these, where Ikaros is seen discoursing to Daidalos on the vision unfolded before their eyes over the vast expanse of the earth, down the depth of the skies, when flying in the air, and there are numerous other passages in the volume which are of equal charm.

No white-wing'd barque, no bird scarcely
a cloud
Befoams the world; a blue Eternity
Wherein we two hang poised like traveller Suns.
The noon uncanopied burns over us.
The broad unpastured meadows of the sea
Sparkle with flowers of light: a Sun-warm'd
green
Beneath our feet, but where the full day strikes,
A silver blaze far to the Southern verge
Spangled with pearly lakes and purple rings
Like those that lace the Cretan meadows.

The fine line in this passage, 'the broad un-pastured meadows of the sea,' is typical of the facility with which Mr. Couldrey produces poetic effect, arranging words in the natural order in which they occur to the mind and also by using them in the sense in which

they would be most ordinarily understood by the average reader. With the memories of the special uses of 'unpastured' in such famous lines as Shelley's, "dare the *unpastured* dragon in his den" or his "*unpastured* sea hungering for the calm," it should have been difficult to resist the temptation of using it in peculiar ways, and be content to use it as everybody would use it in prose. This spontaneity and naturalness is not the least of Mr. Couldrey's virtues.

It is a long way from the Thames with its din of world-traffic to the placid, broad-bosomed stream of the Godavery spreading her fertilising water over the smiling rice-fields of the Coromandel, but Mr. Couldrey has also lived on the banks of the latter and has utilised his stay in this country to admirable advantage as may be seen from the verses in the second part of the volume. There is undoubtedly the note of exile in his verses as in the work of every English poet writing in India, but he has his eyes open and he has received many a pretty impression of the picturesque life round him. There are the boats in the Godavery gliding gently on the water; the crowds of men and women bathers on the river-bank in the morning; the places of pilgrimage in a land of pilgrimages; the Brahmini bull and Krishna's kite and the Hindu shepherd boy on the sea-shore:

Crooning to the dingle where the winding sand-
brook's tributary
Sleeps with all his grave-ripples, and forsaken
cataracts;
Piping of the Ocean-churn'd, of white cloud-
elephants that carry
Earth rejoicing rain, and all the Dark-blue
Cow-herd's glorious acts.

The threads of Eastern life and civilization enter into the texture of his poetry everywhere enriching it with added touches of colour and strength. It is no idle boast he has made in his verse:

'This lore I won, this boon of magic earned
With penance at the horn'd pagoda-gate
Of Coromandel,'

and the perennial poetry of the land has given him its treasure to adorn his pages.

To the writer of this review, the verses of this book have added grace and charm and rouse associations which have a profound meaning to his mind, as part of his own boyhood was spent on the banks of the Godavery and his eyes are perfectly familiar with the numerous sights sketched in song in the latter part of the volume:

Along the sea-blue Godavery
The sails go up, like little moons
Between the Sun-set bars of sand;
Or like the snow-pure pinions

Of birds, their own blue heaven that roam.
One softly droops on slow-furled wing;
So droops the terns to the wave, so home
The dove droops, weary of wandering.

Sea-blue Godavery, gold-inwrought!
So I could, eyes and heart, in you
Repose—but for another thought,
Another dream of distance blue.

No such dream of another blue, however, marred *this* writer's enjoyment of the river, and he can recall at this distance of nearly two decades, many a day when he kept his watch on the river in the gloaming, till night slowly crept over the land with its mantle of impenetrable darkness, or rushed to the river in the morning to gaze with wonder at the glorious scene unrolled under the golden light of the risen sun.

There is an unfortunate touch of light-hearted cynicism here and there and we only hope that with the mellowing of his poetic spirit, Mr. Couldrey will find it possible to shake it off his pages. The fond lover approaches the kite for an account of all the wonders he has seen in the course of his flight in the heavens and there only comes the disastrous message that he saw his true love talking to another, by the low-roof'd house near the temple in the little garden full of palm-trees. There are faces like flowers growing up and blooming but the angel eyes would lose their lustre soon, if we make them our own! And there is danger in the prospect of marriage, at least to lovers of idleness, because, which wife is there who would not *compel* him to

Play cards and go to church, correct
Examination-sheets for lucre, and
Purchase a motor-car?

The spirit of the poetry is so vitalising in general, that it does seem a pity that it should occasionally be touched by such a depressing outlook on life.

HILARY, THE STORY OF A COLLEGE GIRL:
By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson. (Oxford University Press. 7s 6d net.)

The world outside does not know very much of "sweet girl-graduates in their golden hair"; it does not at least enter into an intimate knowledge of their life as actually lived in their college days. Here is a delightful account from inside, by one who has herself been "a college girl" and everybody will feel thankful for such a faithful and informing picture of the life of college girls in the universities of the West. All the gaiety and irrepressible buoyancy of healthy girlhood is there and one cannot but regret the keen contrast presented by the lives of girls in India at the same age, weighed down already by the cares of family-life and prevented from reaching the full expression of mind and soul. There is only

one fault in the narrative, that the interest of the story-teller is subordinated constantly to the aim which the writer has obviously set up before herself, that of giving an account of the college life of girls, and even in the latter there is occasional deterioration into the discussion of such trivialities as skirts and frocks, though it must be conceded that with members of the author's sex they may sometimes be questions of importance even in the atmosphere of a university! But on the whole it is a delightful picture of college life and Hilary is the attractive centre of a life full of fun relieving the academic seriousness of the University. The lady authorities of the college are not reminiscent of Tennyson's picture of "prudes for proctors, dowagers for deans" but are full of sympathy and kindness, entering with zest into the beauty of all this life.

We wish Mrs. Stevenson had stopped with the account of Hilary's college-life, and had not attempted the task of continuing her existence in India with a background of missionary work—the latter portion is distinctly inferior and even disappointing. The information retailed about Indian life and civilisation is not particularly correct and is largely vitiated by all the usual prejudices of the Christian Missionary, but what is more serious from the standpoint of art, there is a certain amount of incongruity in the development of the later part over the foundations to which we have been introduced in the earlier life of the heroine. The only attempt at the introduction of love and romance into the story is a hopeless failure, though the heroine is put through a marriage and the story ends with the birth of a son to her—now a missionary lady. The episode of the marriage is somewhat amusing, it is little better than a business proposition though without any implication of mere material gain. A missionary gentleman working away in the distant villages which are infested with cholera and plague wants a wife, so that his work may be more beneficial, especially by enabling him to bring relief, apparently spiritual as well as material, to poor Indian women. Hilary consents to become his wife after quite a surprisingly brief reflection and the birth of a child seems to be hailed, not so much for the inexpressible joys of motherhood, as for the hold it will give her in being able to reach the lives and hearts of Indian women. It is true the future husband had put in his appearance in the earlier pages also, but the whole affair is very tame indeed and cannot contribute to the delight of the reader of fiction, though an evangelist may perhaps use the tale in an appeal for recruiting missionaries.

WHITMAN'S LEAVES OF GRASS: *Selected and Edited with an Introduction by Ernest de Selincourt.* (Oxford University Press. *The World's Classics*, 2s. 6d. net.)

The poetry of Walt Whitman is no longer treated with the somewhat extravagant praise with which it was hailed years ago on its first appearance on the literary horizon. But in spite of some of the wild irregularities of literary form, his poems will always command a wide circle of readers by their consecration of the great ideals of Liberty and Democracy, as well as by their pristine enthusiasm for all that is beautiful and great in nature. In an age over-ridden by prudery and convention, it is exhilarating enough to read the work of a poet who would sing of the elemental passions of humanity with an undoubted genuineness of feeling and honesty of purpose. It is fitting therefore that his *Leaves of Grass* should be included in such an extremely popular and successful series of books as the *World's Classics* of the Oxford University Press. Mr. Selincourt writes an interesting biographical and critical introduction to the book and it is refreshing to see that his admiration nowhere lapses into indiscriminate praise. Sufficient emphasis is also laid on the important details of his life, to enable the reader to appreciate the fact, sometimes unfortunately overlooked or not adequately realised, that his own existence was an eloquent sermon on the inspiring ideals he preached in his *Leaves of Grass*. Mr. Selincourt has gone to the extent of writing: "Whitman's inspiration is less that of an author than of living human being. He is not primarily artist or thinker, though he is both by flashes; but few artists or thinkers have had such strange power of drawing us to themselves in a real personal attachment. He offers us his writings just as, if he were present in the flesh, he would offer us his friendship:

Comrade, this is no book;
Who touches this touches a man.

Here is the secret of his spell." Writing in India, one may probably also add that Whitman's robust outlook on life and his energetic realisation of action must have a very healthy and corrective influence on some of the inherent weaknesses of the Indian temperament.

MEADOWS TAYLOR'S STORY OF MY LIFE:
Edited by Henry Bruce, (Oxford University Press. 16s. net).

The author of *Tara, Seeta* and the *Confessions of a Thug* needs no introduction to readers in India. His facile pen has been responsible for rousing the attention of many to the romance of Indian history, and in spite of his distinctly official leanings and his apparent desire to justify all the work of Britain in India, he is always read with pleasure, and his numerous narratives never flag in interest to the reader. But these romances do not exhaust his literary work and his autobiographical record, the *Story of My Life* deserves more attention than it seems to have received in the past and we are glad the Oxford University Press has

included it in its new series of reprints of Indian historical works. The life serves as an admirable commentary on the novels and one can trace easily the experiences of Meadows Taylor which have suggested the stories themselves and also read of the scenes with which the Colonel was making himself familiar and succeeded in weaving into the background of his works of fiction. The autobiography serves as an admirable record of some of the stirring events in the history of the Deccan in the nineteenth century, and besides thus being a valuable historical document of service to the present and the future chronicler of India, it is also a biography of considerable intrinsic interest by itself. The sweet and benevolent personality of Meadows Taylor, ever-active and ever-intent on evolving peace out of chaos, radiates through the pages and makes a lasting impression on the reader's mind. "Truth, naked, unblushing truth—the first virtue of more serious history," wrote Gibbon at the beginning of his *Autobiography*, "must be the sole recommendation of this personal narrative," and Meadows Taylor satisfies the test and writes an account of incidents which undoubtedly bear the mark of truth on every page in relation to himself as well as to the events of Indian history coming within his personal knowledge and experience. There are valuable footnotes furnished by the Editor which will be appreciated immensely by the more serious student. The spelling of many of the proper names has been modernised in the light of the guidance furnished by the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, but some still remain to be dealt with in this manner and we hope it will be done in the succeeding editions which are sure to be called.

THE CAPTIVES: By Hugh Walpole, (Macmillan's Empire Library).

Maggie Cardinal is the centre of this romance in which, as the author himself writes, there "are all captives in a strange country, trying to find the escape, each in his or her own fashion, back to the land of their birth..... for the land was there, the fight to get back to it was real." She passes through strange incidents in life and many conflicts of mind and soul beginning with her finding herself alone in the world by the death of her father even before she is twenty. Through two of her maiden aunts she comes into contact with a curious religious coterie, the Kingscote Brethren who expect the second coming of the Lord. Other experiences are hers too, falling in love and an unfortunate marriage, and so on,—there is thus varied interest in the novel, though in places the narrative is probably somewhat ponderous. It is through a strange world of religious mysticism and superstition that we pass, side by side with some of the ordinary incidents of life.

WITH THE BRITISH ARMY IN INDIA : (*The Y. M. C. A., Calcutta*).

An account of the work of the Y. M. C. A. in India at the various Cantonments and military camps.

P. SESHADRI.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (*Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920* : By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L. Printed at Bihar and Orissa Government Press, Patna. Royal 8vo, pages 181 (with appendices). Price Rs. 5.

The descriptive title of the work clearly indicates its scope and character. We feel inclined to remind the readers of this magazine that the author, who has been for some time very worthily employed in the field of ethnological research, treated them a few years ago to highly interesting accounts of the Mundas and the Oraons. His six lectures now under review, bear unmistakable proof of the scholarly command which the author has over the subject of Anthropology. The author has been able to present the whole history of the progress of the science of physical anthropology with considerable precision and lucidity within the limited space of his lectures. The author tells us distinctly in the preface to his lectures, that the scope and object of his lectures having been to present the university students with a broad outline of the subject, any claim to an original contribution to anthropological knowledge is necessarily precluded. We dispute this statement of the author. It should be remarked to do justice to the author, that he displays originality in the very matter of presentation of his subject; we notice the hand of a master which was needed in setting out the results of various investigations of eminent scientific men in a thoroughly intelligible and interesting form. We may in short observe, that the faithful narration of the whole history, proper arrangement and co-ordination of facts in such a manner as to make the whole thing to group round the central principle of evolution, may be declared to be a novel feature of the work under review. We are delighted to be informed that the learned author is preparing another course of lectures in which he intends to deal with the methods and results of cultural anthropology.

That the author traverses the whole field of physical anthropology, may be seen at a glance on reference to the contents of his lectures : two lectures deal with (i) the Scope, Divisions and Methods of Anthropology and Man's Place in Nature, (ii) the Antiquity of Man, (iii) the Evolution Theory, (iv) the Evolution Theory as applied to Man, (v) Man's first Home and Early Migrations, and (vi) Evolution of the Human Races and their Classification. We note with delight that in discussing various theories relating to the basis of Race Classification, the author has not omitted to emphasise the importance of the biometrical method. How futile is the attempt to classify Man into races with the help of cranial measurements, has been forcibly suggested in the sixth lecture. These lectures, though intended for the university students, will prove a helpful handbook to all who may be inclined to study the highly useful subject of Anthropology.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

GUJARATI.

GUIDE TO BOMBAY PRESIDENCY EXCLUDING SIND, with a map of that territory, by Prahlad C. Divanji, M. A., LL. M., Subordinate Judge, Tasgaon and Vita. Cloth bound, printed at the Anglo-Persian Press, Bombay. Pp. 221, Price Rs. 4. (1920).

As its name implies, this book is a guide for those who seek information about administrative and other aspects of the Presidency. Information embodied in it is collected from Gazetteers, and has been brought up-to-date by means of tapping local sources. It thus presents in a handy form and in one place, information, likely to prove of use to those who have now and then to travel over the Presidency, owing to exigencies of service.

SUKHI SHARIR (*सुखी शरीर*) : By Dr. Keshavrao Babarao Divatia. Printed at the Jagruti Press, Baroda, and published by H. H. the Gaekwad's Educational Department. Cloth-bound. Pp. 71. Price As. 4. (1920).

KOSH NI-KATHA (*कोष नी कथा*) : By Ghanshyam Nalwarrai Mehta. Published as above. Cloth-bound, pp. 54. Price As. 4. (1920).

H. H. the Gaekwad has set apart a sum of two lacs for the encouragement of vernacular education : the interest derived from this sum is being spent by his Educational Department for promoting various branches of school education by the creation of a couple of series of books, calling them *बालज्ञानपाठा*, *साहित्यपाठा*, sub-dividing them into History, Biography, Science, Ethics, Religion, etc. Some books are meant for children and some for adults : the two mentioned above are intended for juvenile instruction : one is taken up with instructions for keeping one's body sound, and the other traces the history of a cell (*कोष*). The first is all right as it does not say anything more than what one would find in a sanitary primer, but the second, methinks, though written with the best of intentions, would never be understood by children.

JIVA VIDYA (*जीव विद्या*) : By Chhotalal Balakrishna Purani, M. A. Published as above. Cloth bound. Pp. 112 and 20. Price Re. 1. (1920).

This book belongs to the Sahitya or literature series, one of the subdivisions of which is Science, and is a translation of Henderson's Biology. To those who can follow the subject, with the aid of the glossary of difficult words at the end, it would appear to be very fascinating, as the mystery of cells, protoplasms, and other organisms is tried to be explained in as easy a language as possible, but the translator himself is conscious of the inherent difficulties of his task, and we are afraid that the subject can never be popular.

UTTAR EUROPE NI PURAN KATHA (उत्तर युरोप नौ पुराण कथा) : By Chhotalal Nowtamram Kaji, B.A. Published as above. Cloth bound. Pp. 119. Price As. 14.

This book belongs to the religious section of the Sahitya series, and is a translation of Kaufmann's Northern Mythology. It treats entirely of those beliefs and superstitions and of Scandinavian beliefs. The translation is readable, but we wonder what Gujarati readers have got to do with Teutonic mythology.

CHIN NI SANSKRATI (चीन नौ संस्कृति) by Gokaldas Mathuradas Shah, B.A., LL.B. Published as above. Cloth bound. Pp. 223. Price Re. 1-6. (1927).

Although this book is a translation of Guile's Civilization in China, the translation has been so well rendered as to read like an original work. It is due to the subject itself being congenial to the translator's pen. This is one of the best books in the Series both so far as selection and execution are concerned. It gives so much information about the past and present state of China, and there is so much of entertainment in it, that one would not like to give up reading it till one has finished it wholly.

NAITIK JIVAN TATHA NAITIK UTKRSH (नैतिक जीवन तथा नैतिक उत्कर्ष) : By Kantilal Keshavrai Nanavati, M.A., Head Master, Maharaja High School, Ulwar, Published as above. Cloth bound : Pp. 148. Price As. 15. (1919).

The selection of this book for translation has been made from the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature Series, and its English title is "The Moral Life and Moral Worth". It is written by Dr. Sorley. It belongs to the Morals group of H. H.'s series. The translation betrays every sign of carefulness and understanding on the part of the writer.

VISHNUDAS (विष्णु दास) : By Bhanusukhram Nirgunaram Mehta. Published as above. Cloth bound. Pp. 156. Price Re. 1. (1920).

This book is a biography of a minor Gujarati poet who flourished about the 17th century. Mr. Bhanusukhram is an indefatigable contributor to H. H.'s Series, and has already figured as a biographer of Premanand and Miranbai, the premier poet and poetess of Gujarat. His success in those attempts is more or less a question of debate but his assiduity is bound to arrest attention, as his field of work extends from the life history of a spider to that of a poet. All available materials and manuscripts have been looked at by the writer, so at least, is stated in the Introduction. A biography even on these lines, of this poet, was a desideratum, and we are sure that in case of those who take an interest in the writings of this poet and follow Mr. Bhanusukhram in the

field would find some useful items in this little book.

K. M. J.

FRENCH.

RECHERCHES SUR LA DECOUVERTE DE L'AMERIQUE PAR LES ANCIENS HOMMES DE L'INDE. [PAR] Prof. Panduranga S. S. Pissurlencar. Sanquelim. —Goa, 1920. 8vo. Pp. 1-22.

The ground covered by the researches embodied in the present pamphlet is not altogether new to the students of American archaeology and ethnology. The work under notice is a pamphlet of twenty-two pages, in royal octavo, written in French. The style does not show much elegance and gracefulness and betrays the constrained and tactless hand of a foreigner. The originality claimed by the author with regard to the researches embodied in this tract cannot be thoroughly maintained, as many popular works have already been written on the supposed Asiatic influence on the prehistoric American culture. We do not at all minimize the importance of the study of the Pacific riddle, and it must be admitted that despite the attempt of some of the eminent scholars to unravel it much still remains unread, although the world has already waited four hundred years for its solution. The mystery that enshrouds the twin-continent, set between the too mightiest of the world's oceans, has been presenting itself, ever since the day when the Europeans found a landing place on the Mexican shore. The current European account of the discovery of America would have us believe that although there had been a host of other European discoverers, who might claim the glory of reaching the western lands before the days of Columbus, it was surely the latter who brought them to the notice of the powerful nations of Europe, thus giving a fresh impetus to their national development by showing the way to the realization of newer possibilities. It is however grudgingly admitted that the account given in the Icelandic sagas of the wanderings of Eric the Red and his early Norsemen and their settlement in Greenland, and perhaps further south, in the main continent itself, in 983 A. D., or thereabout, is an evidence that there had been surely earlier rivals who could claim to have known the continent long before Columbus. But it is generally thought that in those earlier times the virgin soil of the twin-continent practically remained unvisited from, and so remained perhaps totally uninfluenced by, the outside world. It was reserved, however, for the European adventurers to bring to the notice of the scholars the scattered remains of empires of no insignificant culture that once flourished on the plains and the valleys of the lands of the setting sun. There are the ruined temples where people used to meet together and perform their worship, noble

places which even in their dilapidated condition give evidence of fine architectural taste, pyramidal structures the meaning of which we often fail to conjecture; and the debris of dwellings and habitations of peoples and nations, who struggled and fought for supremacy, rose, made their mark and fell, long before the mediaeval Vikings of Europe and the Spanish adventurers of later days thought of plundering the inhabitants of those far off lands beyond the mighty deep.

The ancient civilization of the American races, the Toltecs, the Aztecs, the Mayas and the Incas and their predecessors, had given rise to various speculations among the historians, the archaeologists and the travellers. Conjectures have been made about the Asiatic origin of American culture, but nothing has been done so far regarding the establishment of a co-relation between Asia and America on a firmer scientific basis.

The author of the present booklet has given us, along with his original suggestions, a very brief survey of the researches already made in the field, as well as an account of various explorations undertaken in the pre-Columbian days. These researches consist mainly of wild conjectures wantonly made and utterly incapable of standing the crucial test of science. The investigations of the author are embodied in a mere re-statement of certain fanciful allegories and fairy-tales from the Purānas without making the least attempt at an examination or an analysis; and the very manner of handling them shows the work of a novice. That there had been some sort of co-relation with regard to culture between Asia and America, however slight, is not what is regarded as beyond all probability; but for the matter of that to infer a general race correlation would be pushing our conclusions too far to make it well grounded. Derivation of the word *Aztec* from the Sanskrit *Hastika*, the attempt at tracing the origin of the Aztecs from the Yādava race of India, identification of the Samsaptakas with the seven American tribes and connecting the names of Succa and Guatemala with the Indian words Sākya and Gautamāyā are what would certainly appeal to popular fancy and might be the source of patriotic sentimentalism, but they should safely be consigned to a region outside the pale of history and scientific research. The author quotes Lopes Mendes to prove the race-homogeneity of the Brazilians and the Indians. But what Prof. Pissurlencar is apt to forget with Lopes Mendes is that the Indians of the so-called Aryan stock, from whom the learned author attempts to trace the origin of the American people, had already outgrown the totemic age, when tradition and history began to record their achievements. So that the primitive totemic culture of the latter shows very little in common to a more advanced

and highly developed civilization of ancient India. Unless and until a comparative study is made, on a more accurate and scientific basis, of the ethnology of the two races, nothing definite can be said on their supposed correlation.

The Aztec culture was probably only nearing the dawn of a literature when the Spaniards overthrew it in the most inhuman manner. Pictographic representations, in line and colour, interspersed with phonetic signs here and there, and supplemented by oral description, constituted the record of their national mind when the conquistadors of Western Europe unfurled their banner of Christian charity on the shores of Mexico. Pictographic writing has not yet been found anywhere in India, so as to enable us to say that it formed a part of her culture; and this simple fact is certainly good enough to prove that the statement so often made about the Indian origin of American civilisation has not much to commend itself to our serious consideration. Worship of the sun and the moon by the American races savours a good deal of cruder animism and is in no way connected with its Brahminical counterpart. As regards the traces of Buddhism stated to be found among the American Indians, we are still greatly in doubt and cannot accept such conclusions as the author deduces or refers to, unless more solid and tangible proofs are forthcoming.

S. KUMAR.

MARATHI.

MARATHI RIYASAT OR HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PERIOD, VOL. II. (A.D 1707-1740): by Mr. G. S. Sardesai B.A. (Baroda). Publisher: Mr. G. V. Kulkarni, Udayan Press, Bombay. Pages 478. Price Rs. 2-12.

The time of making Maratha history is, alas! long past and that of writing that history from what old records and Bakhars the cruel hand of Destruction has spared to us in scattered batches, has come. It is indeed a stupendous task, bristling with difficulties. Mr. Sardesai has already earned an enviable distinction in this line by producing the first volume of his Maratha history, which exhaustively deals with the Maratha Rajas of Satara. The book under review which treats of the lives and activities of the first two Peshwas, viz., Balaji Vishwanath and Bajirao I, is no less exhaustive and gives a pretty clear idea of the way in which the two Peshwas successfully raised a magnificent superstructure of the Maratha Empire on the foundation truly and surely laid by the Great Shivaji. Mr. Sardesai has exploited all available papers and books on the subjects, carefully sifted and sorted his materials and utilised them in such a manner as to make a running, consistent and very readable story. He has quoted chapter and verse for every statement made, has felt no pang in overthrowing and exploding many absurd old traditions which have hitherto passed for history, and has succeeded in some places in revolutionising Maratha history. The chief merit of his work lies in the fact

that the author has shown a very high regard for truth. He appears to have a firm belief in the dictum that truth unadorned is adorned the best. One can have honest difference of opinion with him on several controversial points. But it must be said to the author's credit that he has not wilfully allowed his judgment to be warped by false notions of pride and has shown every incident in its true perspective. The book bears ample evidence of the patient research, love of labour, and true insight into the subject on the part of its author and it is to be hoped that Mr. Sardesai will ere long be able to complete the *magnum opus*, on Maratha history, on which he has set his heart and for which he has laboured so long.

V. G. APTE.

HINDI.

NIBANDHA-RATNAMALA: by Chanddhai Jain: published by Kumār Devendra Prasad, Premmandir, Arrah. Pp. 120. Price 8 annas (1920).

This is the third publication in the series—"The Indian Girl's Own Library." Most of the topics will be of interest to ladies, and the essay on Kanya-mahavidyalaya is very readable. The writer has, on the whole, succeeded in her aim and we hope the work will be in the hands of the fair sex.

PALASI KA JUDDHA. Translator's nom-de-plume "Madhupa." Publisher, Sahitya-sadan, Fhansi. Pp. 139+XLI. Price Rs. 1-8-0. Sambat 1977.

This is a translation in Hindi verse of *Palashir Juddha* by the Bengali poet Nabin Ch. Sen, with a Preface, a short life of the original author, and translation of the critical notes by Kāli Prasanna Ghosh and Bankim Ch. Chatterjee.

We congratulate the translator on this attempt. He has spared no pains to render the original into Hindi verse, but we regret the force and vigour has been lost in translation. We think the translator would have done better by working more independently. The Bengali metre which the translator has tried to preserve has not been found in keeping with the genius of the Hindi tongue.

MEGASTHENES KA BHARAT-VIVARANA: translated by Awadh Behari Saran, M.A., B.L. Published by the Arrah-Nagari-Pracharini Sabha. Price 8 annas (1910).

This translation is from the English edition of Mr. McCrindle, and not from the original Greek. The writer says that he finished the translation within a week and could not revise it. The work is on the whole

a valuable addition to Hindi historical literature and its worth is enhanced by the copious foot-notes. A full index should have been added at the end of the book.

R. B.

BENGALI.

PUNDIT SHIVNATH SASTRI JIVAN-CHARIT: (LIFE OF PUNDIT SHIVNATH SASTRI): by Hemlata Devi. Price Rs. 3-8. Published by the New Era Publishing House, 168, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 1327 B. S. Pp. 352+32 (Appendix).

It is difficult for commonplace people to understand the strength of character required of a young man, born and brought up in the orthodox fold, dearly loving his parents and other relations, and passionately beloved and looked up to by them in turn, who could cut himself adrift to join the Theistic church at the call of his conscience amidst universal obloquy and yet retain his love and admiration for his parents, and as the story of *Meja Bau* shows, lose none of his sincere appreciation of all the virtues of orthodox Hindu society. Such a man was Pandit Shivrath Sastri. The story of his life as unfolded in these pages is inspiring reading to all who love to trace the footsteps of a really great man, whatever may be the colour of his creed. As a learned preacher and missionary, social reformer, political worker, and literary man, the public has a rough idea of what Pandit Shivrath was; but it is in his domestic life, which of course was screened from the public gaze, that he shines most in the pages of his daughter, for here we find him as the ideal husband, father and son. We also get glimpses of his spiritual life, culled from the pages of his diary. A man of such versatile talents is rare in any community, but above all towered his noble personality, by virtue of which he attained, towards the latter part of his long life, the position of the director of conscience of the enlightened Brahmo community. He lived and died a poor man, though large sums of money passed through his hands and were applied by him for the welfare of the Brahmo Samaj, in which there is perhaps no man living who combines so many intellectual gifts with such moral and spiritual fervour. Bengal is distinctly the poorer by the loss of one who in so many and various ways stood in the forefront of her eminent sons. The story of his life has been well told in these pages by his eldest daughter whom he loved so dearly. The book is illustrated with many photographs and is excellently printed and bound and will no doubt command a large sale.

X.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE Joint Select Committee in their Report has the following paragraph on female franchise:

"The question whether women should or should

not be admitted to the franchise on the same terms as men should be left to the newly elected legislative council of each province to settle by resolution. The Government of India should be instructed to make rules so that, if a legislative council so voted, women

might be put upon the register of voters of that province. The Committee have not felt able to settle this question themselves as urged by the majority of witnesses who appeared before them. It seems to them to go deep into the social system and susceptibilities of India, and therefore, to be a question which can only, with any prudence, be settled in accordance with the wishes of Indians themselves as constitutionally expressed."

As the question is likely to come up soon before the provincial councils, champions of women's rights may be interested to hear what the great historian Lecky, who was so conservative in his political instincts, had to say on the subject. We therefore propose here to summarise chapter X of vol. II. of his *Liberty and Democracy* (as far as possible in his own language), where the whole subject has been discussed. It will be seen that in spite of his cautious disposition and wellknown hesitation to launch into new political experiments, Lecky was emphatically in favour of giving the franchise to women on a property qualification.

Lecky begins by quoting Milton :

"My author and disposer, what thou bidst,
Unargued I obey : so God ordains,
God is thy law, thou mine ; to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise."
(Paradise Lost, Book IV.)

That was the old English view, and this view of woman's place in relation to man continued to hold good even down to the time of Rousseau who advocated universal suffrage for men but omitted all mention of the political rights of women, who, according to him, were especially made to please men. It was Mary Wollstonecraft, who, in her 'Vindication of the Rights of Women' first drew the attention of the English people to this question. Charles Fox was of opinion that 'all the superior classes of the female sex of England must be more capable of exercising the elective suffrage with deliberation and propriety than the uninformed individuals of the lowest class of men to whom the advocates of universal suffrage would extend it,' but he found the explanation of this anomaly in the fact that the chief end of all healthy political systems is to obtain independent voters, and that by the law of nations, and perhaps of nature the female sex is dependent on the male. Bailey, the author of 'The Rationale of Political Representation,' which appeared in 1835, took up the woman's cause and advanced spirited arguments in the course of which he said that the stronger

half of the human race have almost universally used their power to oppress the weaker, and that in the relations between men and women, as in all other relations, irresponsible power has been continually abused. The higher classes of women are undoubtedly superior in intelligence to the lower classes of men, and all that is necessary is to place their pecuniary qualifications higher. Even the necessity of such a higher qualification may be doubted, in as much as in that peculiar intelligence which is requisite for a judicious choice of persons to fill public offices, females are in some respects greater proficient than men of the same station. Female tact in the discrimination of at least certain qualities of character is universally admitted. At the time of the Reform Bill of 1832, however, no class of women demanded the franchise and the prevailing prejudices on the subject were so strong that it was almost useless to discuss it.

With the great industrial revolution, however, the needle, the distaff and the handloom, which left family life unimpaired, ceased to exist, and the old domestic industries were substituted by gigantic factories in which thousands of women are daily employed. This gave rise to grave social problems, and social legislation, which had to be widely different for men and women, for not only are women physically weaker and the strain of excessive toil tells more quickly upon them; but the great fact of maternity clearly separates female from male labour. This legislation was dictated not by pure philanthropy, but also by trade jealousy, for in many of the fields of modern industry, e.g., the medical profession, men and women are the keenest rivals and competitors. Separate and even antagonistic interests of a vital character having arisen, the case for giving women some voice in legislation has greatly strengthened.

Higher education of women came into vogue in England with the impulse given to education by the Act of 1870 and many women's colleges were established. The movement in favour of female education seemed to Lecky to be wholly good. It sent them to the world far better equipped for the battle of life, with more developed capacities and more serious and varied interests. Nor had it robbed them of their ladylike graces. But with education the spirit of independence grew, and John Stuart Mill, more than any

other man, brought the movement into prominence in his treatise on the subjection of women. Till the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 was passed, the law of inheritance was grossly unfair to women; the law of divorce continues to be so to this day; and so also the law as to the religious education of the children of mixed marriages. The case for female suffrage was in England considerably strengthened by the fact that there a ratepaying woman voted at elections, and often at contested elections, conducted for the most part in much the same way as elections for members of Parliament. She voted for parish and district councils, for county councils, for school boards, and poor law guardians. In nearly all these elections she may be a candidate as well as a voter. In India she has not had this preliminary training in political work.

In ancient Greece and Rome women were jealously excluded, both by law and public opinion, from all political functions. Lecky stoutly contests the position that the faculties of women are, on the whole, inferior to those of men.

"In modern England, the organising and administrative ability shown by women in poor houses, hospitals, prisons and schools and in countless works of elaborate and far reaching beneficence, will be disputed by no one who is acquainted with the social history of the century. How many fortunes wasted by negligence or extravagance have been restored by a long minority under female management; and where can we find in a large class a higher level of business habits and capacity than that which all competent observers have recognised in French women of the middle class? Who can doubt that the qualities shown by women in all these spheres are qualities that are eminently useful in public life?"

The argument against female franchise drawn from their inability to fight does not hold water. In England, only a small fraction of the population join the army. Infirm men, and men who have passed sixty, are not disenfranchised because they are excluded from the army. Women, like men, pay increased taxes at every declaration of war, and can it be said that an ordinary private soldier was more useful to the State than Florence Nightingale and her band of nurses in the Crimean War? But in truth, war and its concerns form but one of the interests of national life, and there is no real reason why it should have any special connection with the right of voting.

"It has been gravely alleged that the whole

character of the female sex would be revolutionised, or at least seriously impaired, if they were brought by the suffrage into public life. There is perhaps no subject in which exaggerations so enormous and so grotesque may be found in the writings of considerable men. Considered in itself, the process of voting is now merely that of marking once in five or six years a ballot paper in a quiet room, and it may be easily accomplished in five minutes. And can it reasonably be said that the time or thought which an average male elector bestows on the formation of his political opinions is such as to interfere in any appreciable degree with the currents of his thoughts, with the tendencies of his character or life? Men write on this subject as if public life and interests formed the main occupation of an ordinary voter. It is said that domestic life should be the one sphere of women. Very many women—especially those to whom the vote would be conceded—have no domestic, or but few domestic, duties to attend to and are compelled, if they are not wholly frivolous or wholly apathetic, to seek spheres of useful activity beyond their homes. Even a full domestic life is scarcely more absorbing to a woman than professional life to a man. Scarcely any woman is so engrossed in it that she cannot bestow on public affairs an amount of time and intelligence equal to that which is bestowed on them by thousands of masculine voters. Nothing can be more fantastic than to argue as if electors in England were a select body, mainly occupied with political studies and public interests."

If it be argued that it is unbecoming for women to join the political arena, the answer is that not only has the ballot taken away from elections their old turbulence, but that women in England have been playing an ever-increasing part in politics, and even if we would, we could not keep them from participation in politics, for they appear frequently on the platform and are active and successful canvassers. The concession of the vote is therefore not needed to make them politicians though it might make their politics more serious and less irresponsible.

It is surely an anomaly that the purchase of a house or a piece of land should confer the right of voting if the purchaser is a male, but not if she is a female, that women who are landed proprietors or heads of great industrial undertakings should be surrounded by dependents and tenants who possess the right of voting through their favour, while the proprietor herself is denuded of all political power, and that in a land where the inseparable connection of taxation and representation has been preached as a cardinal principle of freedom, female taxpayers should have no voice in the disposal of imperial taxation.

An argument against female suffrage is that thereby married women, who are the important section of the sex, would be excluded

ed on the ground of their ceasing to be rate-payers. The force of this argument has however been greatly exaggerated. Married and unmarried women would not under the proposed measure be sharply or permanently divided. Great numbers of female voters would be constantly passing into the married state. Great numbers of married women would be constantly acquiring by widowhood the right of voting; and married women with independent property would retain their votes in the married state.

The entrance of women into the field of politics would no doubt make the elimination of priestly influence from the political arena difficult; but this applies much more in the case of Catholic countries where women are absolutely under ecclesiastical influence than in the English speaking world. In India, educated professional women with independent property qualifications are more likely to be free from religious prejudices than even many educated male voters.

As for the results of the enfranchisement of women, Lecky is of opinion that it would raise the standard of private morality required in public men, and increase the importance of character in public life. It would probably be a conservative influence, very hostile to revolutionary and predatory change. It would also probably tend somewhat, though not in any overwhelming degree, to strengthen ecclesiastical influence, especially in questions relating to religious education. Questions connected with the social condition of the masses of the people will receive an increased prominence in legislation, and women would make it the interest of the people's representatives to give them an increased share of their attention. At the same time it should be remembered that women, and especially

unmarried women, are on the whole more impulsive than men; more easily induced to gratify an undisciplined or misplaced compassion, to the neglect of the larger and more permanent interests of society [e.g., their vehement opposition to vivisection]; more apt to dwell upon the proximate than the more distant results; more subject to fanatisms, which often acquire almost the intensity of monomania. A due sense of the proportion of things; an adequate subordination of impulse to reason; an habitual regard to the ultimate and distant consequences of political measures; a sound, sober and unexaggerated judgment, are elements which already are lamentably wanting in political life, and female influence would certainly not tend to increase them. Nor is it likely that it would be in the direction of liberty. With women, even more than men, there is a strong disposition to overrate the curative powers of legislation, to attempt to mould the lives of men in all their details by meddling or restraining laws; and an increase of female influence could hardly fail to increase that habit of excessive legislation which is one of the great evils of the time.

On the whole, however, Lecky's conclusion is as follows:

"Women form a great section of the community and as we have seen, they have many special interests. The opening to them of employments, professions and endowments; the regulation of their labour; questions of women's property and succession; the punishment of crimes against women; female education laws relating to marriage, guardianship and divorce may all be cited; and in the great drink question they are the more sober sex, they are also, it is to be feared the sex which suffers most from the consequences of intemperance. With such a catalogue of special interests it is impossible to say that they have not claim to representation if they desire it."

Z.

A CRY FOR PEACE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

THE world is crying for peace. The West is desiring the restoration of peace through a League of Powers. But can Powers find their equilibrium

in themselves? Power cannot be made secure only against power, it must also be made secure against the weak; for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The

weak are as great a danger for the strong, as quicksands for an elephant. They do not assist progress, because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wield absolute power over others are apt to forget, that by doing it they generate an unseen disruptive force, which some day rends that power into pieces. The dumb fury of the down-trodden finds its awful support from the universal law of moral balance. The air which is thin and weak gives birth to storms that nothing can resist. This has been proved in history over and over again; and stormy forces arising from the heart of insulted humanity are openly gathering in the air even in the present day. Yet the psychology of athletic might stubbornly refuses its lessons and despises to take count of the terrible ness of the weak. This is the gross stupidity, that, like an unsuspected worm, burrows at the bottom of the muscular bulk of the prosperous and the proud. Have we never read of the gorgeousness of a power, supinely secure in its arrogance, in a moment dissolving in the air at the explosion of the outraged weak? Politicians calculate upon the number of mailed hands that are on the sword-hilts; they do not possess the third eye to see the great invisible hand, that clasps in silence the hand of the helpless and waits its time. The strong form their League by combination of Powers, driving the weak to form their league alone with their God. I know I am crying in the wilderness, when I raise my voice of warning; and while the West is busy in its organisation for building its machine-made peace, it will still continue to nourish, with its iniquities, underground forces of earthquake in the vast bosom of the Eastern Continent. The West seems unconscious that Science, by providing it with more and more power, is tempting it to suicide, encouraging it to accept the challenge of the disarmed, not knowing that this challenge comes from a higher source.

Two prophecies about the world's salvation are cherished in the hearts of the two great religions of the world. They represent the highest expectation of man, thereby indicating his faith in a truth, which he instinctively considers as ultimate,—the truth of love. These prophecies have not for their vision the fettering of the world into tameness with a closely linked power forged in the factory of a political steel trust. One of these religions has, for its meditation, the image of Buddha who is to come, Maitreya, the Buddha of love. And he is to bring peace. The other religion waits for the coming of Christ. For Christ preached peace when he preached love, when he preached Oneness of the Father among brothers who are many. And this was the truth of peace. Christ never held that peace was the best policy. For policy is not truth. The calculation of self-interest can never successfully fight the irrational force of passion—the passion which is perversion of love, and which can only be set aright by the truth of love. So long as the Powers build a League on the foundation of their desire for safety, and for securest enjoyment of gains,—for consolidation of past injustice, for putting off reparation of wrongs, while their fingers still wriggle for grabbing and still reek of blood,—rifts will appear in their union, and conflicts in future will take greater force and magnitude. It is the national and commercial egoism, which is the evil harbinger of war; by different combinations it changes its shape and dimensions, but not its nature. This egoism is still held almost as sacred as religion; and such religion, by its mere change of temple and of committee of priests, will never save men. We must know that, as, through science and commerce, the realisation of the unity of the material world gives us power, so the realisation of the great spiritual unity of man only can give us peace.

GLEANINGS



Spirit communication through an electric apparatus.

Married at 100.

Dr. Andrew Malcolm Morrison is one hundred years old, and this interesting American centenarian has recently taken a bride. Miss Mary Augusta Barney, the blushing bride, gave her age on the marriage record as at least seventy-two. And then she added: "I really do not know just how old I am—I stopped thinking about my age so long ago that I have forgotten the milestones of the years."

Her mature years of maidenhood have brought her to a very practical, if unromantic, view of matrimony. When asked if she thought marriage at her time of life would be likely to promise happiness, she replied: "Oh! I never believed in early marriages. I do not believe in all this silly twaddle about romance. Marriage is a partnership, as I view it. We have entered into a covenant because the doctor and I have many interests in common and we can be mutually helpful to each other. This is a sufficient ground for marriage without the nonsense of romantic unrealities."

"I have never been married before," continued Mrs. Morrison, "but Dr. Morrison is not my first lover. I have been interested in several men in my life, but none who had the mental attainments and who were as congenial in every way as Dr. Morrison is. There is such a strong telepathic communication between the doctor and myself that I have had mental pictures of him thrown on my wall at night when I would be alone and thinking of him. Once I saw him ill and in need of attention, and I immediately went to him and found him



Dr. Andrew M. Morrison, the One-hundred-year-old Bride-groom, and his Bride.

in just the condition that the clairvoyant vision depicted."

She is now engaged in helping her husband write his new book on pantherapy, which they both feel sure is going to revolutionise the practice of medicine.

Dr. Morrison has a very interesting philosophy of life of his own. He asserts, "There is no such thing as dying. Men let their minds stagnate and this causes the mechanism of their bodies to rust." So throughout his life he has kept his mind active and alert by learning languages, music and various other subjects besides medicine, so that it may not rust. One of the best ways to prolong life, according to him, is to find something to laugh at every day.

Communicating with the Dead.

Mr. Thomas A. Edison, the foremost inventor of modern times, has recently stated that the



Mr. Edison believes that Scientists who grasp the Principles of his Instrument, will, when they "pass over" be able to Communicate with other living Scientists.

problem of receiving messages from the dead is a problem of pure science, and that he is endeavouring to perfect an apparatus which will make it possible to record messages from the spirit world if there are any spirit and if they desire to communicate with us. It is Mr. Edison's belief that only through some specially constructed scientific instrument will a message ever come from the realms of the departed, and that it will be from some spirit of a dead scientist—some wireless expert or telegraph expert or physicist—that the first message will come.

The present method of receiving pretended messages from the dead through so-called spiritualistic "mediums" Mr. Edison regards as absurd.

Mr. Edison is not yet ready to divulge the details of his invention or reveal the exact principles involved in its operation. He has, however, said enough to lead to the belief that the plans to accomplish this modern miracle by means of a wonderful "spirit wireless"—an adaptation to communication between the world of the living and the world of the dead of the wireless telegraphy now in use on this earth.

The Father of Cat.

The remote ancestor of all the cats has been found petrified in Colorado. He is fifteen million years old.

In those days the ancestor of the cats was a dinosaur, about 25 ft. long and 12 ft. high. Science has christened him *Ceratosaurus*. It looked exactly like the reconstruction shown in

the picture, and it was about the fiercest, most cantankerous and devilish creation of its time. The ancestor of man just then was kept busy keeping out of its way. After ten million years *Ceratosaurus* had changed into a ferocious cat to which science has given the name *Oxyæna Lupina*, which was somewhat of the same stature with that of the *Tarsius*, the ancestor of man.

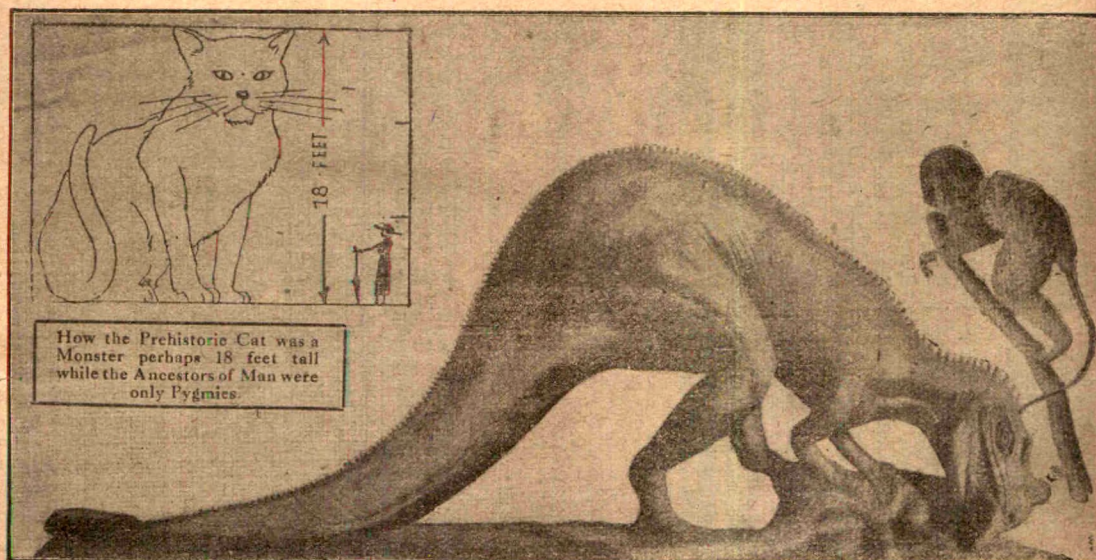
Ceratosaurus was a lizard with certain, or horn-like substance on the top of his nose. He was also a typical Theropod, because he walked on his toes. He had short fore legs and long hind legs, and sharp cutting teeth. The skull was very large in proportion to the rest of the skeleton, the back part being most elevated and widest. The face was long, tapering gradually to the muzzle. Seen from above, it resembled that of a crocodile in outline.

As a carnivore its particular prey is believed to have been the herbivorous dinosaur. *Ceratosaurus* had the largest brain case, proportionately, of all carnivorous dinosaurs, far exceeding those of herbivorous dinosaurs. This is exactly what was repeated when mammals arrived. The cat family are the brainiest of mammals.

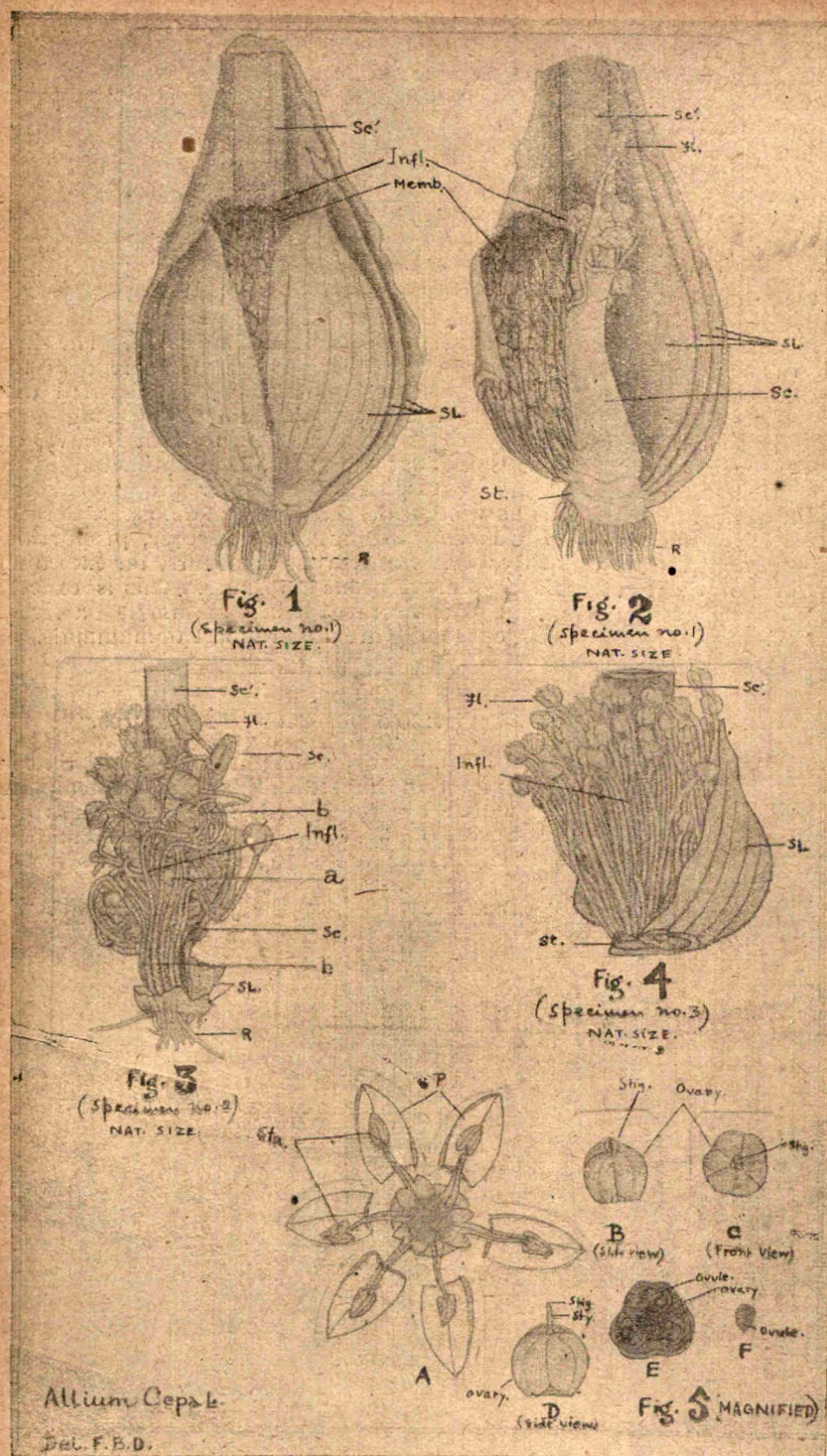
Some Monstrous Onion Bulbs.

It is a matter of common knowledge that in the realm of Nature ordinary phenomena are regulated by some definite laws of nature. But occasionally, we meet with curious instances which render the study of these laws somewhat complex.

In a recent issue of the *Journal of the Bom-*



Ceratosaurus, the Father of Cat.



Monstrous Onion Bulbs.

bay Natural History Society Mr. P. M. Debbarm, B.Sc., F.L.S., has dealt with a curious phenomenon of this nature.

In course of collecting curious botanical specimens he came across a few onion bulbs which, though slightly compressible, were, in outward appearance, quite like other ordinary bulbs. So these did not excite any curiosity at first. But on dissecting, these were found to contain flowers etc. in various stages of development, covered by a membranous covering in each bulb.

Under normal circumstances a central hollow stalk called 'scape' issues from the bottom and bears on its head the flowers arranged in the form of an umbel like the flowers of Coriander and Aniseed, etc. But in one of these bulbs (see Fig. 4) there was no trace of such a stalk and in other it was represented rather very poorly. In the specimen represented in Fig. 1 the stalk underwent so much modification that it was, unlike ordinary stalks of onion, quite stunted and fleshy, bearing the flowers on one side instead of on its top.

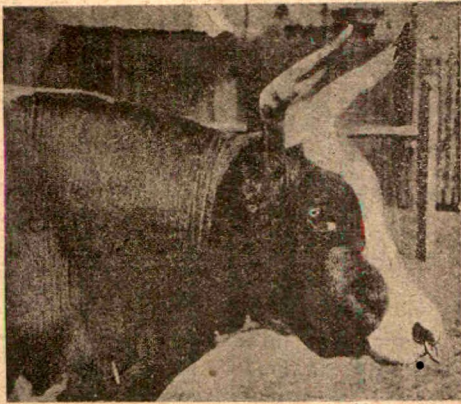
The stalk (Sc.) in Fig. 3, on being dissected showed that the modification was due to the pressure exerted by the different organs growing inside the bulbs and the shrivelling outer layers of scales.

It is said that 'Exceptions prove the rule.' Monstrosities or malformations like these, which we occasionally meet with, are of help to us in forming clear ideas regarding the definite laws of nature. As they are sometimes of special use in settling intricate questions of

relationship, development etc., they are of value in the scientific world, although to the laymen they are only of passing interest.—A.B.

Illusion of the Eye.

It seems in the above picture as if there are two different cows. But it represents an Australian cow in black and white. The markings and colour of the cow's face and



A Single Cow that Looks Double.

body not only render it very curious but at the sametime novel and illusive.

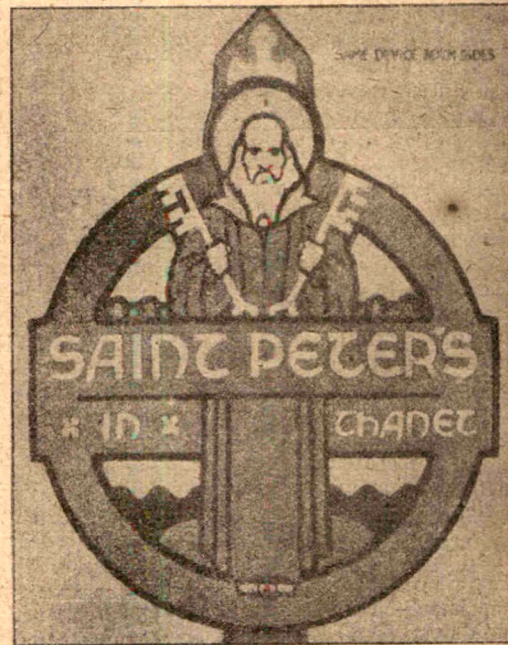
Artistic Signs for the Highway.

Recently an interesting exhibition of village signs—an artistic attempt to represent the pecu-



May Queen for Mayfield, Sussex.
The second prize winner.

liar characteristics and beauties of each village, was held in London. Last spring the young Duke of York had thrown a suggestion, at the banquet of the Royal Academy, recommending to paint village signs. The enterprising newspaper, the Daily Mail, took up the suggestion and offered prizes for it. Six hundred designs were submitted amongst which two hundred were exhibited. The exhibition was in the form of an effort to supply the villages with signs, and it is hoped that it would mark a big step



"SAINT PETER WITH THE KEYS OF HEAVEN."

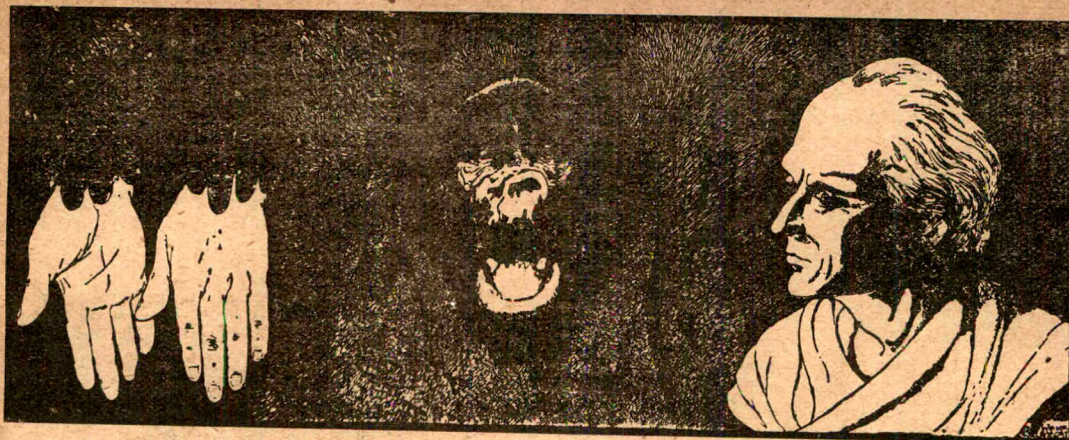
The village sign for St. Peter's, Thanet. It won the first prize in the village-sign competition.

in the revival of those ancient glories of the road which must always appeal to the traditional sentiment. Mr. Percy Mathews, an Essex man and a junior designer to a London firm of art decorators, won the first prize. The name of the second prize winner is Mr. Webb. The third prize winner is a lady named Miss Dorothy Hutton.

We reproduce here the two signs which carried off the first and the second prizes respectively.

The Power of Thinking.

Science tells us that, at the start, a million years or more ago, the man and the gorilla were close together, mentally, the gorilla in its tropical forest, the animal that was to become man living in the north near the Mediterranean and in north-western Europe.



THINKING MAN AND HOWLING GORILLA.

This picture of two heads and two pairs of hands shows you what Thought has done in creating the skull and hands of the Gorilla and man.

The gorilla was a powerful monster able to fight a lion. Therefore, he relied on teeth and hands and brute force and hatred. He never did any thinking, because he never felt the need of thought. The creature that was to become man was feeble, timid. Any one of a dozen animals could kill him. They all frightened him whereas no animal frightens the gorilla.

This feebler man-creature, smaller, weak in muscle, hiding in caves, running up trees to escape, had to think. And therein lay his salvation and progress.

In this picture gorilla and man are doing the same thing—each is attacking a problem. The gorilla's problem always is: "How can I kill and drive out what does not please me; how can force my will with violence?" You see him, arms up, reaching to destroy. He has no other method.

The man's problem presents itself to him in this way: "How can I overcome force and

violence by justice and intelligence? With no use of force, using the invisible power of thought in his brain, man harnesses the Falls of Niagara, which have the power of a million gorillas. That same thinking power enables man to control the forces of nature and the violence of the fiercest animals.

Thought has raised the forehead and chiselled the face, chin, mouth and nose of man, and developed the human hand, developing the thumb, once a mere stub, that acts, now as powerful assistant to each of the four fingers.

In ages gone by, a million years ago, the face of that man's ancestor was no better than the face of this gorilla's. Thinking has made all the difference.

The human face and hands represent the manufactured product. And thought is the power that does the manufacturing.

INDIA

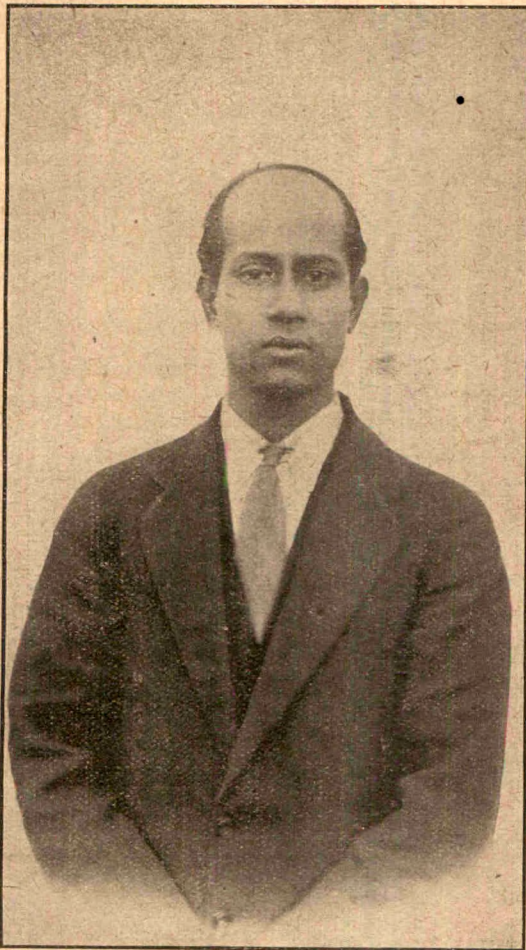
You are clad in sumptuous pride.
Your thought,
As hills that take Heaven to bride,
Is wrought
With Truth older than the Sun's,
Whence Beauty—a leaping river runs.

MURIEL SAFFORD.

A BENGALI SCULPTOR
THE ART OF FANINDRA BOSE

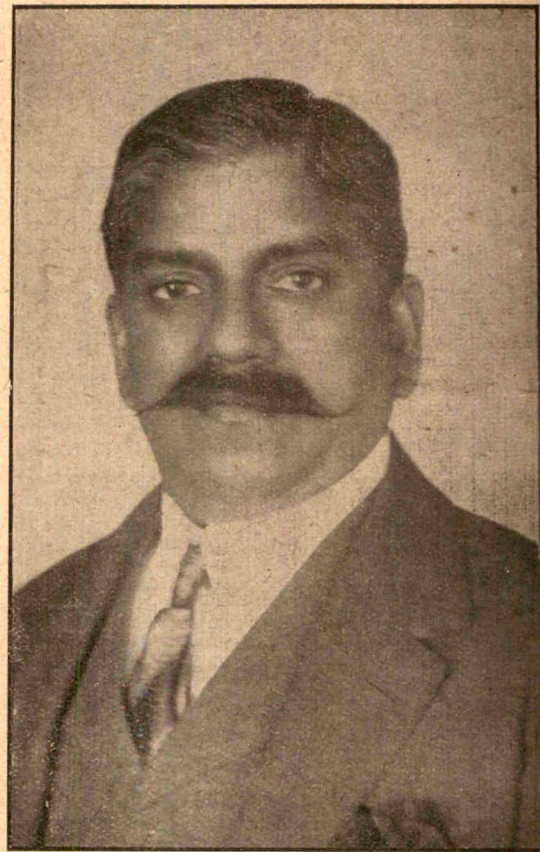
By St. NIHAL SINGH.

A few months ago a well-known Scottish painter who was calling upon me, told me of an Indian artist friend of his who had a studio in Edinburgh, and who had made a number of most artistic statues.



MR. FANINDRA BOSE.

I did not lose any time in getting in touch with the artist—Fanindra Bose, and found that my friend the Scottish painter had not in the least exaggerated the quality of Bose's work,



H. H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR
OF BARODA.

Who commissioned Mr. Fanindra Bose to execute a series of eight bronze statuettes for his Laxmivilas Palace garden at Baroda.

as the illustrations reproduced with this article will abundantly testify. His statues and statuettes exhibited at the Royal Academy have won him great renown.

Let me preface my remarks about this Bengali sculptor's work with a short account of their creator.

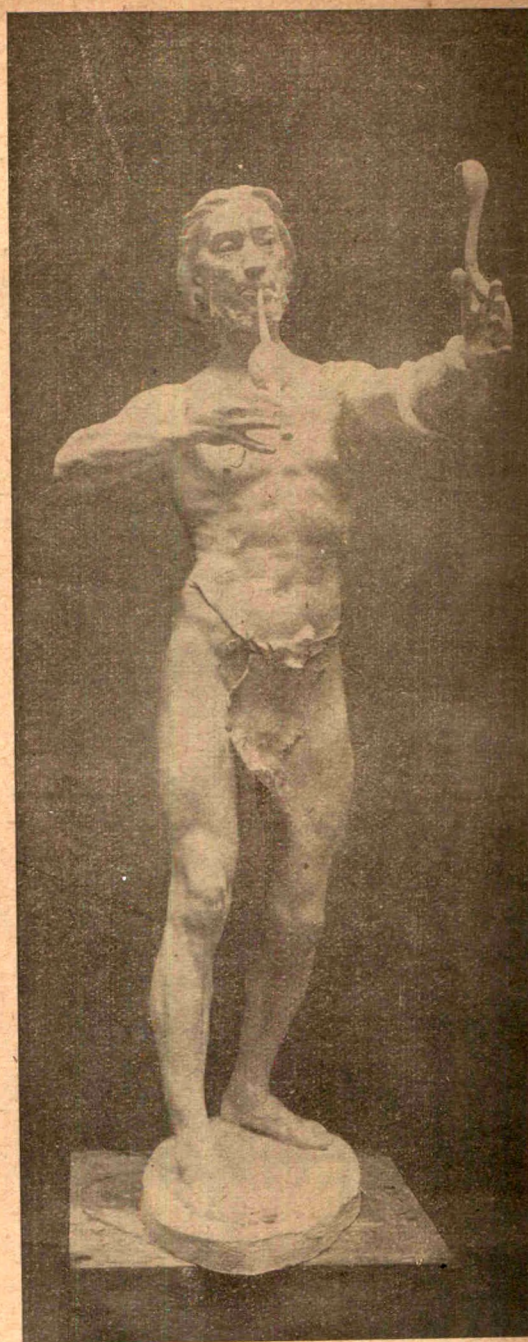
Born in East Bengal on March 2, 1888, Fanindra Bose displayed, quite early in life,



TO THE WELL.

a strong love for art. His father, Babu Taranath Bose, had the good sense to allow his son to follow his bent and woo the muse.

As a lad of 14, Fanindra joined the Government School of Art in Calcutta—that

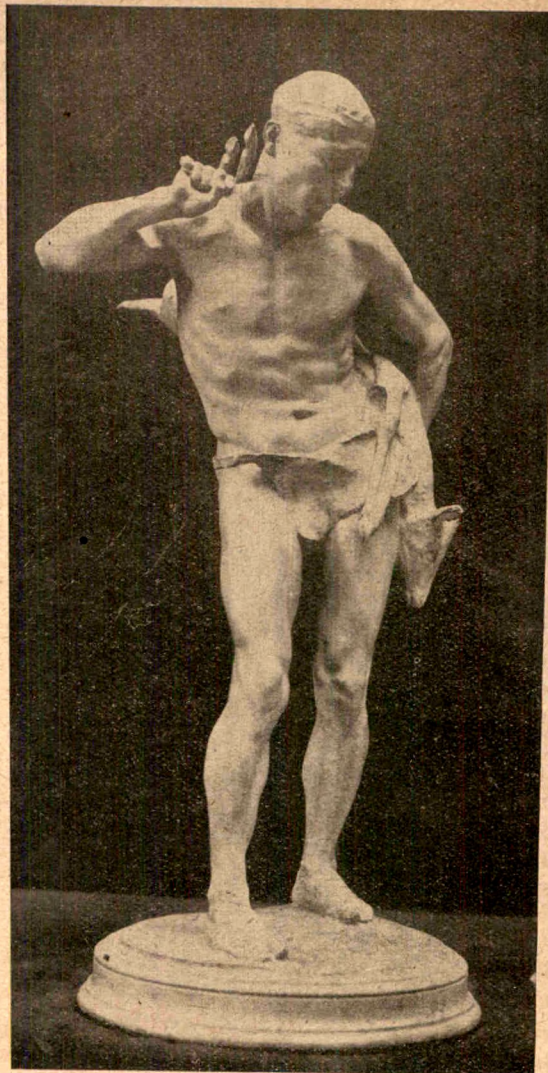


THE SNAKE CHARMER.

school which, under Mr. E. B. Havell, diverted young Indians from perpetrating soulless paintings in imitation of Western schools of art, to finding inspiration in the Indian tradition that then was struggling to keep



THE END OF THE DAY.



THE HUNTER.

Exhibited at the Royal Academy and purchased by Sir William Gascombe John, R. A. A copy of the statuette was purchased by H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

alive. After staying at that school for some time, he came to Britain and studied painting and sculpture at the Royal Institution, Edinburgh.

While a student there he captured several scholarships, bursaries and medals. Entering the Edinburgh College of Art in 1909, he studied sculpture for three years under Percy Portsmouth, A. R. S. A. Awarded the Diploma of the Edinburgh College of Art in 1911, and a travelling scholarship of £100,

Bose travelled for a year in France and Italy. In Paris he met Rodin, the great French sculptor, who took a great interest in his work and gave him many helpful suggestions. Returning to Scotland, the young Bengali set up his own studio.

Bose exhibited his first work in the Royal Scottish Academy in 1913. He next exhibited at the Royal Academy two statuettes, "The Boy and the Crab", and "The Hunter", both of which were purchased by Sir William Gascombe John, R.A.

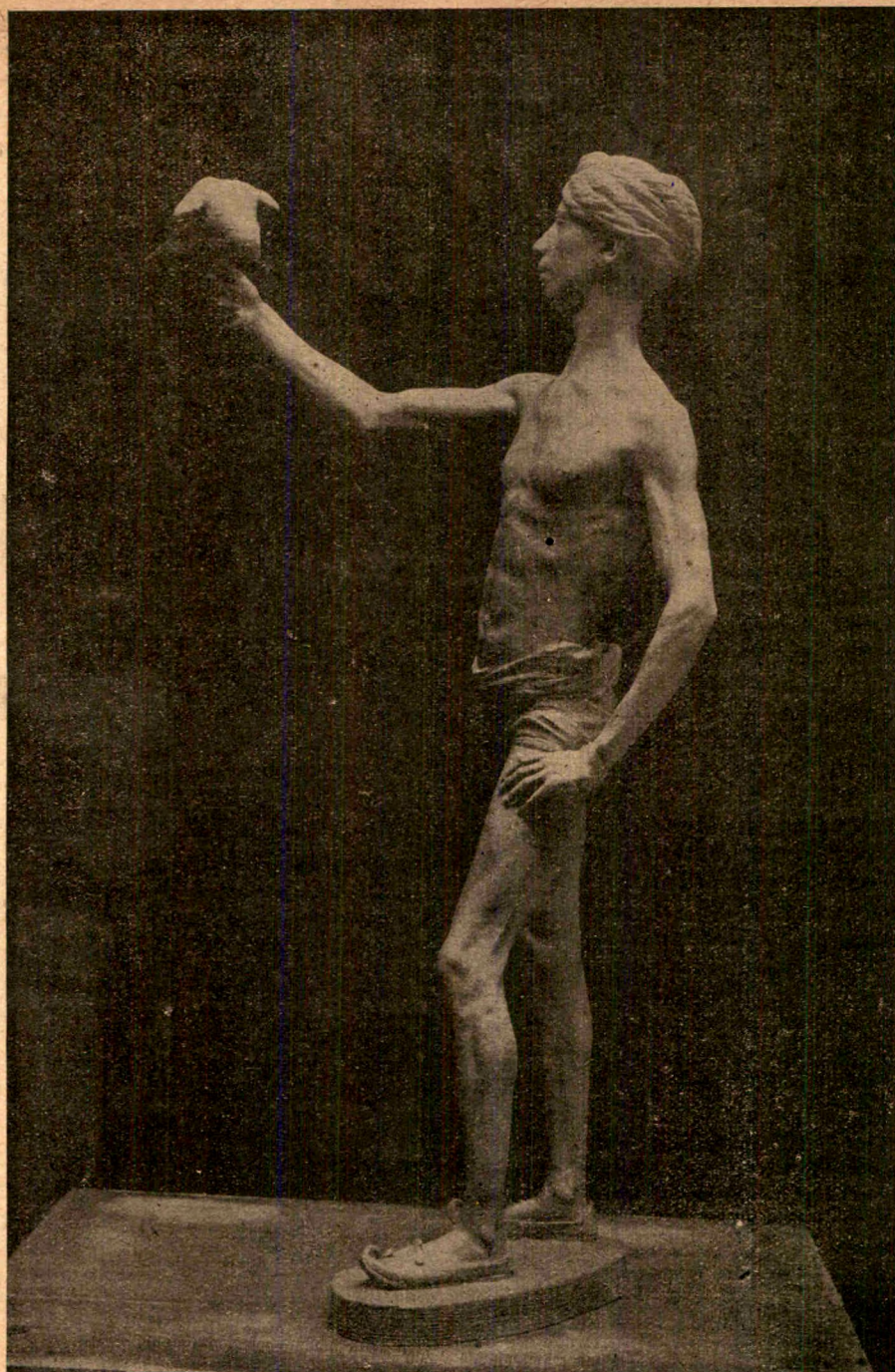
His Highness the Maharaja-Gaekwar saw "The Hunter", and was so attracted by it that he persuaded him to make a copy of it for the Art Gallery at Baroda. Later His Highness commissioned him to execute eight three-quarter life-size statuettes in bronze for the Laxmivilas Palace garden at Baroda. The sculptor went out to Baroda with a view to carrying out these eight figures on the spot. On arrival there, however, he came up against insuperable difficulties regarding casting in bronze and the like. He was, therefore, forced to return to his studio in Edinburgh, after remaining in Baroda long enough to enable him to study types and to prepare sketch models, etc. Part of the time he was in Baroda he gave to teaching sculpture at the *Kala Bhavan* (technical institute) at the Maharaja-Gaekwar's capital.

On returning to Edinburgh, Bose began immediately to put his notes into execution and has now completed the eight figures commissioned by the Maharaja-Gaekwar. The "Snake-charmer" and the "Sadhu" were exhibited in the Royal Scottish Academy exhibition at Edinburgh in 1917, and the "Snake-charmer" was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1919 and was very favourably commented upon by the art critics, who predicted a great future for the Bengali sculptor. During His Highness's recent stay in London Bose called upon him and he expressed his gratification at the work completed so far.

Though no blind slave to tradition, refusing to reproduce, for instance, the



TO THE TEMPLE.



THE FALCONER.

Three-fourths life-size statuette, executed for H. H. the Maharaja
Gaekwar of Baroda.

pinched-in waist and the exaggerated almond-shaped eye, Fanindra Bose is powerfully moved by the impulse of Indian tradition, which, considerably toned down by Western influences, constitutes the motive-power of his art. As the Indian artist worthy the name has aimed through the ages, he attempts no photographic portraiture, but seeks to express in the features and poise that he gives to his figures in bronze and marble, the soul within.

Take the "Snake-charmer", for instance. It reproduces that raptness which characterises the Indian who takes to this quaint manner of making a living. One gets the impression that in charming the snake the man has charmed himself into a trance.

Or take the "Sadhu". The figure with the right arm extended depicts a holy man in the act of giving a blessing or benediction. Upon the face are writ calmness, contemplation, benignity. The limbs are those of a man who has wandered far on foot, and bare-footed, from shrine to shrine. The sculptor tells me that he has sought to represent not the present day Sadhu but the religious devotee of ancient India—the highly intellectual and spiritual type.

The same is true of the labourer in the "End of the Day"—an Indian conception of the feeling that inspired Millet to paint "The

Angelus". You can see that the man is tired, and yet there is a certain indescribable calmness in his countenance, as if, in spite of his utter weariness, he is at peace with the world.

Bose's "To the Well" and more especially his "Hunter" are, perhaps, the least characteristically Indian of his sculptures. The "Hunter" might belong to any nation.

When I first saw the figure "To the Well" I felt that Bose had reproduced a Scottish rather than an Indian figure, and a Scottish friend of mine gifted with considerable artistic genius, took the same view; but I soon discovered my mistake. The idea for it was conceived in a little village near Baroda and the figure represents an exceedingly fine Mahratta type.

Still in his early thirties, Fanindra Bose is but at the beginning of his career. I understand that he is leaving Edinburgh to come to London where he expects to settle down for at least some time. I, however, wish that now that he has mastered the technique of his art he would go back to India to find inspiration in the fields and forests and bazars of his motherland, where life, touched here and there with modern tendencies, is assuming new aspects that intensify her romance—enhance her glamour.

THE HINDUSTHANI ASSOCIATION OF PARIS

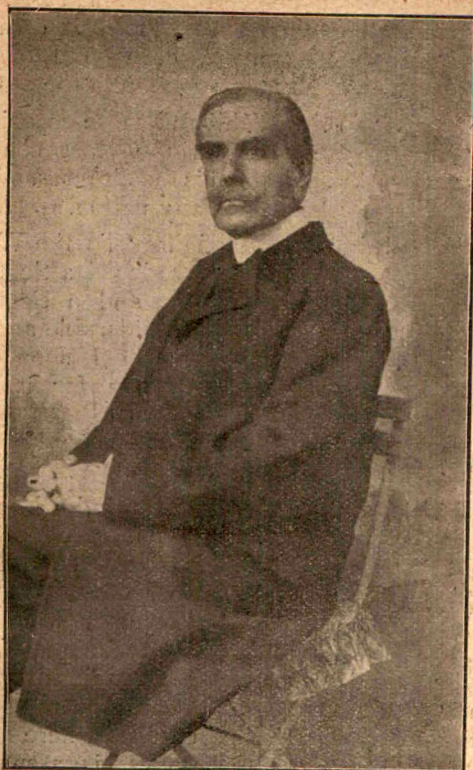
I THINK, the name of the *Hindusthani Association of Paris* is known to the public of India through the columns of some of the Indian journals. The former name of the Association was the 'Indian Social Club,' but we had to change the name owing to the fact that the word Indian is commonly understood by the French to mean the Red Indians of America. The Secretary of the Association is Prof. V. G. Paranjpe, late of Fergusson College, Poona. The first president was Prof. R. D. Karve, who has returned to India recently.

On the 13th of January last the members of the Association organised a social party, and over five hundred and fifty persons came to take part in it. The directors of the Musée Guimet had kindly lent the use of two of their halls for the purpose. Unfortunately, as the accommodation was very limited, many others had to leave

after just putting in their appearance or taking a cup of tea.

Indian ladies were prominent in the crowd. Many of our pearl merchants were present and directed the proceedings. The merchants chiefly constitute the Indian community of Paris, because just at present there are not more than three or four students over here. French men and women of distinction were the invited guests and they were extremely interested in the affair.

We had among us persons like Flandin (senator), Martineau (director of colonial affairs), Countess de la Loyere, Gourdon (inspector-general of education), Countess Robert de Boyne, members of the editorial staff of the *Excelsior*, the *Figaro*, the *Petit Parsien* and the *Petit Journal*, Berard (minister), Austruy (editor, *La Revue Nouvelle*, a monthly), Berr



M. EMILE SENART

Member of the *Institut de France*.

(editor, *La Revue de Synthèse Historique*), Dr. Weinberg (chief of the laboratory of Pasteur Institute), Mercereau (poet and novelist), Gleizes (painter and author), Crefft (sculptor), Tirman (advocate), Allendy (physician), Boier (director of the school of living oriental languages), Brumpt (parasitologist), Bertrand (biological chemist), Gide and Hauser (economists), Prof. Garner (of U. S. A.), Jeandet Marguerite (of Belgium), Prof. Schieldrop (of the Technological Institute of Norway), Naeser (president of the Franco-Danish Association), Oshumi (Japanese journalist), Jules Bloch (Marathi scholar), Przyluski (late officer in Indo-China), Madame de Manziarly, Mademoiselle Boudry (of the Association of French university-women), and others.

Many other distinguished men such as Croiset (administrator of College de France), Profs. Cestre (sociologist), Gley (physiologist), Roule (pisciculturist), Roger (dean of the faculty of medicine), and Delacroix (psychologist), Vidal (banker and secretary to the Société d'Economie politique), Duponey (director of *Alliance Française*), Farrere (novelist), Pierri Loti Rey (architect), Poete (director of the school of town planning and urban science), Dumay (editor of *LaProgres*

Civique, a weekly), and many others, sent letters of sympathy and expressed regret for being unable to attend the party owing to previous engagements.

The proceedings began with the song *Bande Mataram*. Mr. A. B. Mehta, vice-president of the Hindusthani Association of France, read his report in French stating the objects of the Association. M. Emile Senart, member of the *Institut de France*, who is perhaps known in India chiefly as the author of a book on the caste system, made the first speech. He dwelt on the new tendencies of the French mind as manifest in its efforts to understand the people of the new Orient. In being present at the "reunion" of the Indians he had only done his duty, said he, because as president of the *Association Française des Amis de l'Orient* he was naturally interested in the activities of the Indian residents in France. He offered us the good-will of the French people in our endeavours to assimilate the spirit of modern civilisation.

The next speaker was Sylvain Levi, professor of *College de France*, who is not less known in India than M. Senart. Levi's home every Saturday evening is the rendezvous of



PROF. M. WEINBERG, M.D.

Chief of the laboratory of Institut Pasteur, Paris.

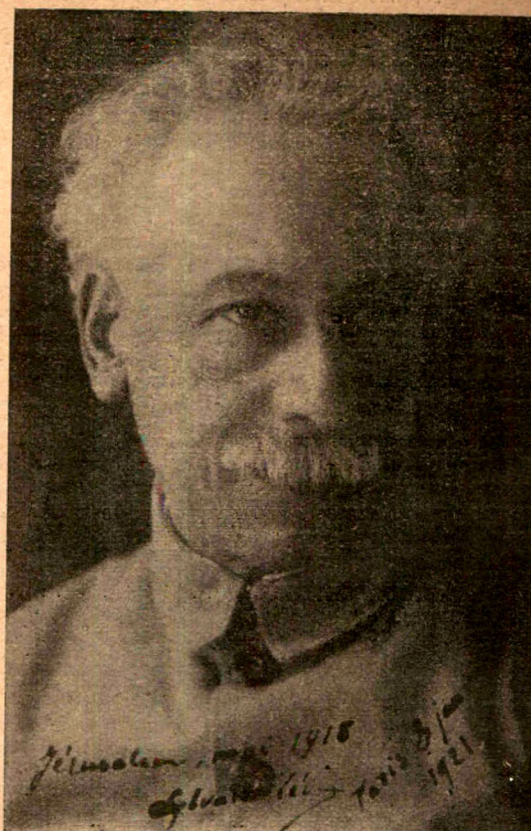
Indians who get the opportunity of meeting scholars of world-wide reputation there like Meillet (the French professor of comparative philology), Sir John Frazer of *The Golden Bough* fame, and others. At *College de France* Prof. Levi is giving a course this year on "India and the Sea". On the present occasion he tried to impress the French guests of the Hindusthani Association with the fact that the achievements of Indian civilisation were not confined to the Indian sub-continent but are to be noted in every part of Asia, specially in the north and the east and in the islands of the south seas.

Hindu music was then played on the violin by Mlle. Maulvault.

Prof. Sudhindra Bose of the Iowa State University (U. S. A.) who is en route to Java, Siam, Indo-China and the Far East came to Paris from Switzerland to communicate the message of the Indians of America to the Indians of France. He spoke particularly in regard to student welfare and described what the Hindusthani Association of America had been doing for students by starting loan funds, publishing educational bulletins and journals, and making the institutions and great men of India better known among the people of the United States. It was only proper, said he, that the Indian students in France should do likewise and co-operate with their comrades on the other side of the Atlantic in order to build up the "World's Indian Student's Federation."

The next speaker was Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, who had reached Paris a few weeks ago. The burden of his address, which was given in French, was the *rapprochement* between France and India. He detailed a scheme by which the French and the Indian people might be brought together in all the different spheres of contemporary activity. Emphasis was laid on industrial and commercial intercourse. But definite proposals were also made in regard to the development of direct Franco-Indian collaboration in scientific research, in journalism and in the exchange of savants. His speech made a very good impression upon the minds of those present.

Prof. Kalidas Nag, late Principal of the Buddhist College at Galle (Ceylon), then sang a song by Rabindranath Tagore. It had been rendered into French and printed on the programme.



PROF. SYLVAIN LEVI.

The function was brought to a close with the exhibition of Indian views by lantern slides. Light refreshments were served in the interval.

Newspaper reports about this Indian function have not been wanting. Altogether the "reunion" has made an impression on the minds of social Paris, and India has discovered France. We have come to realise that India's friends are no longer to be counted, as until yesterday, solely among the few indologists and orientalist who deal with the past but also among those influential pioneers of thought and action who constitute the living "public" in this growing French democracy of to-day.

HEMENDRANATH GHOSH.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Reformation and the Revival of Religion in Europe.

Mr. C. F. Andrews continues his illuminating and important articles on "Christ and Labour" in the *The Young Men of*

India. In the March issue he says, the chief point to bear in mind, when dealing with the subject of the Reformation in Europe, is this :

It brought to the West, at the end of the

Middle Ages, with their guilds and their crafts and their monasteries and their religious and social orders of the most varied kinds, an entirely new atmosphere of individualism,—an individualism so strong and unrestrained and at times so rampant in its license, that it has appeared to earnest men of faith and religion only to lead to war and destruction and to world unrest. Even the iron will of Cromwell could not check it. "The great end of your meeting," he said to the Parliament he had summoned, "is healing and settling. But nothing is in your hearts but overturn, overturn." On another occasion he stated, "Dis-settlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction have been multiplied more in five months than in some years before."

Europe, in the Middle Ages had possessed a very closely interwoven texture of social organization. There were the various degrees in Church and State, clergy and laity, feudal baron and feudal squire, yeoman and serf, burgher and apprentice, master and servant. All was ordered and regulated both by birth and custom. It was a system so rigid in many of its aspects as to not be altogether unlike the caste system of Mediaeval India. Like the caste system, it maintained an almost absolute control over each man and woman and child.

To take one example,—Villeinage bound down the mediæval serf to the soil by birth as surely and rigorously as caste has bound down the Sudra and Namasudra to certain functions, from which they can never be released. Men and women, that is to say, in Mediaeval Europe were born in a certain position. They did not stand alone, and they could not altogether stand outside society unless they became hermits. They had the caste instinct very strongly developed, but as yet they had not developed, to any great or common extent, the instinct of the individual.

Thus the Reformation in Europe brought into the foreground the individual. The plea of the individual conscience to be listened to with a divine authority was its central message. Men rushed from a credulous reliance on the social organism to an extreme reliance upon the infallibility of the individual conscience. All else in the world seemed unimportant to the new religious mind, in comparison with the direct relation of the individual soul to God. God and the soul were the two tremendous realities.

A reaction followed all over Europe towards the close of the seventeenth century. "The fires of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation had almost burnt themselves out. Wars of religion had made cruelly sordid the idealism with which the Reformation had started. Decay

in morals was widespread." Then all of a sudden new life again appeared.

Few pages in European history are more wonderful than the Revival of Religion under Wesley and Whitfield, which was the landmark of the eighteenth century. The submerged and shipwrecked derelicts of humanity, the outcast, the criminal, the sinner and the profligate,—those who had been neglected and left to perish by their fellowmen,—awoke to a new life, as one awakes from some terrible disease and recovers health and strength and joy in living anew.

The story, so powerful and so startling in its beauty, has often been told,—the tens of thousands gathered under the cold, frosty sky to hear the new preachers of salvation: the gaunt and grimy miners standing motionless in awe, while the great tears traced white furrows down their cheeks, as they heard of the love of God and repented of their sins; the houses of drunkards and profligates transformed and breathing only purity and peace; the mute lips and saintly faces of the preachers as they were stoned and wounded by the mob; the eager burning charity of the converts, spending itself in acts of kindness on their persecutors.

How to Produce a Better World.

The Young Men of India has published in full the address delivered at Glasgow by Viscount Grey to the Conference of the Student Christian Movement of the United Kingdom, in course of which the speaker observed :

It is becoming more and more clear that the making of a better world depends not only upon one country but upon the efforts of all countries combined. That is essential. And that is one reason why you want movements of this kind, which shall not be limited to one country but shall have corresponding activities in other countries also. And if you want a better world you must bear in mind this—change of external conditions will not alone produce a better world. There is plenty of room for change in external conditions—a better distribution of wealth, more equal opportunities in life for people of all classes. These are changes for which many people are working. I would not say a word to discourage any real progress in the direction of improvement of external conditions. But bear in mind all the time that improvement of external conditions alone is not going to make a better world. There must go with it improvement in the deepening and strengthening of the moral feelings of the people. You are going to approach the discussion of political questions in your discussions this week from the point of view of

Christianity. That is right, and all of us who are Christians must approach public questions from that point of view. But it is not the easiest point of view from which to approach public questions. It is no good concealing from ourselves—indeed the first business is to recognise the facts with which we have to deal; and the facts with which we have to deal are that the national policies—I use the word in the plural—of Christian countries have been, and still are, lamentably deficient in the Christian spirit. That is the first fact. The second fact is that it is absolutely true that you will only get improvement by bringing more of that Christian spirit into these national policies.

But why should this spirit—the spirit of love, justice and righteousness—be called the Christian spirit? Has not this spirit been manifest and active in the world from before the birth of Christ in many countries and continents? This narrowness of mind which leads Europeans to claim a monopoly of virtue for themselves and for Christianity is itself one of the greatest obstacles to the production of a better world.

Apart, however, from the nomenclature of the right spirit, Lord Grey's further observations were well conceived.

There is still great difficulty in reconciling the demands of national policies with the Christian spirit. The Christian spirit is one of seeking the common good and unselfishness. The condition between nations is one of competition. Any man who takes office in a government is bound to face that competition. It is part of the condition under which he enters the government to make it his first object to promote the interests of his own country. He will not be called upon to use any methods which are foul or unfair or dishonourable; that happily is not necessary. But he will be called upon to take part in that competition between nations from the point of view of promoting the interests of his own country. And, of course, competition means that the policies of the nations engaged in competition are apt to lose sight of the common good in pursuing their own particular national interests. That is not reconcilable, or not reconciled, at any rate, with the Christian spirit of seeking the common good and unselfishness. And the question we have now got to put to ourselves is this—Are we to-day getting nearer to bringing more of the Christian spirit into national policies, or are we getting further away; and if we are not getting nearer to doing it, how can we so affect the course of things that we shall get nearer to doing it?

Lord Grey is wrong when he says that any man who takes office in a government

is not "called upon to use any methods which are foul or unfair or dishonourable." We do not know what exactly is meant by being "called upon to use" some method or other; but this we know that very unrighteous, nay, diabolical, methods are often used by Ministers and others forming part of a government.

The sense in which Lord Grey supported the doctrine of mandates was well expounded.

Let us start now, from this moment, in encouraging the doctrine of mandates in this sense, that a government which takes over uncivilized territories should take them over as a responsibility and under certain conditions, and should be under an obligation to prove to the Council of the League of Nations, year by year, that they are fulfilling these obligations. Roughly these obligations would come under two great heads. First of all to show that all the revenue raised in the country is spent for the good of the country, and next to show that while you are promoting the material development of these at present undeveloped countries in Africa, you are not resorting to any methods which are going to cause hardship to the population or injury to your own character. (Applause.) It is much better that the development of these countries should go slow than that you should resort to such things as forced labour in order to make the development go fast, and I would like it to result that this doctrine of mandates should be made a reality by the public opinion of the different countries, and that the fact that they undertake the responsibilities to each other should be a new guarantee against some of the abuses of that sort that have taken place in previous years in uncivilized parts of the world.

The mandatories should not confine themselves to "material development", which has hitherto invariably meant selfish exploitation. They should be called upon to give the indigenous population such education and training as would fit them for full self-rule *within the maximum period of twenty years*. We absolutely refuse to be satisfied that "the revenue raised in the country" has been "spent for the good of the country," unless the people of the country become thoroughly self-ruling within five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years, according to their stage of civilisation when any foreign power made itself responsible for doing good to them.

Lord Grey's observations on the use of force in government were in the right spirit.

Speaking of the government of such countries as India and Egypt, he said that though British rule had done good to those countries,

We have a problem because, though all that is true, the result has not been the contentment or the reconciliation of the population to the British occupation. And one begins to ask oneself the question—If all the good you do in a country is not the particular sort of good that the country appreciates or wants, if it does not produce the goodwill and the contentment of the population, what is the good of going on with your work? (Applause.) Well, you may say there is an answer to that. If you are convinced that the work you are doing is good, even although you do not feel you are getting credit for it, you ought to go on doing it. But that does not really answer the question. The real crux of the matter is this, that however well you may begin by governing a country you cannot permanently govern it by force. (Applause.) You may have force, and you must have force sufficient to make the decisions of the government respected, to put down any particular rising. But unless you have the goodwill of the population you cannot go on doing your job well. And that is the real difficulty with which we are faced to-day. If you haven't got the goodwill of the population, however good your intention, however able you may be, you cannot make a good thing of the government of the country. And therefore you will have to admit one of two things, either that you are attempting the impossible or else that there is something wrong in your methods which needs to be altered.

He went on to ask,

Is it not possible that the fact of the war having taken place in Europe has made things more difficult for Western civilization in such countries as Egypt and India? We used to be told often before the war that our power of doing good work in these countries and our position depended greatly upon prestige. Is it not the case that the fact of the European war has immensely diminished the prestige of Christian civilization in these countries which have a civilization of their own, and which are in the main non-Christian? For us in Europe it is relevant enough to discuss between the different countries who took part in the war which was responsible for the outbreak of the war and which was to blame. We may discuss that, and any particular country may clear its own character for being to blame for the outbreak of the war. But looked at from the point of view of someone belonging to a non-Christian Oriental country, who has been told that Christian civilization is a great advance and influence, that except for a small portion of the South-East, Europe has been a country

of Christian civilization for centuries, then look at the fact that the outcome of it has been a Continental war, entailing calamities and horrors on a scale never known in recorded history before. Is it not certain that a spectacle like that must have diminished the prestige of Christian civilization in other countries?

Elevation of the Depressed Classes.

Mr. M. A. Parasuraman writes in *Everyman's Review* :—

We may touch a dog or any other animal but the touch or approach of these human beings is pollution. They cannot use the common well or common tank. They toil hard and rightly complain that in these days of high prices and wages, their wages remain stationary, there is nothing like the relation between master and tenant. They live in miserable huts with no idea of comfort, and though very necessary in the economy of life, are treated as mere machines for making money to the higher classes. Mr. Francis, the Census Superintendent of 1901, has thus described their condition :—

"The Depressed Classes are daily and hourly made to feel that they are of commoner clay than their neighbours. Any attempts which they may make to educate themselves or their children are actively discouraged by the classes among them; caste restrictions prevent them from quitting the toilsome uncertain and undignified means of subsistence to which custom has condemned them and taking to a trade. They are repressed and snubbed on all public occasions. They are refused admission even to the temples of their gods; and can hope for no more helpful partner of their joys and sorrows than the unhandy and unkempt maiden of the "paracheri" with her very primitive notions of comfort and cleanliness."

The writer thinks that for the good of humanity a better era has dawned for these classes.

The Theosophists, the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, the Christian Missionary Societies are doing their best to ameliorate their condition. Swami Vivekananda and members of his brotherhood have always pleaded for the cause of these classes, but the credit for the initiative in the matter is certainly due to the Christian Missions.

In his opinion Hinduism and Buddhism do not advocate the social ostracism of these classes.

The treatment till recently accorded to these by the high-class Hindus is opposed to the true spirit of Hinduism and fatal to its doctrine, which proclaims unity of the soul. The great Shankara recognised the injustice of their treat-

ment. Ramanujacharya proclaimed: "If salvation was not to be with the low and the degraded, to hell he would go." Buddhism protested the equality of human beings and always advocated equality and fraternity as the watchwords of their religion. The bhakti school of Hinduism pleaded their cause and condemned caste-tyranny. Yet with all these, the condition of these classes remained very pitiable. The reason for this is to be found in the rigid caste-exclusiveness of India. Here the growth of democratic spirit was early checked by caste-system which has been in existence for three thousand years or more. The Brahmins cared only for intellectual progress and retained exclusively in their hands the monopoly of learning and science. The caste-system expressed not merely a social distinction but a religious expulsion of the clean against the unclean, and involved the existence of an outcaste class of millions whose very shadow was considered to stain the sacred ones. In fact every occupation calculated to further material interests was left to the lower classes who were satisfied with their lot and never cared to lift up their head. "Sufferance is the badge of our tribe," was tamely adopted by them as their rule of life till recently.

The writer then briefly mentions what the people, the British Government, and some Indian States have done for the depressed classes.

But it is doubtful whether these advantages of special educational facilities and privileges alone will bring about the millennium. Having been in a low state of civilisation for several centuries, it will take a long time before the Depressed Classes will take full advantage of the fair opportunities offered to them, and will be in a position to compete on equal terms with the highclass Hindus.

But the point is "Is education alone a sure panacea in the matter?" Opinions differ. So long as social disabilities of the Depressed Classes of Hindus continue to entertain social scruples, the desired result is not attainable. "The physical repugnance and contamination" idea has to be rooted out. One is therefore sceptical about the result which will follow if free education alone is attempted, before the Depressed Classes are stripped of their social disabilities. When the social disabilities disappear, the Depressed Classes will have no longer need to confine themselves to undignified labours, nor need they waste the vast amount of combined energy and intelligence which education brings in its wake.

It is necessary to go a step farther. The idea that some kinds of work are to be classed as "undignified labours" must itself disappear. Else when the depressed

classes are "educated", they will look down upon these "undignified labours" and swell the number of candidates for clerkships. All honest work is dignified. The true solution will not be reached until "high caste" persons also take to "undignified labours" and "depressed classes" to "dignified labours."

The writer concludes:—

The Dog in the Manger attitude followed by the high-caste Hindus should be given up. Then and only then can Indians become a Nation with common aims and aspirations, and will be in a position to administer their own affairs themselves. Political equality and social disabilities cannot exist together. We should bear in mind that every inch the "Black is a man," and only one God has made us all, and that by deeds alone we rise or fall.

The Persian poet Sadi was perfectly right when he wrote:—

The sons of Adam are members of one body,
For they are made of one and the same nature,
When Fortune brings distress upon one member,
The peace of all the others is destroyed.
So thou who art careless about thy fellow's grief
It fits not thou shouldst bear the name of man.

Our Debt to the Mussalman Period.

In the same review Mr. A. Rama Iyer has translated a Bengali article by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar on our debt to the Musalman period. The points are noted below:

The very first feature of the Muslim Rule in India that we note is that, during the period of nearly 200 years from Akbar to Muhammad Shah, the whole Indian continent with the exception of the extreme south, was under the sway of one ruler. For the first time, practically, all India enjoyed the blessings of political unity.

This political unity made itself felt even beyond the precincts of the Mughal Empire. Not only the Hindu Feudatory Princes, but also the independent Mahratta Rulers adopted the Mughal system of administration with its names of officials and departments, its rules of conduct and etiquette at the Court, and mostly its coinage, although they never employed Persian or Urdu as their Court languages.

Our second gain from the Mussalmans was a historical literature. The Hindus were absorbed in the contemplation of the Infinite, and almost despised to keep a record of the goings-on of this material world, which they regarded as something of a wayside inn on their pilgrimage to the other world. Even the few works that they have left behind as histori-

cal are really poems disguised under the name of history, the ideas being hidden beneath an overgrowth of words, and the facts and dates being subordinated to legend.

The intellect of the Arabs was intensely practical, limited and even dry. Whatever they wrote, they took care to arrange their facts in strict chronological sequence, with the correct dates of all the events. Hence, whatever may be the defects of the Mussalman histories, absence of dates is not one of them.

The third gain was that the Mussalman Rulers re-established communication between India and the outside world. In the Buddhist Period, India had maintained a very active intercourse with the outside world. The Chinese, the Tibetans, the Ceylonese, the Huns, the Parthians, the Greeks and so many other foreign races had come into India, and innumerable scholars, preachers and traders had gone out of the country to foreign lands. With the end of the Buddhist Period, however, India had been cut off from the rest of Asia; and interchange of articles and ideas, and the mingling of blood, had ceased altogether. We had, in fact, become mere frogs in the well.

Now, the Mussalman conquerors (even like the messenger of God in Rabindranath's "Post Office") forced open the closed doors of India.

Certain English historians, as well as their Indian disciples, assert that Mussalman influence in the Middle Ages was responsible for the rise of many new sects among the Hindus, proclaiming the oneness of God and antagonistic to Brahminism and caste, sects like those of Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Nanak and Chaitanya. I am, however, unable to find any foundation for this view. From the earliest times, even farther back than the period of the Upanishads, all Hindu reformers and writers of influence had proclaimed that the *one* God who presided over the 33 crores of minor deities was alone to be worshipped. It is certainly impossible to claim that the Hindus derived their conception of the oneness of God from Islam as late as between 1200 and 1600 A. D. It is, at the same time, indisputable that the existence in India at this period of a Mussalman society, monotheistic and non-sectarian, free from all display and elaborate ritual, and bound together in the bonds of a common brotherhood must have acted as a powerful incentive to the rise of the sects mentioned above.

During this period, an attempt was also made by some of the *Panths* or religious sects to bring Hindus and Muslims together in the worship of the *one* God. Thus, Rama and Rahim were shown to be identical, while the words Allah and Brahma were held to be expressive of the same idea. Kabir, a Mussalman weaver by birth, had a Hindu disciple; Chaitanya, a Hindu, had the famous Mussalman disciple, "Yavana Haridas". These instances

bear eloquent testimony to the spirit of the Middle Ages in India.

As the fifth influence may be mentioned the fact that the Hindus adopted a great deal of the Mussalman social systems and usages, rules of etiquette and good manners, as well as modes of dress and cooking.

Hunting, hawking, and many other forms of exercise and amusement introduced by the Mussalmans as is evidenced by the fact that all our words in this department are of Persian, Arabic, or Turkish origin.

The system of warfare in India was transformed and improved in a great measure under Mussalman influence.

Last, but not least, was the gain in Fine Arts,—especially Architecture and Painting. In the matter of Painting, indeed, India owes a very deep debt to the Mughal Emperors. The descendants of the great painters of Ajanta had fallen into decay, for want of encouragement and support for hundreds of years. Akbar, the Great summoned them to his presence and made them understand that their art would receive fitting encouragement once more. As a result, by the blending of the ancient art of India with the art imported from China by way of Bokhara and Khorassan, the Indo-Saracenic School of Painting came into being, and a new outlet for the great Indian genius was created.

Foreign Rule.

In the March *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* Mr. N. Chatterjee continues the diary of his tour in Europe. Incidentally he observes:

The rule of one nation over another of equal intelligence and education is an extremely delicate task and of tentative character; it can never be broad-based upon the goodwill and kindly sentiment of the ruled. The rulers forget that in the governance of a people, they have to keep in view the human elements in the ruled, i. e., the self-respect, intelligence and exalted cravings of mind and intellect.

The attention of agriculturists and medical men and students is invited to the information supplied by the writer relating to the farms, hospitals and clinics in Denmark.

"Christian Nations."

The Rev. R. A. Hume, writing in the *Hindustan Review*, holds that though in magazines and books one sometimes comes upon the terms "Christian lands" and "Christian nations,"

Rightly considered there never has been and there is not now a single Christian land or a single Christian nation. That some peoples call some lands and nations Christian is their very much mistaken and misleading use of the term "Christian". The word Christian truly means Christ-like, or at least a desire and effort to take Christ's help in order to become Christ-like. To those who have the desire to attain character modelled on and influenced by Christ, it is sadly evident that there is no Christian land and no Christian nation. Some day some country will approximately be a Christian country when the very great majority of its inhabitants are followers of Christ, and when the habitual application of their laws is controlled by earnest loyalty to Christ. In Eastern lands nothing so interferes with appreciation of Christ Himself as the assumption that the leading nations and the bulk of the people of the West are Christians.

The Value of Music in Education.

To-morrow—which, though it calls itself and is, speaking literally, "non-political", is clearly perceived to belong to a particular school of politics from the portraits and messages it has printed—contains an interesting and informing article on the value of music in education, by Mrs. M. E. Cousins, B. Mus., which deserves serious consideration. We support her plea that

From the stand-point of the individual, national and international value of the subject India simply cannot afford to neglect or despise her music. With education now a transferred subject in the hands of Indian Ministers the national music of the country must be honoured, must be taught, must be financially upheld, and the first and easiest means of doing this is to make an elementary course of class-singing, with proper training in notation, *talam* and intonation, compulsory in all Indian educational institutions right up to the college.

Some idea of the value of music can be formed from the following paragraphs:—

The educational thought of the world looks on the importance of the inclusion of music in school curricula from three different stand-points. The Greek ideal of education considered music a subject which, with gymnastics alone, should be taught exclusively between the ages of seven and fourteen, rhythm and poetry being included in the term 'music'. The modern Western attitude is to include music as a compulsory subject to be learnt by every student, but to a limited extent. The attitude of Indian educational authorities is to exclude music altogether from the curricula of High Schools and Boys'

schools generally. Thus we find that in India—where on all sides the evidence is that music is inextricably mixed up with life of the people—there is no organised training in the art upon which the people depend for the expression of emotions.

The Greeks, as expressed by Plato, considered that "when youths have made a good beginning in play (gymnastics), and by the help of music have gained the habit of good order, then this habit of good order will accompany them in all their actions and be a principle of growth to them and if there be any fallen places in the State they will raise them up again." At another time he says, "our education had two branches, gymnastics, which was occupied with the body, and music, the sister art, which infused a natural harmony into mind and literature." It was not only in the West that music was at one time considered so fundamentally valuable to the character of the nation but in Asia also Confucius stated, "if one should desire to know whether a kingdom is well governed, if its morals are good or bad, the quality of its music will furnish the answer."

Practical Idealism.

In *To-morrow* Dr. J. J. Van Der Leeuw gives an account of the Practical Idealism movement in Holland. He says by way of preface:

Since time immemorial the East has been strong in the vision of the Ideal, and it has rested in the bliss of that vision. Its attention has not concentrated itself on the outer world and thus it is comparatively powerless in this world of matter, though powerful in the world of the Spirit.

The West on the other hand has concentrated its full life on the world around it, has gained practical ability in this world, has mastered its laws and thus gained control over it. But it has lost the vision of the Highest, has lost the inspiration which only the Ideal can give.

Thus the West has been able to dominate the greater part of the East, and under this Western domination the East has been learning practical ability, efficiency in the outer world.

But at the same time the wisdom of the East has made its triumphal entry into the West and has begun to restore to it the vision which it had lost. Spiritually it dominates the West to a certain extent as the West materially dominates the East.

And now a new type of Man is appearing in both East and West. He is the offspring of this marriage between Eastern idealism and Western efficiency, he is the child of the feminine East and the masculine West. In him the two have met, have been united into a new and

higher type which no longer knows the distinction between East and West, because it is both.

Thus a new type of Man is appearing in the East who is no less strong in the vision of the Ideal than his fellowmen but who in addition is able to realise it in outward life, who is practical as well as idealistic.

And a new type of Man is appearing in the West, who is no less efficient than his fellowmen but whose efficiency is illumined by the vision of the Ideal, which makes him idealistic as well as practical.

We think East and West alike are both feminine and masculine. The superiority of the West in science and practical efficiency is only temporary, as Japan's progress shows.

The result is the birth of a new human type—the Practical Idealist.

He is found in every race, in every class, in every creed, he is to be recognised only by the characteristics of the soul, by the Spirit that informs him. He himself does not care for outward distinction, but meets his fellowmen as human beings, judging them by what they are not by their distinctive labels. He knows his Unity with all that lives by his vision of the Ideal and lives but to serve this One Life in all. But more specially is he conscious of a deep and vital link with all those in whom the new Spirit is manifesting; they all form the Brotherhood of the new Man.

The members of the Practical Idealists Association in Holland have associated on the following declaration of principles:

"Instead of submitting to be dragged along in the common current and lamed by custom we desire to remain ourselves, wheresoever we may be, and will never cease striving to live according to the following ideals.

"We will serve mankind instead of chasing after personal profit and advancement.

"We will control our lower nature, instead of allowing it to control us.

"We will discriminate between the inner reality of things and their outward appearance.

"We will co-operate with all who are of like mind in order to form a better social order, inspired by these ideals, and will not allow any outward differences to act as barriers."

"The Women's Movement."

"The Women's Movement" is a welcome section in *To-morrow*. Therein we are reminded of certain facts which we are apt to lose sight of.

Every writer knows how difficult it is to write in a general way about any

question of sociology in India, for one part of India will contradict another part. In Travancore and Malabar women have more legal freedom than even the free American women, but in Behar and Orissa women are far less advantageously situated. In Bombay nearly every woman is well educated, in Bengal only eight out of every thousand; in the North of India the Sindh and Rajput women wear dainty trousers and veils while in the South women wear very long full sarees and entirely uncovered heads. There are similar contradictions in matters relating to the age of marriage, to dowry customs, to caste and religious customs. One can rarely say with truth "Indian women marry when they are quite children," or "Indian women never earn their own living," or "Indian parents have to buy husbands for their girls," etc., for while this is so in certain areas, in other equally large sections of this great sub-continent it is quite untrue. India is really a small cosmos containing all kinds of experiments by its Creator in the problems of life.

It is undoubtedly true that Bombay, Madras and some Indian States are ahead of the *purdah*-ridden parts of India in the education of girls and women, but it is far from the truth to say that "in Bombay nearly every woman is well-educated."

Referring to the variety of social conditions, customs and institutions in India, the writer holds correctly,

This fact contains much hope for the future progress of women, for when they wake up to a desire to mould their own conditions they will be able to pick and choose from a great number of varying customs, all Indian, all regulated by Indian religious sanction, all tested by time and experience, and when they decide on what they consider best and put it into practice no one can say that they have become denationalised or irreligious or unnecessarily modern. Indeed, if they went back to the most ancient Vedas, with the entire equality of opportunity, position, and action of men and women these sacred Scriptures portray, they would be perhaps in most danger of being dubbed "modernists"!

Inspection and Teaching

In the pages of the *Madras Educational Review* five graduates, who are also trained teachers, urge that the educational inspecting staff should be abolished or reduced, and the number of schools and teachers increased. Among other things they say:—

For some time past the Government has been

spending lakhs of rupees every year for the maintenance of the Inspectorate consisting of Inspectors, Assistant Inspectors, Sub-Assistant Inspectors, Supervisors, and their multitudinous clerks, and servants.

They generally pay visits to every school once in a year for a couple of days, ask teachers to deliver lessons in their presence, supervise the records and embody their constructive and destructive remarks in their reports.

The Government generally offers aid in some shape or other only to such schools as are manned and supervised by experienced, trained and capable teachers. It is obvious that the teachers will have to undergo training for a period of about one year, so as to make themselves conversant with the work of teaching. They are also subjected to the supervision of the Headmaster and to public criticism. In no other learned and dignified walk of life (say, for instance, the Medical, Legal or Engineering Departments) do we find a professional man being subjected to so much ignominy and annual test of skill or talents.

Now-a-days we find mostly officers of mediocre abilities, forgetful of their own defects and shortcomings, entirely regardless of the teachers' many sided duties and responsibilities, lording over the poor schoolmasters during their annual inspections. They try to make teachers instruments in their hands and objects of criticism and feel shy to deliver model lessons for reasons best known to themselves. They also venture to offer remarks on teachers of greater experience and unquestionable abilities and on subjects about which they themselves know very little.

This state of things is quite derogatory to the self-respect and the dignity of "the noblest of all the professions and the sorriest of trades."

Moreover even from their point of view the Inspectorate only get themselves accustomed to an ease-loving and fault-finding life. They also feel it a great hardship to go about touring for about 15 or 20 days a month. There is also every likelihood of forgetting in course of time what they have learnt during their scholastic careers. In the light of the above-mentioned facts an annual expenditure of several lakhs, which form a lion's share of educational funds, in mis-directed and least profitable channels seems to be wholly undesirable and mostly unnecessary.

Their constructive proposals are :

We beg to suggest that Headmasters may be directed to offer suggestions on teaching work. Auditors may be appointed to audit accounts, and Doctors may be requested to look after questions of sanitation, ventilation and equipment. A very limited number of Supervisors may be retained so as to inspect Elementary

Schools which are solely maintained and financed by the Government or Municipalities.

A Commission consisting of experienced Headmasters and Assistant-masters may be appointed to go round all the schools once in three years delivering model lessons on different subjects for the enlightenment of the teachers serving in various schools.

In these days of Educational Reconstruction when an overwhelming majority betray a woeful ignorance of the Three R's we beg to suggest that the amount spent on the Inspectorate and the services of the officers therein may well be utilised in establishing a large number of Lower Secondary Schools in all populous centres throughout the Presidency for the rapid spread of education. In this connection we beg to remark that about a dozen Lower Secondary Schools and a few High Schools can thus be established in each district, maintained, controlled and financed by the Government and served by the Inspectorate.

Overeating.

It would be good for people if they always bore in mind the following facts, extracted from the Indian *Humanitarian* :

The fundamental cause of our illnesses, sicknesses, and diseases, is overeating. Many people seem to hold, erroneously though, the view that the greater the quantity of food they consume, the healthier, stronger and more vigorous they become. Never is a greater mistake made. This view, as has been already shown by reference to the sayings of the wise, is totally wrong. No advantage is derived from the quantity, as by the capacity to digest and assimilate the food we take. The benefit will result in strict proportion to our capacity to digest.

By overeating we expose our systems to attack by all sorts of ailments. We shall be paying the penalty for the violation of one of the most important laws of Nature. Overeating induces ordinarily loss of mental balance as well as physical suffering ; very likely, headache and loss of sleep become inevitable, and with it a number of other complaints. Bear in mind that overeating plays a greater part in making you weak, delicate, ill, unhealthy, sick and diseased than indulging in liquor, tea, coffee and such other poisonous drinks.

"Marriage—a Mental Mating."

Dr. Keshaba Deva Shastri writes in the *Vedic Magazine* :—

An idyllic union requires an approximate agreement between the sexes in their merits, qualification and ideals of life. Marriage be-

tween unequals is always a hotbed of heartburnings and sufferings. No dull husband will ever suit a bright wife; no ignorant woman can agree with the aspirations of a learned man. Marriage of convenience ends in chilling the live-wires. Superior women make inferior men their slaves. When woman is a stalwart oak and man the clinging vine even the gods laugh at this ridiculous spectacle. Greater stature and stronger muscles are electrodes toward which the heart of a woman flows. Love injured by the domination of sex, compulsion or other ulterior motives, like an unfirmly rooted tree under tempest, never attains full growth much less spiritual development.

Love manifests itself in beauty—physical, intellectual and spiritual. Beauty is subjective. Travel the world over, you will not find beauty if you do not carry it within yourself. A mutual harmony of the respective members of the body animated by a healthy constitution brings home to us a presentation of physical beauty. But the same attributes in a vampire become repulsive to us because our mentality is not fully satisfied with physical attributes alone. It is the stainless soul within that outshines the fair skin.

Can a People Become Deathless?

The following passage from "A Defence of Indian Culture" by Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh in *Arya* ought to inspire Indians with new hope :—

A people, a great human collectivity, is in fact an organic living being with a collective or rather—for the word collective is too mechanical to be true to the inner reality—a common or communal soul, mind and body. The life of the society like the physical life of the individual human being passes through a cycle of birth, growth, youth, ripeness and decline, and if this last stage goes far enough without any arrest of its course towards decadence, it may perish,—even so all the older peoples and nations except India and China perished,—as a man dies of old age. But the collective being has too the capacity of renewing itself, of a recovery and a new cycle. For in each people there is a soul idea or life idea at work, less mortal than its body, and if this idea is itself sufficiently powerful, large and force-giving and the people sufficiently strong, vital and plastic in mind and temperament to combine stability with a constant enlargement or new application of the power of the soul idea or life idea in its being, it may pass through many such cycles before it comes to a final exhaustion. Moreover, the idea is itself only the principle of soul manifestation of the communal being and each communal soul again a manifestation and vehicle of the greater eternal spirit that expresses itself in Time and on

earth is seeking, as it were, its own fullness in humanity through the vicissitudes of the human cycles. A people then which learns to live consciously not solely in its physical and outward life, not even only in that and the power of the life idea or soul idea that governs the changes of its development and is the key to its psychology and temperament, but in the soul and spirit behind, may not at all exhaust itself, may not end by disappearance or a dissolution or a fusion into others or have to give place to a new race and people, but having itself fused into its life many original smaller societies and attained to its maximum natural growth pass without death through many renaissances. And even if at any time it appears to be on the point of absolute exhaustion and dissolution, it may recover by the force of the spirit and begin another and perhaps a more glorious cycle. The history of India has been that of the life of such a people.

Arguments against National Education.

In *Arya*, Mr. Aurobindo Ghose states and disposes of three arguments against National Education. Says he :

The argument against national education proceeds in the first place upon the lifeless academic notion that the subject, the acquiring of this or that kind of information is the whole or the central matter. But the acquiring of various kinds of information is only one and not the chief of the means and necessities of education : its central aim is the building of the powers of the human mind and spirit, it is the formation or, as I would prefer to view it, the evoking of knowledge and will and of the power to use knowledge, character, culture,—that at least if no more. And this distinction makes an enormous difference. It is true enough that if all we ask for is the acquisition of the information put at our disposal by science, it may be enough to take over the science of the West whether in an undigested whole or in carefully packed morsels. But the major question is not merely what science we learn, but what we shall do with our science and how, too, acquiring the scientific mind and recovering the habit of scientific discovery, we shall relate it to other powers of the human mind, and scientific knowledge to other knowledge more intimate to other and not less light-giving and power-giving parts of our intelligence and nature. A language, Sanskrit or another, should be acquired by whatever method is most natural, efficient and stimulating to the mind, and we need not cling there to any past or present manner of teaching : but the vital question is how we are to learn and make use of Sanskrit and the indigenous languages so as to get to the heart and intimate sense of our

own culture and establish a vivid continuity between the still living power of our past and the yet uncreated power of our future, and how we are to learn and use English or any other foreign tongue so as to know helpfully the life, ideas and culture of other countries and establish our right relations with the world around us. This is the aim and principle of a true national education, not, certainly, to ignore modern truth and knowledge, but to take our foundation on our own being, our own mind, our own spirit.

Mr. Ghose then examines the second ground.

The second ground openly or tacitly taken by the hostile argument is that modern, that is to say, European civilisation is the thing—that we have to acquire and fit ourselves for, so only can we live and prosper and it is this that our education must do for us. The idea of national education challenges the sufficiency of this assumption. Europe built up her ancient culture on a foundation largely taken from the East, from Egypt, Chaldea, Phoenicia, India, but turned in a new direction and another life-idea by the native spirit and temperament, mind and social genius of Greece and Rome, lost and then recovered it, in part from the Arabs with fresh borrowings from the near East and from India and more widely by the Renaissance, but then too gave it a new turn and direction proper to the native spirit and temperament, mind and social genius of the Teutonic, and the Latin, the Celtic and Slav races. It is the civilisation so created that has long offered itself as the last and imperative word of the mind of humanity, but the nations of Asia are not bound so to accept it, and will do better, taking over in their turn whatever new knowledge or just ideas Europe has to offer, to assimilate them to their own knowledge and culture, their own native temperament and spirit, mind and social genius and out of that create the civilisation of the future. The scientific, rationalistic, industrial, pseudo-democratic civilisation of the West is now in process of dissolution and it would be a lunatic absurdity for us at this moment to build blindly on that sinking foundation. When the most advanced minds of the occident are beginning to turn in this red evening of the West for the hope of a new and more spiritual civilisation to the genius of Asia, it would be strange if we could think of nothing better than to cast away our own self and potentialities and put our trust in the dissolving and moribund past of Europe.

We now arrive at the conclusion.

And, finally, the objection grounds itself on the implicit idea that the mind of man is the same everywhere and can everywhere be passed through the same machine and uniformly constructed to order. That is an old and effete

superstition of the reason which it is time now to renounce. For within the universal mind and soul of humanity is the mind and soul of the individual with its infinite variation, its commonness and its uniqueness, and between them there stands an intermediate power, the mind of a nation, the soul of a people. And of all these three education must take account if it is to be, not a machine-made fabric, but a true building or a living evocation of the powers of the mind and spirit of the human being.

Mr. R. P. Paranjpye.

The New Review has an interesting character sketch of Principal R. P. Paranjpye, from which we extract a few sentences.

After he came back there was every possibility for him to pick up a fat-salaried position and to make fun all his life. But the man who preferred Mathematical Tripos to the I. C. S. was not one to do it. It did not take him long to decide that he must join the Deccan Education Society and devote his life to the education of the youth of the country. The salary he was to get was of two figures, though he was to occupy the imposing position of a Principal. Mr. Paranjpye's administration of the college affairs and his work as a professor of mathematics are again history. The Fergusson College prospered from day to day, its buildings had to be increased, the number of its students reached the figure of 1500 and more. It became second to none in the caliber of its professors, in the equipment of its laboratories, in its play-grounds, in everything. Some of the most brilliant men who have graduated during the last twenty years and who have won further academical success in foreign lands, proudly claim that they are students of Mr. Paranjpye. Mr. Paranjpye never cares either for popular applause or official favour.

In private life he is an exceedingly lovable man, and has a very large circle of friends. Free from any vice, fashionable or otherwise, he is a good sportsman, and fond of simple life. He has always been a poor man and he has always been a very helpful friend to the needy. He gives freely and his sympathies are with the poor and the suffering. Though he is a strict disciplinarian, he has always been kindness itself to his students. Never assuming importance, never giving airs, he commands respect not because of his position but because of himself. He is a voracious reader, and is well-read in French and English literature. Above pettiness, above jealousies, he stands out as a model of what a gentleman should be.

India's Rupee

Writing in the *Indian Review* on "India's Rupee", Sir Montagu de P. Webb complains :

Alas, in Indian Currency matters, Commissions of Experts propose, but some irresponsible autocrat at the India Office disposes. At the time that the Babington Smith Committee made its Report, the balance of trade (or of the demand for exchange) had turned against India, and Reverse Council Drafts, i.e., Pounds Sterling deliverable in London, were being sold at about eight rupees eight annas each. Announcing its intention of establishing a Ten-rupee Sovereign, the Government of India simultaneously offered Pounds Sterling for sale at seven rupees!! The demand for such cheap pounds was prodigious. Moreover, as Seven-rupee Pounds made British and American manufactured goods look very cheap *in rupees*, enormous quantities of these goods—three times as much as India needed—were ordered. Those goods have now arrived; and as India cannot sell her surplus products in bankrupt Europe, yet has to pay for three times as many manufactured goods from Britain and America as she really requires, the balance of trade is enormously against her. Every trader in overseas goods now wants Pounds Sterling wherewith to meet his liabilities; and so the price of Pounds Sterling is going up daily from seven and eight rupees nearly a year ago to fourteen and even fifteen rupees now! And so the Rupee will once again only buy about 1s. 4d. Where will these extraordinary fluctuations end? That is the question.

"The World of Culture."

As usual we take a few items from "The World of Culture" section of *The Collegian*.

"Paris is the Mecca of Europe's mathematicians," said R. D. Karve, late lecturer on mathematics at Karnatak College, Dharwar (Bombay), in the course of a farewell speech before the Hindustani Association of France on January 5. On this occasion he recalled also the statement of his English teacher of mathematics in India to the effect that although France has been doing remarkably original work in mathematics very little of French publications is accessible in English.

At the University of Paris Karve has made a special study of higher algebra in a field which has recently been coming into prominence through the investigations of Clebsch and Aronhold. His dissertation deals with *les invariants des coniques et des cubiques ternaires*. He invites young India to come to France and imbibe the spirit of investigation from such master-mathematicians as Goursat (calculus), Poincaré

(mechanics), Borel (probabilities), and Appell (astronomy).

The educational resources of France are being thrown open to the English-knowing world through the medium of a series of pamphlets on the different branches of science, published in English by the *College des Etats Unis d'Amerique*. It is located at 10 Rue de l'Elysee, Paris. The literature may be had on application to the Secretary, Mme. Caroline B. K. Levy.

A museum of modern art has been founded in New York (19 East 47th Street) to provide a public non-commercial centre for the study and promotion of modern art. An exhibition is being held there of the paintings of eight living representatives of French painting. The museum does not sell any works exhibited under its auspices but brings the prospective buyer in touch with the artist. It maintains a good reference library on modern art.

About thirty pages of a book called *Jardillos* (Window-boxes) by Zenobia Camprubi de Jimenez are given over to the translation of certain extracts from Tagore. The translator is a well known poet and prose-writer of Madrid.

Two papers containing the results of research made by Mr. H. Parameswaran, Government Scholar in the Madras University, in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge deserve notice. One of the papers, reprinted from the proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, deal with the "Effect of a Magnetic field on the intensity of the Spectrum lines" and the other, which is extracted from the *Philosophical Magazine*, gives "An improved design for the Friction cones of Searle's Apparatus for Mechanical equivalent of heat." We also learn that he read a paper on "A new type of Interferometer" before a section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science during its last session at Cardiff.

Vivekananda on Standard Bengali.

Some views of Swami Vivekananda on the Bengali language have been translated in the *Prabuddha Bharata*. One of these views was :

Our language, by imitating the ponderous movement of Sanskrit, has become unnatural. You may say, it is well to say that but different dialects prevail in different parts of Bengal,—which should I accept? That which by a natural way is getting strong and spreading is to be accepted—that is to say, the language of the metropolis, Calcutta. When people from any direction, East or West, once coming to breathe the atmosphere of Calcutta speak that language, then Nature herself is indicating which language is to be accepted in writing. As there will be more facility of communication, the difference between East and West will vanish.

and from Chittagong to Baidyanath, the one language of Calcutta will be accepted. When I find that the dialect of Calcutta will in a few days be the language of the whole of Bengal, and if the spoken language and written language are to be made one, the wise must

accept the Calcutta dialect as the base. In this parochial jealousy has to be allowed to drift away in the current. In a matter constituting the good of the whole country, the supremacy of one's own district or village has to be forgotten.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Anarchy in India.

The place of honour in the February number of the *Fortnightly Review* has been given to an article by the notorious Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer on 'Anarchy in India'. The title of the article and the name of the writer will give the reader an idea as to the nature of its contents. A college professor,



"LEO INTREPIDUS"
"Let 'em all come!"

The Bystander (London).

reading the article, told me that it is writings of this kind; more than anything that extremists in India may say or do, that help in manufacturing "disloyalty", and he was perfectly right. Sir Michael begins by comparing British India with the Native States, much to the disparagement of the latter where the taxation is high, and most of which possess no representative institutions, and the subjects of which (he claims to speak from personal experience) would be glad to come under British rule. The declaration of August 20th, 1917, appealed to less than one per cent. of the population—politicians with Western ideals, but the masses look up to Government to protect them from

the revolutionary propaganda of Messrs. Gandhi, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. The electorate under the Reforms Scheme is composed of men ignorant, illiterate, and uninterested in public affairs. Sir Michael speaks of the Punjab 'rebellion', [we sincerely hope that this cry of 'wolf' will not end like the fable], and of men convicted of 'waging war, conspiracy, arson, robbery and cognate offences', and is most wrath at the exercise of the royal clemency in their favour. He speaks of the 'Indian Soviet' which exists only in his bloodthirsty imagination, and the whole object of his article is to hound



"Puss! Puss!"

—*John Bull* (London).

the Government into launching into a fresh career of persecution—as if our Jhalianwala Bagh is not enough—to rally and hearten the moderate and loyal elements.'

The true interests of the people are already suffering, and nothing is more pathetic than the position of our officers who are compelled to look on helplessly [instead of being allowed to indulge in their favourite pastime of discharging machine guns on unarmed crowds] at the undoing of all they have striven for all they stand for. Since the Mutiny, the position of our Government in India was never so weak, its credit never so low.

That is the battle-cry of all fire-eaters.

It is high time, therefore, that the people and Parliament of this country realised the situation and addressed themselves to its solution. That solution is simple enough. The Government has only to enforce the law, hearten its splendid body of officers who stand for a clean and impartial administration, support the loyal classes and masses, who in spite of defections to the enemy, due to a weak and vacillating policy, are still the vast majority, and abandon the weak policy of truckling to those whose ultimate aim is the overthrow of our rule in India. The Punjab and the Khalifat agitations are but specious pretexts to cloak that object. [Here follows a quotation from Moulvi Fuzlal Huq at Dacca.] And yet those in authority still refuse to look the facts in the face. Will they awake before India and its 315 millions are lost to Britain and to civilisation?

It is a dangerous game that Sir Michael is playing. Not satisfied with kindling the fire of discontent in the Punjab which has spread over all India, he is egging on the British public to follow in his footsteps and launch into still further persecutions. They can have but one result, but the cleverly veiled insinuation of Sir Michael may prove false, and what may be a loss to Britain may be a gain to the cause of civilisation and liberty.

"The One Thing Needful."

Mr. Maurice Hewlett, who seems to be a Quaker, and whose voice is that of one crying in the wilderness, says in his short article on 'The One Thing Needful':—

Side by side with the discussions at Geneva armaments are piling up again. The United States has its programme, Japan has its programme, the *Times* is filled every day with the bickerings of naval officers over the best preparations for the next war. The chemists are stooping over their toxic gases, their high explosives. And all this while it is obvious to whoever thinks for a moment of the last war what in logical extension the next one must be. It will be upon a scale which defies thought; it must be a thing which civilisation cannot survive. Yet just as certainly the rival ship-building of England and Germany, the rival army extensions of Germany and France, induced the last war, so can these preparations have but one end. Let me point out one aspect of that end. It is now accepted doctrine that war must be waged against non-combatants; from overhead, from gas-retorts. Against this end the League of Nations, as it stands, cannot afford any protection, for it contains in its constitution the germ of all wars—that is to say, the principle of nationality. Every war from the beginning of time has arisen out of the suspicions, or the envy, or the susceptibilities of nation and nation. Emphasise, perpetuate nationality, you prepare for war.

What then? Has the world gone mad? Or is it so grafted in a stock of ill-will that it cannot help itself? There is only one thing that will help it. Man must learn to love instead of hate.

All this has been told in much more forcible language in Rabindranath Tagore's *Nationalism*, but to-day the allied armies have again crossed the German frontier, and the world is threatened with another war.

The Condition of Germany.

In the February number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Major Lindsay Bashford contributes a very interesting article on 'The Condition of Germany' from which we learn that Germany is in a fair way to recovery.

...what impressed me considerably was the strength of character, the ability and resolution of the members of the Reichstag whom I encountered and with whom I discussed the German situation. Here was no dismay or demoralisation, but a shrewd resolve, backed by brains and money, to regain for Germany her former 'place in the sun'—a place not due to Hohenzollern bombast, inflated capital, and cut-throat methods of competition, but to quiet, thorough business enterprise, a resolve to turn out quality as well as quantity, to discard the shoddy in both politics and trade, and not to launch out upon credits which within a reasonably long run there would not be cash to meet. I have seen something of recent legislative bodies, but none, except the French Chamber under M. Millerand, which could compare in sturdy unemotional commonsense with the German Republican Reichstag, as I met it that March [1920] in Stuttgart.

My Stuttgart impressions were confirmed during the following months in big business centres such as Frankfurt, Dusseldorf, Elberfeld, Hamburg and a dozen others. I spent a month in the crowded coal area of the Ruhr valley, whose centre is Essen, most solid and austere of cities. My conclusions from these visits repeated themselves on the Baltic seaboard and in Berlin itself. The Germans as a people realise and frankly admit that they are 'down and out,' but 'down and out' they certainly do not propose to remain.

But here is the cloud in the horizon:—

Already Bolshevism [which, according to the writer, is greater than its champions, and will go on even if its leaders fall] loudly boasts that.....it willbecome the champion of Germany against her conquerors. With the resources of Germany in its grasp, and the masses of the German people behind its banner, Bolshevism is resolved to move westwards. Revenge is the bribe for Germany. Will the staid elements of the German State be strong enough to resist?

The question has acquired added significance since the writer asked it, for the allies have once more crossed the frontier and Germany has declared that she is no longer bound by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles (March 15).

Reduction of Armaments.

The Asian Review calls attention to the fact that though ex-President Wilson's proposal for a general disarmament was meant for application to friends and foes alike, and though the enemies were compelled to reduce their armaments to the limit prescribed by the victors, no steps were taken for bringing about a restriction of armaments amongst the Allies. The review favours the idea of reduction of armaments; for,

Unless a halt is made in the extension of armaments, the world must face another horrible conflagration.

— Japan is a poor country. It would be sheer madness on her part to attempt to engage in a naval race with any first class power. Although her navy is quite insignificant when compared with that of either America or Great Britain, she will gladly subscribe to any measure calculated to lead to the establishment of a permanent peace. She heartily welcomes the proposal for a naval holiday, because she is sure to derive the greatest amount of benefit from such an agreement.

Civilising the Africans.

The following Reuter's telegram throws some light on the claim that the War was fought in Africa to end German frightfulness there :—

London, March 21.

The text of the four new Mandates has been issued. German South-West Africa has been conferred on South Africa and German possessions in the Pacific, south of the Equator, with the exception of Samoa and Nauru has been conferred on Australia. German Samoa has been conferred on New Zealand and Nauru on Great Britain. All the terms are identical and are on the lines of the previous mandates, conferring full powers of administration and prescribing prohibition of slavery, of supplying natives with alcohol, of forced labour *except for the essential public works* and of the establishment of military and naval bases and fortifications. The engaging Mandatories will guarantee religious freedom and will report yearly to the League of Nations, [Italics ours. Ed, M. R.]

The following observations of the London *Church Times* on forced labour, quoted by the *Asian Review*, are very apposite :—

"Forced labour is, in itself, wrong and immoral. Even if the prosperity of the East African Colonies were dependent upon it that would not be sufficient excuse for its introduction. The *raison d'être* of the African negro is not to procure wealth for the white man. Nor can we allow the distinction which some make between forced labour for the Government and forced labour for private owners. Forced labour for the Government can be easily managed so that the private employer gets as much as he wants. It is only necessary to make Government

work sufficiently disagreeable and to release from it all who are willing to work for private employers. Yet that these white men should be provided with cheap black labour in order to help the white man to make his fortune is intolerable. Unfortunately, Africa is a very long way. The cry of the oppressed negro does not reach to the pleasant homes of England unless there is some political axe to grind. There are many, too, who hardly look upon their dark-skinned brother as being of the same flesh and blood as themselves. 'These lazy niggers must be forced to work,' that is their sole formula for the situation. A generation or two ago their grandfathers were saying the same about the British working man. But cruelty and inhumanity, like curses and chickens, come home to roost."

The comment of the *Asian Review* also deserves to be quoted.

The last war was announced to be a war for liberation. All peoples, great and small, black and white, were promised protection and freedom by the Allies. Like the rest of the now disillusioned non-white people the Africans too were expecting to share the glories of the new world. But a terrible disillusionment has come upon them, and that with a vengeance. Instead of liberation they find themselves subjected to a more violent and soul-deteriorating form of slavery. During the German occupation a man had to submit to 104 days' forced labour every year. Under British rule he will be liable to do at least 84 days' forced work, apparently as the price of his liberty bestowed by his new master. Formerly he could remain at home with his wife and family. But under the new system inaugurated by British administration he will be separated from his home and consequently his household will be in danger of disruption, for he will not submit his wife to the dangers of camp life, nor can they both leave their fields unless they and their children are to starve. It is one of the glaring illustrations of England's notion of "protecting the weaker races"!

Dr. Tagore on Eastern and Western Music.

Current Opinion observes :—

With many of the Oriental races the acquiring of Occidental culture has resulted in the abandonment of their own. The Japanese are an example of this. Occidental music is now being widely spread through Japan and the natives are avid in its appreciation. But, observes Rabindranath Tagore, in *Musical America*, the Japanese have forsaken their own music because it is not great in itself. That, to his way of thinking, is the supreme test. If a thing is inherently great, whether it be an art or a custom, a religion or merely an idea, it is never abandoned, but, on the contrary, it "goes forth and makes itself felt to the uttermost parts of the earth." This, he goes on to say is evident in Japanese painting, ceramic and decorative arts, which are their great means of expression. They not only have not been abandoned but have profoundly impressed themselves on western civilization and have influenced the art of every country they have touched.

Then follows the Poet's opinion on Indian music.

Dr. Tagore regards the music of his own country, India, as far superior to that of Japan; in fact, "Indian music is great music even tho' the western world is ignorant of the fact." Being great music, he wants some great western musician to go to India and study, master and interpret it to the Occident and, in return, to do the same to India for Occidental music. He almost despairs, however, of finding the right person, someone "with an open mind and with no political or commercial bias who would study our people, our languages and our country, for our music is so very, very old and so closely knit with our life that the two are inseparable. Our songs are a part of our life and we sing of natural, uncomplex things, of the rains and the drought, of seed-time and harvest, the building of a house, of marriage, of birth and of death. The quality, then, of the music, and the character of it, have a significance, and one must know what particular thing the music represents in order to understand it, quite apart from the words."

As regards Western music,

Dr. Tagore has found American and European music all but incomprehensible to the masses in India not only on account of its structure but also because its production is so utterly different. Singing voices in India, are trained by an entirely different method, in a different part of the throat, which of course is a big obstacle to proper interpretation.

It is interesting to know from the Poet himself what he thinks of his translations.

"I have set some five hundred of my own songs to music and many of them in their translations have been used by your composers. But, then, translations are—translations. Even tho I made them myself, they are not really good, for there is no such thing as a 'good' translation in the sense of re-expressing what is said in the original. A translation may be a re-incarnation but it cannot be identical. This is obvious because the sound of a word has a significance utterly apart from its meaning. This fact is the very essence of poetry, and as you cannot take the sound of a word but only its meaning into another language, just so you can never really translate from one language into another. A version of a poem in another tongue may be a finer piece of work but it is not the same piece of work. This is also true of music. You really can't translate it from one country to another. You have to learn the idiom of the other country, to a certain extent at least, and then you can absorb all the meaning of the music without having to think it out in your own."

Sugar from Pumpkins.

Current Opinion asks:—

Why limit our sugar production to the cane of the tropics, the beet of the temperate zones and the modest yield of the maple trees of our northern states?

"Why not the pumpkin?" is the answer of the sugar chemist. That pleasing vegetable which grows almost anywhere can, writes J. N. Bishop in *The Nation's Business*, be weaned away from its

uses for pies, jack-o-lanterns and cattle feed and from it can be made no inconsiderable amount of crystallizable sugar. Its yield in weight per acre is greater than that of the sugar beet. Six per cent of sugar can be readily obtained, with possibilities of a much higher yield. Sugar from pumpkins is declared to be perfectly white and of an agreeable flavor. It also is said that sugar has been made from watermelons.

Indians should exploit this source of sugar, as pumpkins grow plentifully in Bengal, Chota Nagpur, &c.

The Vulgarities of National Vanity.

Dr. Frank Crane writes in *Current Opinion*:

My father and mother were Americans, and as far back as I can trace my ancestors they were all Americans, unmistakable, home grown and branded U. S. A.

That is the principal reason why I say that, after thinking it over carefully, I shall not subscribe to the propaganda nor join in the cry of "America First."

It is just plain egotism. And national vanity is quite as vulgar as any other kind. Vanity is vanity. And all cheap.

It sounds to me about like "Deutsch-land Ueber Alles" or "Britannia Rules the Waves," or "Sinn Féin."

Why the mischief a man who grabs all for himself, boasts of his money and his family, lords it and domineers it over others less favored and altogether acts like a bounder should be called vulgar, and a nation that acts the same way should be called grand and noble, I fail to see.

There is such a thing as national modesty.

The qualities that make a gentleman cannot be treason in a nation.

Self-restraint, courtesy, a readiness to help the weak and withstand the bully, service and self-effacement, these also do not disgrace the Star Spangled Banner.

It is the essence of Machiavellism to exalt as virtues in a State what we condemn as vices in an individual.

To cheat, to browbeat and threaten, to boast and brag, are quite as unbecoming a million people as any one of them.

Why should America be first? Does a well-bred guest shoulder the others aside and run to the chief place at the table?

Does a real lady pride herself on not having anything to do with her neighbours?

Just because I am a white American I want every Negro to have as square a deal as I have myself, and a Mexican, an Indian, a Japanese or a Chinese to have all my advantages.

I want my country to be the Big Brother of the world, not the big bully.

I want our flag to mean justice and consideration for every foreigner within our shores, as much as for every native son.

I have a sincere love for America, an honest pride in her achievements, I respect and uphold her institutions, but I cannot understand why on that

account I should despise a German, insult an Englishman or look down on a Frenchman.

I have a proper pride in my own family. The Cranes are good enough for me, and I think our men are as clever and our women as handsome as any breed you can name. But is that any reason why I should hate the Smiths, shoot the Browns and fight the Robinsons?

The right kind of self-esteem functions in courtesy, not in a vulgar struggle for precedence.

Hence in the sense in which some use the term, I am not in favor of "America First."

But if you mean that America is to be first in helpfulness, first in co-operation, first in good manners, first in the arts and ways of civilization, then I too am for

"America First."

Success and Failure of Prohibition in U. S. A.

Efforts are being made in India to stop the production and sale of intoxicating liquors except for medicinal purposes. The experience of America of the results of legal prohibition are on the whole encouraging. Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, LL.D., National Attorney and General Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America, writes in *Current Opinion* :—

A great nation has demonstrated under prohibition that it is not dependent on the revenue derived from liquor for the running expenses of government.

The church and every agency for human uplift have been relieved of much of the wreckage caused by liquor heretofore left on its doorstep for care. This is constructive philanthropy.

The decreased arrests for drunkenness and its allied evils are convincing. Drunkenness in former wet territory has decreased 60 per cent; for all offences about 40 per cent. Boston is a fair illustration. In 1919, total arrests 81,593; in 1920, 47,395. There were 5,287 fewer total arrests for 1920 in Boston than for drunkenness alone in 1919.

Jails, alcoholic wards in hospitals, inebriate asylums and workhouses are gradually closing their doors or are abandoning a large part of their institutions for lack of inmates. The State Farm in Massachusetts decreased its population 44 per cent this year. Arrests for truancy, delinquency and neglected children are declining rapidly. The Boston Police Department reported a decrease for delinquency of 1,063 in 1920 or 29 per cent.

Deaths from suicide, alcoholism and accident have decreased about 60 per cent. Applications for admission to insane asylums have diminished so rapidly that an expert recently declared that, if there was no other beneficial result, this alone would justify the effort and expense to secure prohibition. The necessities and some of the comforts of life are being supplied in multiplied thousands of homes heretofore in need. The home is having a chance to show its superiority as a substitute for the saloon.

As regards the failure of prohibition, the writer's opinion is :—

Briefly stated, the failure of prohibition is confined to a few localities and is temporary. The success of prohibition is increasing, permanent, and eventually it is confidently prophesied, will be universal.

According to the *Living Age*, after protracted discussions and negotiations all the societies fighting the liquor trade in Japan have united in the 'Japanese National Prohibition League.'

The Soul of India.

Miss H. M. Howsin quotes in the *Venturer* the following lines from Matthew Arnold to expose the untruth hidden therein :—

The East bowed low before the storm
In silent deep disdain,
She heard the legions thunder past
And plunged in thought again.

A few passages from the exposure are extracted below.

India, according to popular and official opinion, is still the symbol of a contemplative inertia. "Plunged in thought," she abstracts herself from such mundane trifles as politics, commerce, and the normal activities of the West, and reserving all her powers for the discussion of academic subtleties, prefers to leave the burden and regulation of her national life in the willing hands of those Western islanders who proclaim themselves so eminently fitted to deal with it.

That the West is essentially practical, that India is essentially and immovably contemplative is a conception that, subject to certain reservations, is fallacious and dangerous.

It is true that the highest levels of human thought in the realms of spiritual philosophy and metaphysics have been reached and maintained by a certain section of the Hindu intellectual classes, some of whom deliberately retired—and occasionally do still retire—from active life in order to perfect their powers of concentration. But when it is laid down dogmatically that the racial characteristic of the people as a whole is in a passive neglect of the practical side of life, the statement is in no way borne out by historical facts, and is a mischievous slogan well calculated to weaken the resistance of an indignant but defenceless people, and to confirm a bureaucracy in its tyrannical pretensions. Those who talk glibly of unpractical characteristics, ignore the fact that in the past all such activities as ship-building, native industries, home and foreign trade, which engage the normal activities of a nation were deliberately, and by very brutal methods, crushed out by Britain in the attempt to control and monopolize commodities; crushed out by active intervention and indirect pressure; and having thus thrown the commercial population back on to the land, the Government neglected to provide for them by inaugurating any extensive and scientific agricultural policy. (India, to-day, with ninety per cent. of her people dependent upon agriculture, has no colleges, where



GREAT BRITAIN TAKES HIS SIX VOTES OUT
FOR AN AIRING.

Spayth in the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette.

practical, scientific agriculture in all its branches, can be studied—and applied.) Such a policy perpetrated through several decades, inevitably strikes at the foundation of national initiative and induces a pacific and quietist mentality.

Before the consolidation of any Empire in the West, the Mauryan Empire under Asoka, with Buddhism for its religion, matured a polity embodied in the Edicts of Asoka wherein the basic principles of the League of Nations were recognized as obligatory in the relations with foreign States. In later times Hindu jurisprudence and the elaborate regulations of the land revenue prepared by Todar Mall, were conspicuous features of an epoch full of artistic, industrial and commercial activities. In military science the Hindus and Muhammadans of their day were at least so skilful and persistent that it took half a century for Europeans to establish their rule in India. The Mahrattas defeated the British eighteen times before their final betrayal; Sikhs put up so desperate a fight and showed such stubborn resistance that for long the issue hung in the balance. The structure of Indian society does not rest on a set of metaphysical principles, but is informed with practical commonsense and understanding of human nature in the making.

Miss Howsin also gives facts and events relating to modern India in support of her assertion that "India is seeing and acting dynamically."

On Safeguarding Maternity.

Even in the rich, self-ruling, and progres-

sive United States of America, according to *The New Republic*,

"There are two serious losses of human life which the public health movement of the last fifty years has not yet brought under control. The first affects mothers in childbirth and the second infants at birth and during the first month after birth. In the United States, there are approximately seventeen thousand maternal death annually and about one hundred thousand stillbirths and as many deaths of infants under one month old. Both of these losses strike at the very foundation of society. For, probably, no single group of persons is of greater social and economic value to the state than the young mothers. The infants are the productive citizens of the next generation.

If philanthropic and legislative efforts are needed in America, how much more should we and our law-makers do to save the lives of India's mothers and infants! Their mortality is appalling, but there is no sufficiently strong public opinion to combat the gigantic evil.

Lafcadio Hearn.

The Japan Magazine for January to hand contains an interesting character sketch of Lafcadio Hearn, the English author who naturalised himself in Japan. Looking for the sources of Hearn's literary charm, the author of the sketch writes:—

Hearn claimed that mythology, history, romance, and especially poetry, enriched fancy. He went so far as to assert that astronomy, geology, and ethnology furnished him "with a wonderful and startling variety of images, symbols, and illustrations." Alive, on the emotional side, to the work of others, he believed that "when the soil of fancy is really well enriched with innumerable fallen leaves, the flowers of language grow spontaneously." The wonder is that this sensitive writer, who rushed from one shrine of praise to another, from Gautier to Kipling, from Kipling to Herbert Spencer, should have been able to form an individual style of his own that is either the man himself, or his dream of the beautiful that came to him in the States, in the West Indies, and in Japan—that dream of poetic prose. He wrote: "Then I stopped thinking. For I saw my home—and the lights of its household gods—and my boy stretching out his hands to me—and all the simple charm and love of Old Japan. And the fairy-world seized my soul again, very softly and sweetly—as a child might a butterfly." That is our last impression of Lafcadio Hearn, for it was from such thoughts as these that he dreamed his dream, called up to a weary and cynical and hustling world the ghostly magic of the Land of the Gods.

Women and the World Future.

In the *English Review* Cicely Hamilton asserts:

All organizations are fighting machines; and, so

far, our only method of dealing with the tyranny of one variety is to set up another against it—produce bellicose Labor as a check on bellicose Nationality. The real problem, perhaps being how to disorganize the mind of humanity; how induce it to tear off its labels, forgo its destructive mass-action, think constructively and not to order.

Be that as it may, it is clear that Society in peril from its own destructive impulses has a right to expect some help from that section of humanity which, because it bears children—gives life—should esteem life highly, hold bloodshed and slaughter in abhorrence.

She goes on, in the same strain:—

In view of the progress of scientific destruction, it is no exaggeration to say that the continued existence of a civilized world depends on the introduction into the counsels and dealings of humanity of an influence that will make for peace. It has been claimed that woman in politics will provide such an influence; but it is as yet too early to say that the process of organization, inseparable from politics, will not act upon her as it acts upon her brother. Can she form part of the political fighting machine, the national fighting machine—the class fighting machine—and restrain herself and her organization from fighting? Is she temperamentally a non-combatant? Or is she a noncombatant only because she has not hitherto been subjected to the organizing, combative influence—been carried away by that sense of membership which, where men are concerned, puts arms into the hands of the gentlest? Is she peaceful only because she is unorganized, without sense of fellowship and membership, indifferent to the public interest? And will she become crowd-conscious, respond, like the crowd-conscious man, most readily to the stimulus of hate? So far in the world's history the only method of holding men firmly and actively together has been by providing them with something to hate and attack; the common hatred is the bond that unites man and man. Out of the need for the common hatred have been fought innumerable wars.....Can cause or community hold together without it? On the answer to that question may depend the existence of our world.

The greatest Teachers of humanity have held that Love is a greater binding force than Hatred.

The writer thinks that the protective instinct in women may become effective through a self-regarding motive.

If the protective instinct in women is to be made effective, it can only be through a development of the imaginative faculty; that is to say, through a realization of what the crowd-impulse uncontrolled will mean to themselves and their children. In the way of starvation by blockade—as the weapon of nation or class; in the way of scientific destruction—sheer massacre at the hands of the chemist. There are object lessons enough to their hand to help them to realization.....And, having realized, they will know two things which it greatly imports them to know. That the day of non-combatant immunity in war has passed; and that, so far, no limit has been set to the destructive inventiveness of man. That

knowledge may stimulate the protective instinct—if it be a reality in woman.

Forest Conservation in U. S. A.

We read in *Munsey's Magazine*:—

The extensive investigation of the lumber and timber situation just made by the Forest Service, in accordance with a Senate resolution, revealed the fact that three-fifths of the original saw-timber supply of the United States is gone. About half the remainder is in the three States that border the Pacific Ocean. A good deal of the other half is in the South; and big Southern pine operators, after looking hard at their timber supplies, cannot see more than enough for about fifteen years' operations.

The railroads, the furniture-makers, the box-manufacturers, and most of all, the newspapers—which are printed on paper made out of wood—have all found their business hampered to an alarming degree by the difficulty of securing the "stuff" with which to work.

Ten years ago the United States produced practically all the news-print paper it needed. In 1919 we had to import what amounted to two-thirds of all that we used!

In the naval stores industry—turpentine, rosin, and the like—America has led the world for a hundred years, and still leads by a tremendous margin; but if we keep on the way we are going, and at the same gait, we shall be practically out of the export business in ten years. It would be almost too much if we should have to import turpentine from the artificially planted forests of southern France.

The answer to the forestry problem of the United States is, therefore, not to use less wood but to grow more, to put our idle acres of burned and logged-off timber-land at work growing trees. This is not an inherently difficult thing to accomplish. It is not the Utopian dream of a technical enthusiast. Three-fourths of it lies in preventing forest fires, but it does require also an aggressive national policy of reforestation.

This is a policy which we need to pursue in India, too. We must have more afforestation, and that, not for exploitation by foreigners, but for our own use.

Painting in the Air.

Munsey's Magazine gives an interesting account, with illustrations, of the novel work of A. E. Cooper, an English artist who has found a new perspective for the landscape-painter.

It was an inevitable, though perhaps somewhat belated, consequence of man's mastery of the air that artists should perceive in flying a means of presenting their pictures in an altogether novel perspective. A leader in this new field is Captain A. E. Cooper, official artist to the British air-ship service during the war, who was probably the first man actually to paint pictures in the air.

It may be well to emphasize this latter point, for many artists have pictured flying subjects from the earth. Captain Cooper has mounted into the skies with canvass and palet and brushes, and there, perched perilously on the roof of the after-car of an air-ship, has painted, with astonishing success, the earth below as he has seen it in its ever-varying forms.

Any one who has flown will agree that in making pictures of the earth as seen from above, Captain Cooper has touched no more than the fringe of a subject which contains enormous possibilities for the artist.

The Belgian Confusion of Tongues.

The multiplicity of languages in India is certainly an obstacle in the way of our national solidarity and attainment of self-rule. But it is not an insurmountable obstacle. The United States of America has many tongues, with one prevailing tongue. We are tending that way. Belgium's linguistic troubles, some paragraphs relating whereof are given below from the *Century Magazine*, show that we need not be despondent.

Belgium has her Babel, although her confusion of tongues is a matter of only two tongues, the French and the Flemish. The dominant problem of Belgium's internal history is the conflict, of long standing and sustained vitality, between the French-speaking Walloons, who occupy the southern half of Belgium, and the Flemish speaking Flemings, who occupy the northern half of Belgium. This conflict was adjourned during the war, but is again acute. The old movement for a racial partition of Belgium, at least in an administrative sense, is once more in full swing.

The strictly French-speaking and the strictly Flemish-speaking elements are divided with fair evenness. Pre-war figures reckoned the French-speaking Walloons at about 2,833,000, the Flemish-speaking Flemings at about 3,220,000. In addition there were about 871,000 persons who spoke both French and Flemish. The majority of this bi-lingual *bloc* should probably be classed as Flemish in blood.

Last June a lecture was scheduled under the auspices of university professors in favor of the French language. Feeling was running so high that the meeting was prevented by a band of opponents armed with sticks. On June 11 last, language riots took place in Antwerp. The police were obliged to intervene. There was one fatality among the students. On July 29 last events of a more serious nature took place, resulting in an invasion of Parliament by the mob and assaults upon officials.

But the really significant point in current developments in Belgium is the passage by the Chamber of a bill that is regarded as the opening wedge for a policy of thoroughgoing administrative separation of Belgium: Under its provisions the State officers in Flanders will be allowed to write in Flemish only. The appetite grows by what it feeds upon. So this victory is followed up by an agitation upon the part of the Flemings for the suppression of the French university of Ghent and the substitution of a Flemish university. If to the support of this agitation the weigh-

of the Conservatives is given, there is a possibility that this may happen.

Comparative Impatient Idealism.

Indian Radicals were dubbed "Impatient Idealists", because after more than 150 years of British rule they wanted *Home Rule* at once or definitely at the end of 10, 15, or 20 years. But the Filipinos are impatient—and we think quite naturally and justifiably—because after twenty years of American rule, though they have got *Home Rule*, they have not yet got independence, *which has been promised to them*. Here is what the *Philippine Review* writes:—

Again it is up before the United States Congress and the American public opinion, backed up by such strong leaders as Frear and others. We may be luckier this time, and we may not. One thing, however, is certain: The Americans, here and in the United States, here particularly, seem to have a better and clearer idea of the problem and are now more inclined to discuss it upon unprejudiced basis. And as discussion always throws light, we hope that by it we may at last reach the end which, after all is said and done, is bound to come, the sooner the better, that we may know how to plan for the untrodden future.

We have always expressed our sincere regret at the fact that the American people hardly realize the greater benefit, physical and moral, to be derived by them from Philippine Independence than from non-Philippine Independence. They fail in properly realizing the role they are to play and the place they are to hold in the Far East, in trade, politics, and other mutually beneficial movements, through Philippine Independence. We are sorry we have neither the time nor the space to dwell more extensively on this question. We will, however, say that today they have before them the finest chance they will ever have to do the everlasting good they ought to do on behalf of mankind by the grant of Philippine Independence.

Race and Civilisation.

The *Philippine Review* quotes the following from Grant,

"The progress of civilization becomes evident only when immense periods are studied and compared, but the lesson is always the same; namely, that race is everything. Without race there can be nothing except the slave wearing his master's clothes, stealing his master's proud name, adopting his master's tongue and living in the crumbling ruins of his master's palace."

and observes:—

Our history and our progress in the modern civilization have produced among us such fundamental racial sentiments and interests that make us more difficult to absorb by the more prepared nations. Our

history would have to be destroyed and our racial feelings would have to be blotted out of our hearts in order to change our mental constitution. This, however, would be an affront that would certainly be met by the Filipinos with an invincible moral resistance.

We say "moral resistance" with a purpose. The moral of the Filipino people has been always the decisive factor in our progress. But what can we say about the "physical resistance?" Would we offend our countrymen's feeling if we say that physically we are weaklings? That we could not rely on our physical qualities to survive in the competition of races? Do we need any proof for this affirmation? What other proof is more convincing than the case of our National Guard when an overwhelming per cent of soldiers and officers had been refused their admittance into the ranks because of physical unfitness?

If this is true it becomes, therefore, our solemn duty as Filipinos to make ourselves more physically fit. Our race would not amount to much if it lacks physical and consequently moral stamina. "The value and efficiency of a population," Grant asserts, "are not numbered by what the newspapers call souls, but by the proportion of men of physical and intellectual vigor."

This supports our argument in our last issue that a nation which is physically weak cannot be strong in soul.

The following extracts from another article in the same journal are on an allied topic:

The World War has directed attention to the necessity of conserving human life and of making it efficient. For years practically all students of the Philippine public schools have been engaged in some form of physical exercise, the effects of which upon the physical development of the Filipino people are already apparent. The past six years have witnessed special attention directed to the general health and welfare of the pupils in the way of supervised athletics, organized games, drills, and special health courses. During the year 1917-1918 military training was prescribed for all boys in the high school, and systematic physical education was given a definite place in all secondary courses of study.

The playground movement has developed widely in the Islands to meet the social need recognized the world over—the harmonious development of body and mind.

Besides following out carefully all the prescribed and more or less fixed courses, the schools are engaged in special activities to a very large extent. The "Food Campaign", with the aim of increasing the area cultivated in school and home gardens by 100 per cent, and of securing a like increase in the production of food, was carried on enthusiastically. In both cases the desired increase was exceeded.

Our Women and Our Race.

The Philippine Review contains much stimulating food for thought on the above subject. Having said "that race is everything in the progress of civilization," it adds:—

But "Biologically, the female not only typifies the race but, metaphor aside, she is the race," writes Lester F. Ward in the most significant of his books. "Looked at therefore from a racial standpoint, woman occupies a position of supreme importance to Social Progress. Since she is the race, she determines the race characteristics that shall be transmitted to the future." As a matter of fact, Nearing asserts, "Biologically, woman is one unit in the race of man, receiving from the past and transmitting to the future the life and the race characteristics with which she is endowed."

So, indeed, as Nearing points out, "Each generation is born anew to women. While it must accept the social institution which it discovers modifying them as best as it may to fulfill its purposes, the generation comes into the world with certain characteristics which are typical of the race to which that generation belongs. If the modern biologists are not in error, the female transmits a majority of these characteristics."

In the words of Lester F. Ward "The female is the guardian of hereditary qualities." We therefore cannot afford to overlook the part that woman takes in the upward impulse of the race. Through ignorance and sexual antagonism and prejudice often-times man has tabooed her from many social undertakings, confined her in the home, and forced her to assume certain qualities in conformity with the standard established by men for her.

She used to be captured or purchased and ever since that time the idea that she is a property of man prevailed in his subconsciousness. Man consequently presumed that he can do anything with her to suit his whims and fancy. He may kill her when caught in the act of adultery with another man and not be punished for homicide by our courts of justice although he would be temporarily exiled; but really this is not a punishment; it is rather done in order that the husband, her "owner", may not fall a victim to the avenging spirit aroused in the locality by her death. She is required to obey and follow her husband to whom she belongs. She has no disposition of her own and cannot use her initiative without the consent of her lord—the man. That is the command of her religion and the laws of her State.

The evil results of depriving women of the freedom of initiative have not been exaggerated.

Because women are deprived of the freedom of initiative due to the physical and moral dominance of men, they, as Ross says, "instead of finding for themselves the right adjustment to life, follow male opinion as to what is proper and womanly."

What the situation requires is then briefly described.

There is certainly a need of a radical survey of the anomalous sexual relationship existing in this country, and then with a clear vision and undaunted courage tackle any defect which may be found. Because if "Woman is the race, the success or failure of our race would depend upon the success or failure of our women."

"Women conserve the characteristics of the race and transmit them through heredity to the future."

generations. Because they have more of a tendency to adhere to the past, and less inclination to branch out in new directions.

They are that 'stubborn power of permanency' of which Goethe speaks."

But if woman fails she could not properly conserve nor duly transmit such vital characteristics and qualities which the succeeding generations require for their higher advancement in the scale of civilization.

Women's complete emancipation from the masculine assumption of superiority and from man's false notion of her being his mere property would be tantamount to giving the race a new start in its impulse upward. She must have the freedom of initiative, because it is the female that most needs it for the preservation of the race of man. She, being the guardian of hereditary qualities of the race and in charge of transmitting them to future generations, would not be very able to perform this obligation if she were bound by false sentimentalisms and traditions of man. Woman is the mould of the race. But if she is debased and enslaved would we not be producing a debased and an enslaved race?

In order, therefore, that she may duly transmit the race characteristics which she conserves to future generations it is necessary that she have the freedom of initiative and a complete exercise of her power of choice. For the race preservation this is more important to woman than to man. As a matter of fact, in mating woman is more discriminating than man precisely because it is to her interest that the race of man be better improved. This is so true that Ward thinks that "While the voice of nature speaking to the male in form of intense appetitive interest, says to him: fecundate! it gives to the female a different command and says: discriminate! The order to the male is: cross the strains, that to the female is: choose the best!"

"Quatrefages declares that everywhere, specially in passing love-making, woman hates to descend: man is less delicate."

The description of the present position of the Filipino woman is heartening.

We can happily state, however, in the language of Mozans, that to-day the Filipino woman is not anymore "a mere glorified toy." She is no longer held in vassalage and ignorance and made to suffer all the disabilities and privations of the 'lesser man'. She is not excluded from the civic and social function; neither is she compelled to pass her life within the four walls of home. She realizes that the great fountain of knowledge available for her brother is also available for her. Now she may choose either to become proficient in the use of the needle, and the sewing machine, to embroider and make garments for herself and for the other members of her family or to become a lawyer, a doctor, a nurse, a dentist, a telephone operator or a street car conductor.

Her instruction, therefore, is not reduced to reading, writing and arithmetic, and now she is brought up in the same way as her brothers are. Complete equality of men and women, in school and college, and even her political and civil rights, are now being recognized. Due to this elevation of her social status she is to-day more talked of than her mothers had been in their time, and if it was considered bad for a woman to be "talked of among men whether for

good or for evil," it is now the greatest glory of the fathers to see their daughters talked of among men for their achievements whether in college or in society. Although there are still many faults to be corrected in the present sexual relations of man and woman in the Philippines, there is no doubt that our race is receiving a new impulse upward with the elevation of her social status to the level of man's.

A Woman Cabinet Minister.

The Philippine Review tells its readers that

President-elect Harding has determined to appoint a woman to his cabinet. This will be in recognition of the fact that the American electorate has been practically doubled since the enfranchisement of woman and that woman's viewpoint shall be represented in the executive councils of the government. In order to appoint a woman, however, Mr. Harding will ask Congress to create a new Cabinet portfolio—Secretary of Education. The power to add Cabinet portfolios rests entirely with Congress and does not require any constitutional amendment.

In all probability Mrs. Harriett Taylor Upton of Ohio will be asked to head the new department though it cannot be said that a final selection has been made as a number of names are under consideration.

The choice of the portfolio is quite good.

Highest Price Paid for a Book.

According to *Munsey's Magazine*,

When Mr. Henry E. Huntington, of New York, paid seventy-five thousand dollars for a copy of "Venus and Adonis," all the world wondered, not merely because he had paid the highest price ever paid for a book but because he so evidently loved a book more than seventy-five thousand dollars. To many people this would naturally seem a strange thing, and possibly Mr. Huntington himself, like other collectors, could not fully explain how he came to love books so well. Before that, he had paid fifty thousand dollars for a copy of the Gutenberg Bible; and the story of his library would be a veritable Iliad of book-collecting.

More and more book-collecting is becoming the sport of financial kings. It is to be feared that the day of the happy poor collector, finding his diamond in the dust-heap of the "twopenny box", is gone forever.

Indian Servants of Anglo-Indian Masters.

Charles Nibbs, F.R.C.S., tells in *Chamber's Journal* of some of his experiences of Indian servants, portions of which may be quoted, without comment. Of their habit of bargaining, the writer says:—

I had a very capable man who, upon my question-

ing him, frankly acknowledged that he reckoned to make two rupees a week by this method, so for curiosity's sake I said, 'Very well, *bawarchi*, I will add an extra two rupees a week to your pay on condition that there be no bargaining, and that you charge me fair prices only.' He was delighted at earning the additional money so easily, but at the end of the month begged me to 'cut' the two rupees, and let him go back to the old system; 'bargaining' was such a real pleasure to him that in consequence of there being none he was losing health. So back he went, quite joyful at the prospect of a daily battle of words and, presumably, recovered health. It is the immemorial *dustoor* (custom) of the country, and, because the East is the East, changeth not.

On one occasion another *bawarchi* charged me five annas for a small purchase, a fair price being four and a half annas. On my pointing this out to him with some asperity, he salaamed very profoundly, and said it was his misfortune that he could not pronounce 'four and a half' correctly, as he had lost some teeth, so always had to say 'five annas', which caused him no difficulty at all. This preposterous apology almost took my breath away; but, controlling my face, I said very sympathetically that I was exceedingly sorry for his misfortune, but that I, too, suffered from a peculiar deafness, and, therefore, whenever I heard him say 'five annas', I should write down 'four'. This style of argument appealed to him much more than any form of vituperation, and I had no further trouble.

In the writer's opinion, it is no use asking a servant the reason for any dereliction of duty.

Plausibility is a fine art. 'Why has this place not been cleaned to-day?' 'Oh *sahib*, if I clean it to-day, it will be dirty again to-morrow, so what is the good of cleaning it to-day?' The only safe method is the direct 'Clean it.' Then in the eyes of the servant it becomes an order, *hukum hai*, something sacred, and

so must be obeyed. The somewhat apologetic and polite form of request will probably have no effect at all; the man thinks you are not in earnest.

Hindu and European notions of cleanliness are thus illustrated.

A very intelligent *khansama* was explaining to me how very clean the Hindus are in comparison with Europeans, in spite of the two baths daily the white man finds necessary. 'If I want to brush my teeth, *sahib*, I take a piece of fresh wood from God's own tree, fill my mouth with heaven-sent water, and use the frayed stick as a brush; but the *sahib* takes the hairs of an unclean dead animal, fixes them in the bone of another unclean animal, and then puts all this uncleanness into his mouth.' So does the humble and necessary tooth-brush appear to the mind of the Oriental, and therefore we are unclean in the using thereof. Needless to say, this view had not occurred to me before.

The Hindu idea is safer, cheaper, and more hygienic.

The *dhobie* comes in for his share of praise and blame.

The *dhobie* was an unfailing joy. He washed clothes beautifully, but tore them indiscriminately. Isn't it Mark Twain who says that the *dhobie* is a native of India who earns his living by breaking stones with a shirt? At any rate, this fairly indicates the methods employed by the *dhobie* who conscientiously tries to live up to his reputation. He never wrote down a list of the things he took away, but very rarely made a mistake. In some Oriental way he had Pelmanised his memory, and as he took to his *dhobie-khana* about a hundred pieces weekly from my house, and presumably similar quantities from one or two other *sahibs*, one may gain some idea of his mnemonic powers. His excuses for damage were always original, though not convincing. 'The bull ate it, *sahib*,' 'The wind blew a hole in it,' are specimens of these.

DR. TAGORE ON BRITISH MENTALITY IN RELATION TO INDIA

[The following letter has been received from the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore.]

RECENTLY I chanced to find a copy of Professor Lowes Dickenson's report of his travels in the East. It made me realise clearly the mentality of the British people in their relation to India. When the author indicates, in it, the utter difference of their temperament from ours, it fills me with despair at the unnaturalness of our relationship, which is so humiliating on our side and so demoralising on theirs.

In the pamphlet, he quotes, with

approval, a remark made to him by an Englishman, an officer, in India, whom he describes as "intelligent and enlightened". It is about the maintaining by Englishmen of an impassable social gulf between themselves and the people of India, and it says:—

"An Englishman cannot be expected to lose his own soul for the sake of other people's politics."

Here the author parenthetically explains

the word 'soul' by saying that it denotes the habits and traditions of one's race.

All this means that Englishmen feel a sense of irreconcilable contradiction between their nature and ours; and therefore we are like twins, who, by some monstrous freak of destiny, have been tied together back to back. He concludes the summary of his Report by saying:—

"But my own opinion is that India has more to gain and less to lose than any other Eastern country by contact with the West."

He contemptuously ignores the fact that where no communication of sympathy is possible, gifts can be hurled, but not given; that while counting the number of gains by the receiver, we also have to consider the fracture of his skull; and while thanking the doctor for the rest cure, we must hasten to negotiate with the undertaker for the funeral.

It is the very irony of fate for us to be blamed by these people about the iniquity of our caste distinctions. And yet, never, in the blindness of our pride of birth, have we suggested that by coming into contact with any race of men we can lose our souls, although we may lose our caste which is a merely conventional classification. The analogy would be perfect, if the division of the railway compartments, with its inequality of privileges, was decried by the railway directors as being necessary for the salvation of the passengers' souls.

Only think in this connexion of the ideal which the life of Akbar represented. This Emperor's soul was not afraid, for its own safety, of the touch of a neighbouring humanity but of the want of touch. Aurangzeb, on the other hand, who was certainly "intelligent and enlightened" and meticulously careful about keeping intact what he considered to be his soul, represented a force, insolent and destructive. Such an enormous difference in the ideals of these two most powerful monarchs of Moghal India sprang from fundamentally different interpretations of the word 'soul'.

Lowes Dickenson has mentioned about

the possibility of India being benefited by her contact with the West. Very likely he meant the contact to be like that of the root of a tree with the water in the soil. I admit the light of Europe's culture has reached us. But Europe, with its corona of culture, is a radiant idea. Its light permeates the present age, it is not shut up in a single bull's eye lantern, which is some particular people from Europe who have come to us in India, yet we are repeatedly asked to be grateful to this bull's eye lantern and prostrate ourselves before it with loyalty and reverence. But this is not possible; for it is a mere lantern, it has no soul. Not only that, but it circumscribes the light to a narrow circle of barest necessity. The full radiation of European Culture has pervaded Japan only because it has not come to her through an unnatural glare of a miserly lense, exaggerating the division between the small shining patch and the vast obscure.

It is our pride which seeks difference, and gloats upon it. But sympathy is a higher faculty, being our spiritual organ of sight: it has the natural vision of the *Advaitam*. The world is an ever moving multitude with an eternal unity of movements, which must not be retarded in any of its parts by a break of cadence. The world of man is suffering because all movements in its individual parts are not in harmony with one another and therefore with the whole: because the relationship of races has not been established in a balance of truth and goodness. This balance cannot be maintained by an external regulation, as in a puppet show. It is a dance which must have music in its heart to regulate it. This great music of love is lacking in the meeting of men which has taken place in the present age; and all its movements in their incongruity are creating complexities of suffering.

I wish I could write to you simple letters giving our detailed news. But the world-wide agony of pain fills my mind with thoughts that obstruct natural communications of personal life.

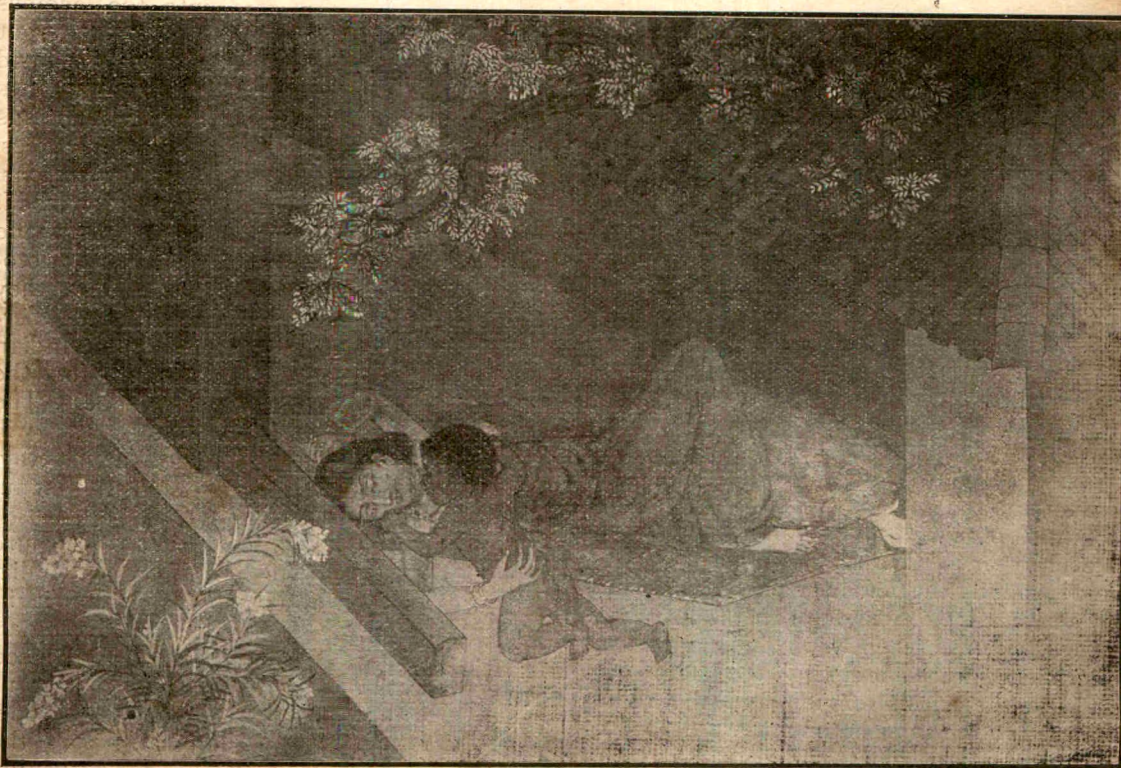
THE CALL OF THE EAST

THE CALCUTTA SCHOOL.

IT was not with the desire to encourage that idle curiosity that fastens upon the smallest details in the existence of great men, that we studied the portrait of Abanindra Nath Tagore, placed beside that of Rabindra Nath Tagore in the autumn Salon;—it was because the former has his part in that Renaissance in which Rabindra Nath is the chief figure. Whereas in other countries one watches the fashions and influences chop and change, affected by voyages and personal successes, out there in India one sees a line subtly but exactly traced by a master and followed by his disciples. I have mentioned the support given by Abanindra Nath Tagore to his uncle, by his caricatures of the actors and actresses who were degrading the traditions of the theatre. His brother Gaganendra Nath has similarly stigmatised in

a series of cartoons the ridiculousness of those Indians who try to imitate Europeans, and in so doing lose their own individuality. Thus one can put one's finger on the origin of a movement that aims at the rebirth of a national spirit, in its most diverse manifestations. This attempt is not due to contempt for our European culture. On the contrary, they wish to take from us all the best in our civilisation, to know our language, and to be initiated into our art, whilst still remaining themselves and carefully discarding all that is worthless.

These two brothers, animated by the same purpose, have succeeded in grouping around them about twenty young disciples from every caste and creed in India. Banded together in a kind of sacred union for the renaissance of Indian art, they



"MA"—By Mr. Sailendranath Dey.



THE SATEE STONE—By Mr. Durgasankar Bhattacharya.

have formed the Indian Society of Oriental Art, which organises an exhibition of national art every year in Calcutta. In order to understand properly the difficulty of this undertaking, we must try to imagine the state of things that existed until recently in India. Just as the actors were bringing the stage into disrepute, the priests religion, and the rajahs politics,—so the schools of art were leading the artists away from their true source of inspiration. The pupils passed their time in copying Western pounced drawings and

even posters. Young men accustomed to squat on the ground were made to work perched on high stools, thereby paralysing the free play of their drawing. The Tagore brothers led a reaction against this systematic falsification of the genius of the country—and banished the bad habits and bad models of the West; but they kept in contact with French art, and showed their countrymen photographs of our Cathedrals, and of the works of Puvis de Chavannes and Rodin.

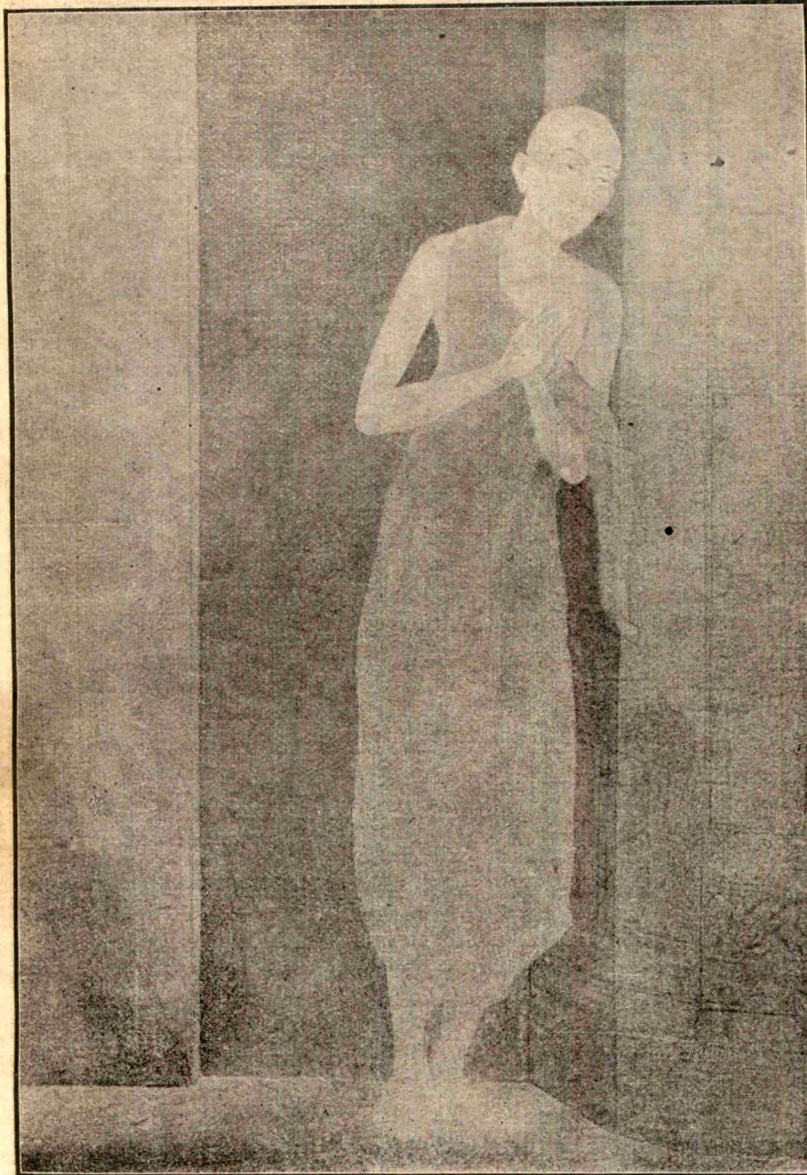
They showed a predilection, which they shared with their disciples, for Indian miniatures and for monuments such as the frescoes of Ajanta. They collected these miniatures, and revealed these frescoes. It was with their help, and accompanied by them, that Mrs. Herringham penetrated into the famous caves, and that by the light of acetylene lamps she could copy, partly by tracings (*décalque*), partly by drawings and partly by coloured copies, those charming decorations. The French expedition of M. Goloubew, for its part, made an inventory and took photographs of these, and they were reproduced in a wonderful book, edited by the Indian Society in London, for the benefit of its members. The frescoes in the caves will continue to rot and decay,

but the book will remain—a lasting monument to them.

So by letter and by picture, a pure tradition is slowly being reborn in India. We were able to form some idea of it in Paris itself, in February 1914, on visiting an exhibition of the Calcutta School, organised at the Grand Palais. It is an honour for us Frenchmen to have been the first in Europe,—before even the English, and before the Belgians, who were waiting for a collection of these works when war was declared,—



SHACKLED FREEDOM—By Mr. Kshitindra Majumdar.



CHAITANYA—By Mr. Durgasankar Bhattacharya.

to welcome these witnesses to Oriental life. The Tagore brothers had sent the work of their whole lives, together with some old pictures and copies of the frescoes of Ajanta.

We must keep up this relationship, so delicately begun, and we must not leave it to others to reap the benefits of our initiative. The Society of French Oriental Painters is preparing for the month of May, at the Salles du Jeu de Paume, yet another exhibition of the Calcutta School, its paint-

ing and applied arts. An art-review, "Rupam", the second number of which has just appeared in English in Calcutta, seeks to come into contact with our French art-reviews. The editor Mr. Gangoly, one of Tagore's disciples, is bringing out a book on French sculpture in the Middle Ages. What better proof can be given of their desire to hold out their hands to us, whilst remaining firmly attached to the ancient land of their birth?

And now again there has just appeared in France, a translation of a delightful little book that, in the form of a breviary sums up the maxims of Indian artistic wisdom. Abanindranath Tagore, whose idea it was to search for these in the Sanscrit texts, and to group them together under the general title of "Hindu Art and Anatomy," begins, before enumerating them, by begging his readers not to take them absolutely literally.

"What folly," says he "to imagine that a statue merely modelled according to the Shilpa Shastra (that is, the technical treatises), would allow us to cross the

threshold of that far-off kingdom, where art is allied to eternal joy. The novice submits himself to their restrictions, but the master frees himself from their tyranny."

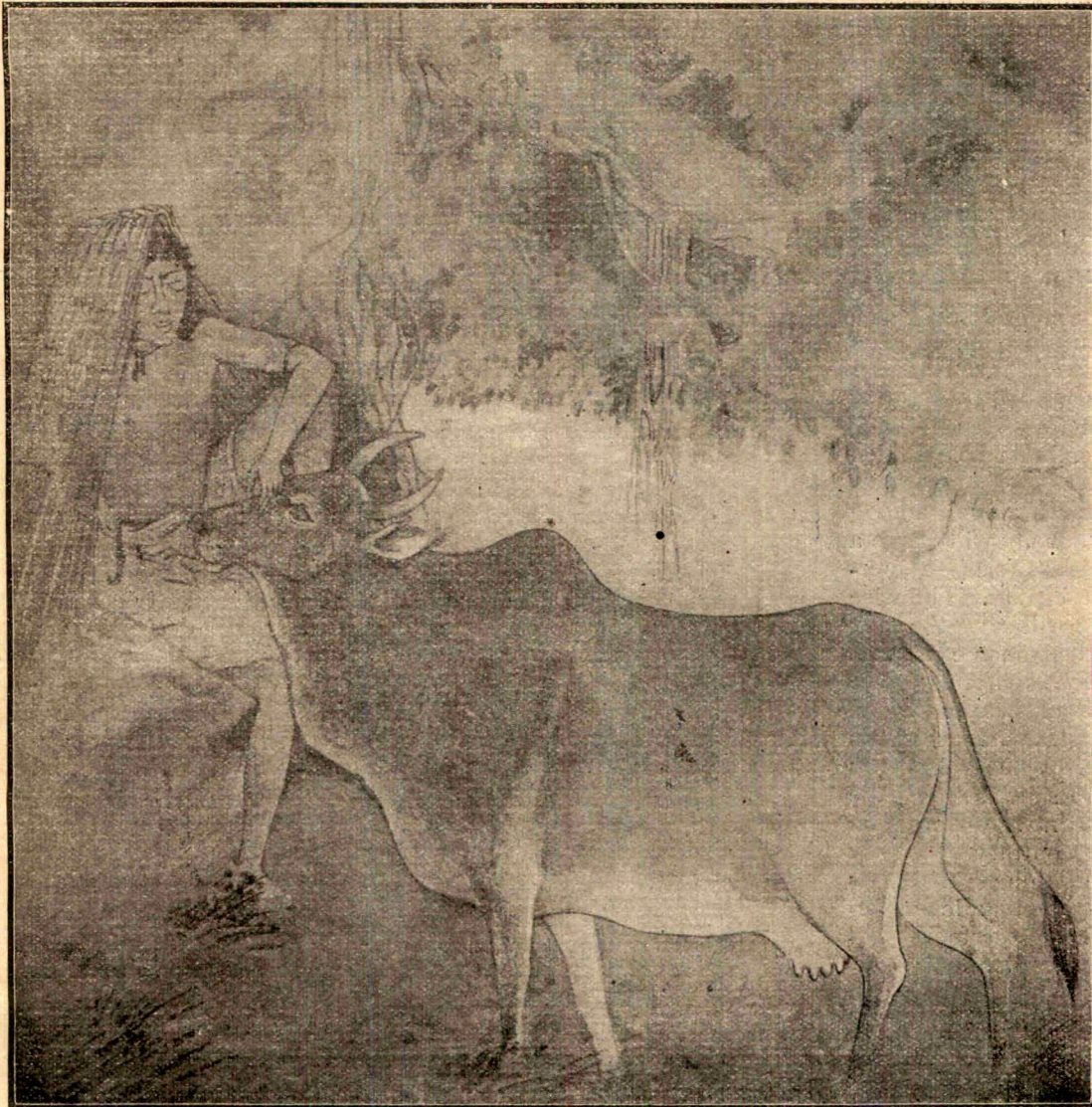
He tells us how, one day, while the sage Sankaracharya was trying to elucidate the mystery of beauty by weights and measures, the personification of beauty appeared to him in a form that violated all the technical laws;—the strange creation of some rebel artist, she came to him and claimed his

attention. The sight of her was a revelation to the learned doctor, who cried—“These laws, O Goddess! were never made for thee; these canons that I write, and these detailed analyses are for the images destined for worship. The forms in which thou dost clothe thyself O beauty! are innumerable, and no Shastra can define them.” And he added—One figure perchance, alone among millions, will have a faultless form—a perfect beauty. The wise men will say—the only perfect image is that which conforms to the laws of beauty in the Shastras—no thing is perfect that has not the sanction of the Shastras. Others on the contrary will say—anything that is passionately loved becomes perfect, becomes splendid.

Having laid this down, Tagore enumerates the measurements that prevent the novice from going astray, and then defines the form and character of the figure. It is here that one sees the influence exercised upon art by Hindu poetry—so rich in metaphors, epithets and subtle imagery. He compares (and gives in support of his comparisons schematic but suggestive drawings) the face to a fowl's egg or a betel-leaf.....the forehead



THE BIRTH OF THE GANGES—By Mr. C. K. K. Waryar.
to a bow, the eye-brows to the leaves of the Neem-tree; the



SHEPHERD BOY—By Mr. Krishnakinkar Ghose.

eyes, as the case may be, sometimes to the lively and dancing wagtail ; sometimes to the doe's eye, of an innocent simplicity ;—to the cyprin, of a restless mobility ; to the lotus-petal, of a calm serenity ; to the water-lily, whose drooping eyelids have sometimes a reposeful calm. The nose is like the sesame-blossom, the nostrils resemble the bean ; the moist sweet red lips the *bimba* fruit ;—the chin, scarcely affected by the emotions of the other features, resembles a mango-stone ; the neck, a shell ; the shoulders, an elephant's head ; the arms, the

trunk ; the fore-arm, the trunk of a young plantain-tree, whose firmness and supple symmetry it possesses.

In this way, one divines the intentions of Abanindranath Tagore. Like his uncle, the poet, he realises the importance of traditions, and searches for them in the original sources, that is to say, in the most ancient texts ; but in no case must they serve as a pretext for stifling the aspirations of life. If the artist must conform to a fixed type (which is a matter of convention), when he creates images that must be approached with fervour, he is

free in other cases to follow his instinct, to escape, if he can, from the inexhaustible stock of iconographic formulas which the maxims of religious inspiration offer him. And just as the writer escapes somehow from the prison of words, by re-creating them through his thought and emotion, so the painter frees himself from fixed forms by

discerning through the impassiveness of the gods,—the subtle tremors, the delicate movements and the fleeting expressions of humanity.

LEANDRE VAILLAT.

—Translated by Pramila Chaudhuri
from *Le Figaro*, 16-1-21.

NOTES

Indian and Provincial Legislatures.

The Indian and provincial legislatures having become enlarged, there are far more speeches made, resolutions moved, and questions asked there than ever before. We have not been able to read even a tithe of this enormous mass of literature. But this much we have been able to gather that in matters of detail, like cutting down this item of expenditure or that, the non-official members have been more successful than before. And to that extent we appreciate their labours. But in one respect, the new Indian and provincial legislatures (in the case of the latter we speak with particular reference to Bengal,) seem to suffer by comparison with their predecessors. There is no outstanding leadership perceptible, no concerted plan of work of the non-official members, no organised opposition on their part.

In spite of small gains, we continue to think that the Reforms cannot lead us to real freedom and independence. They make us depend on the good graces, first, of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, secondly, of the British bureaucracy, thirdly, of the British Parliament, and lastly, of the British people.

Under British rule, the greatest injury done to India has lain along two directions.

One is the increasing emasculation of the people and their consequent increasing incapacity to maintain internal order and resist external aggression. The other is the growth of the belief that our political

power can no longer be self-acquired, but must come from some external source. Like many other countries in Europe and Asia, India has been for centuries subject to internecine strife and foreign invasion, and during those centuries, Indians have not certainly had to fight more battles among themselves and against foreigners, than the peoples of European countries having the same total area as India. But before the advent of the British, all such internal disorders were put an end to by the people themselves by the methods, sometimes rough and ready, in vogue in other countries during those centuries. But at present, it is thought, even by many among ourselves, that without the presence of the British outsiders peace and order cannot be maintained. This is a great dégradation and degeneracy.

Then, as regards foreign invasion and conquest, like other countries, India, too, sometimes succumbed to the invaders. But what happened after these conquests? Sometimes, after a time, the invaders were driven away, but, very often, they were absorbed and became part of the people. And occasionally the older indigenous sections of the people recovered their strength and asserted themselves. All this happened, without looking abroad for help, or receiving such help. Foreign mercenaries, either as soldiers or as officers, might have been sometimes engaged, but political power was never expected, asked for, or received as a boon from any people of any foreign country. It was never imagined or thought that any foreign

nation, either as friends or patrons, or, still less as masters, would break our chains. These we ourselves sometimes broke by striking the blow ourselves, and when we failed to do so, we did not indulge in the self-contradictory fancy that *others* could give us *self-rule*. Outer freedom is only a manifestation of inner freedom. This inner freedom can never be a boon or a favour from outside; it must be a growth from within by our own efforts. Our greatest degeneracy during British rule has been this that instead of depending on our own strength for the recovery of freedom we have grown accustomed to hope that it will come from others as a boon or a favour. Thus our thought, our hope, our imagination has been enslaved as it were. This is the worst kind of "slave mentality" one can think of. If the Non-cooperation Movement can only implant in us the sincere and firm belief that our salvation lies in our own hands, it will have done us enough good to justify itself.

In the past, whenever we broke our chains, it was wholly or partly by means of armed struggle and bloodshed. Our present struggle is of a different kind. But let no one delude himself into the belief that it is less arduous than warfare, that it does not require as much sacrifice and readiness for sacrifice as an armed conflict, or that it does not require as much courage and self-discipline as war.

The Reforms are valueless in two directions: in that they do not increase our own strength and ability to maintain internal order and repel foreign invasion, and in that they do not eradicate that "slave mentality" which prompts us to hope for freedom as a boon.

University Finance.

The Catholic Herald of India writes:

Had the members of the Bengal Council, before debating on the Dacca University Budget, read Professor J. Sarkar's article on University Problems in the January issue of the *Modern Review*, it is likely they would have clipped the Dacca grant without any scruple. The fact is, our Indian Universities are heading straight for bankruptcy, for the simple reason that every University wants to teach every possible know-

ledge under the sun, and shine in these as well as in a few others, an ambition that stretches them considerably beyond their financial compass. That is how we find in the Calcutta University classes of ten graduates lectured by twelve experts. Only recently, one of Oxford's foremost scholars threw up the work in despair, because his post-graduate students didn't understand a word of what he said.

It may be a good joke for universities enjoying big Government grants to outbid one another in the matter of the salaries offered to professors—we see Dacca would pay a *maximum* of Rs. 1800 per mensem and Lucknow a *minimum* of Rs. 1000 (according to an advertisement in the *Bengalee*)—but these and other high salaries are to be thought of in connection with the chronic starvation of the large numbers of Indian taxpayers, students and their guardians; for it is they who must pay. These salaries are much too high for a poor country like India. In Japan, which is a richer country, the President of an Imperial university gets a maximum salary of 7000 yen, equivalent to Rs. 10500 per annum. Here in Bengal, Dacca pays its Vice-Chancellor Rs. 48,000 per annum, with free residence! In a free self-ruling India, the people are sure to insist that no officer in any province should draw more than Rs. 1000 per mensem. If the prime minister of Japan can do his work on Rs. 18750 per annum, other ministers on Rs. 12000 per annum, the highest judicial officer on Rs. 9000 per annum, and Imperial University Presidents on Rs. 10500 per annum, we do not see why any Indian university should pay its professors more than Rs. 12000 per annum. It may be argued that eminent scholars and experts cannot be had for such a salary. If that be so, we do not want them. Let us first have village teachers for our illiterate population number 94 per cent. of the whole. But as a matter of fact we know good scholars and experts can be had for Rs. 12000 per annum, if they are sought in the open scholastic market. The Vice-Chancellor and Principal gets in the University of Edinburgh £1610 (=Rs. 24150), in Aberdeen £1500 (=Rs. 22500) and in Glasgow £2000

(= Rs. 30000) ; but the Dacca Vice-Chancellor gets Rs. 48,000 per annum and a residence. We know he must be paid something extra for serving in a foreign country. But does that mean that he must get twice or almost twice as much as the Scottish officers of similar rank, who are presumably not scholars of inferior stamp?

Waste in Calcutta University.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Calcutta university is in dire pecuniary straits. At the same time there is waste. As there does not seem to be any thoroughly independent audit of its accounts and a thoroughly independent inspection of its affairs, nobody can ascertain the extent of wasteful expenditure of which it is guilty. But as samples, we mention a few small items. We are informed and write subject to correction that ten thousand copies of the report of Post-graduate Teaching in the university of Calcutta are printed, and numerous copies of it are sent to foreign countries by post. We do not know how the object of "The Advancement of Learning" is promoted by this waste of money, nor according to what rule or regulation and under whose orders so many copies are printed. Three thousand copies of a book on sociology were printed and published by the university, and then the edition had to be suppressed. We read in the Minutes of the Syndicate, dated the 4th March, 1921, that the charges of feeding the delegates of the Indian Science Congress, who put up at the Hardinge Hostel, have been ordered by the Syndicate to be paid out of university funds. The charges amount to only Rs. 300, but why should the university pay for feeding the delegates to the Science Congress? The two bodies are in no way connected with each other.

Calcutta University Reform.

For years we have pointed out irregularities and defects in the working of the Calcutta university, but there has been no improvement; for which one reason is that there is no vigilant public opinion. And what little public opinion there is can not work in the absence of adequate in-

formation. Calcutta journalists have made no combined effort to obtain information. We have had to depend on chance supplies of information. But even if there had been an adequate supply of information and even if there had been a vigilant public opinion, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee would have been able, as at present, to do what he pleased. For, as stated by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, a Post-graduate teacher of the University, in an article contributed by him to the *Phalgun* number of "Manasi O Marmabani", Sir Asutosh holds the majority of votes in all university bodies in the hollow of his hands. The passage is quoted in part below in the original.

বিধবিভালয়-সম্পর্কে সার আশুতোষের প্রধান অপরাধ, তিনি বিধ-বিভালয়ের বিভিন্ন বিভাগে নিজের আত্মীয় এবং অনুরাগ লোক চুকাইতে একান্ত ব্যস্ত। ইহাতে হয়ত সময়-সময় যোগ্যতম লোকের সেখানে প্রবেশ করা ঘটিয়া উঠে না। সুতরাং আত্মীয় এবং অনুরাগ জনের একান্ত পক্ষপাত সকল সময় অনুমোদন করা কঠিন। কিন্তু এইপ্রকার পক্ষপাতকে নিতান্ত দোষ বলিয়া ঘোষণা করিবার পূর্বে স্মরণ রাখা কর্তব্য যে, সার আশুতোষের যে কিছু পদ-প্রতিপত্তি তাহা ভোটারের উপর নির্ভর করে। এইক্ষেত্রে ভোটারের মধ্যে যত অধিক লোক সার আশুতোষের আত্মীয় অনুরাগ এবং নির্ভরযোগ্য হইবেন, ততই তিনি নিরাপদে এবং নিশ্চিত মনে কাজ করিতে সমর্থ হইবেন। অর্থাৎ বিধবিভালয়ে সার আশুতোষের নিজের প্রভাব অক্ষুণ্ণ রাখিতে হইলে আত্মীয় অনুরাগ চুকান প্রয়োজন। যদি একবার এই কথা স্বীকার করা যায়, তবে তাহার অনেক কাজ ততটা নিন্দনীয় বলিয়া বিবেচিত হইবে না। সার আশুতোষকে বিধবিভালয়ে কিছু কাজ করিতে হইলে সেখানকার প্রত্যেক সমিতির অধিকাংশ ভোট হাতের মঠায় রাখিতে হইবে। নতুবা তিনি কিছু করিতে পারিবেন না। নানা উপায়ে এইরূপ করিতে সমর্থ হইয়াছেন বলিয়াই সার আশুতোষ বিধবিভালয়ের সর্বোৎসর্গী, অথবা ইংরেজীতে যাহাকে ডিক্টেটর বলে সেই ডিক্টেটর হইয়াছেন।

Freely translated the passage means :

"The chief offence alleged against Sir Asutosh is that he is extremely eager to get his own kith and kin and dependants into the different departments of the University. Perhaps this occasionally prevents the accession of the fittest men there. Consequently it is difficult on all occasions to approve of the extreme partiality towards relatives and followers. But before declaring partiality of this sort to be a fault it should be remembered that whatever position and authority (or influence) Sir Asutosh has, depends upon votes. Under the circumstances, the larger the number of persons among the voters who are his kith and kin and followers and are "dependable", the more safely and with a mind free from anxiety would he be able to work. That is to say, in order to keep his influence in the University

intact it is necessary for him to get his relatives and "intimates" into it. If this be once admitted, then what he does will not be considered so blameworthy. If Sir Asutosh is to do any work in the University, he must be able to keep the majority of votes in each University body in the hollow of his hands; else he will not be able to do anything. It is because he has been able to do this by various means that Sir Asutosh has become all-in-all, or what is called in English a dictator, in the University."

This description and characterisation of Sir Asutosh's policy by one of his supporters has the merit of honesty, though it may not be considered complimentary to themselves by his other supporters. But that is their look-out. What we are concerned with is the good of the University and the public good. One-man rule is apt to produce various evils, which need not be described. These exist in the Calcutta University. To destroy these evils, it is necessary to destroy one man rule. This can be done only by making all or a majority (say, at least four-fifths) of the Fellowships in the Senate and the memberships of the other bodies elective, and by making the electorates quite broad-based. It may be tentatively suggested that all graduates of the University of five years' standing, whether registered or not, should form one electorate. All professors, lecturers, tutors and demonstrators in affiliated colleges should form another electorate. A third electorate should consist of all teachers in high schools recognised by the University. The schools swell the revenues of the University; they should therefore be represented therein on the principle of no contribution without representation. If considered necessary, steps may be taken to prevent overlapping. We are informed that the Patna University electorates are more democratic and wider than here, and are hence productive of good results.

It is to be noted that ours is not the foolish idea of destroying Sir Asutosh's just influence and ascendancy. That cannot and should not be destroyed, because it is born of his intellectual powers, his knowledge of university affairs, his industry and his devotion to the work of

the university. We only want that other men's powers should also have fair and independent scope in the university and that favoritism and jobberies should cease.

Negative Self-portraiture.

According to the *Bengalee's* own correspondent at Barisal, Mr. C. R. Das said at the Bengal Provincial Conference pandal that "He (Mr. Das) was not a scheming man." He is not a scheming man who only formulates schemes.

Scientific and Technological Education.

Mr. M. R. Paranjpe, writing on "National Education" in *Indian Education* (Longmans), says with reference to the Sir Taraknath Palit College of Science of the Calcutta University:

This college during the last six or seven years has sent out men who, by their original researches, have raised the reputation of Bengali scientists in the eyes of westerners. Hardly a number of a British or an American science journal is published now-a-days which does not contain a paper from a student of this Institute. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh has further donated Rs. 12,00,000 for establishing a Technological Institute at Calcutta, and Dr. P. C. Roy had been to England to study such institutes there. Rs. 12,00,000 is quite inadequate for a really first class institute; Rs. 1,20,00,000 would be a better estimate. But a beginning can be made now and more money is sure to flow in when the scheme prepared by Dr. P. C. Roy is ready.

Yes, if Dr. P. C. Roy does formulate a scheme on the definite understanding that it will be worked out. The writer adds:—

It is rumoured that Mr. Gandhi has secured large funds. He will do much good to the country and give great impetus to the cause of National Education if he establishes in Bombay, or at Ahmedabad, institutions, similar to the Palit-Ghosh Institute, affiliated to, or independent of, the Bombay University, instead of wasting them on schools and colleges which can be but poor imitations of those existing. In his national schools the same subjects will be taught from the same books, in the same manner, by the same, if not worse, teachers. The needs of India are too many to waste the money in this way.

Mr. Gandhi's "Instructions" to Lawyers.

The Barisal correspondent of the *Bengalee* quotes the following "instructions

given by Mr. Gandhi to practising lawyers as published in his paper *Young India*."

"One thing a practising lawyer may not do, he may no longer figure as a leader on public platforms. He must be content to be a silent worker."

If we were lawyers accustomed to devote a part of our time to public work, we would not have deviated by a hair's breadth from our line of work in the direction of diminishing it, owing to Mr. Gandhi's "instructions", though we have great respect for him. No doubt, Mr. Gandhi has (whether intentionally or otherwise, does not matter) made it difficult now-a-days for any body who is not a follower of his to obtain a hearing from crowds. But if a man loves his country, he ought to persist in his service to the country, either as a silent worker or as an articulate worker, according to his powers and predilection. "To figure as a leader on public platforms" ought to be considered by any decent man vulgar ambition. Every one should do his work with devotion, not caring whether people consider him a leader or not. Honest work may bring a man leadership, even though he may not desire it.

To sell foreign goods and to practise in Government law courts are both taboo, according to the Congress code. But so far as we are aware, Mr. Gandhi has not yet issued any "instructions" to the effect that venders of foreign goods are not to figure as leaders on public platforms on the strength of vociferous work.

Not being temperamentally disposed or able either to lead or to follow, we do not like this issuing of instructions to men of mature age and understanding. We are not sure that Mr. Gandhi himself wishes to pose as a dictator, but, instructions are apt to be considered dictatorial. To lay stress on the active exercise of the right of private judgment harmonises with our habits of thought. That may be an idiosyncrasy of ours. But it is for that reason, that we liked Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar's insistence, in his Congress presidential address, on the exercise of private judgment. That is also the reason why we

like the following passage in Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's recent presidential address at Barisal:—

The other limitation of the present movement is due, like its strength, to the influence of the mighty personality of Mahatma Gandhi himself. Such personal influences are of immense value to any social or political movement. Without these the soul of the masses in the present stage of our evolution can scarcely be touched. At the same time the inevitable danger of it, (among other things) is this, namely—that if for any reason this personal influence is removed the structure which kept it together, falls to pieces. We see this before our very eyes in the result which the untimely death of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak has produced. This risk and danger can be provided against only by a vigorous and persistent effort to build up the movement not simply upon the personal influence of the leaders but side by side with it upon the reasoned conviction of the following also. If we desire to avoid these obvious risks to the present Swaraj movement we cannot be too assiduous in carrying on a reasoned propaganda among the masses along with the hypnotic influence which the name of the Mahatma has been creating everywhere.

No movement ought to be allowed to degenerate practically into an one-man show. That is our view, though we do not ask anybody else to accept it. We state it for what it is worth.

Mr. Gandhi's Alleged Preference for Bolshevik Rule.

According to Reuter, "Col. Yate suggested [in the House of Commons] that Mr. Gandhi, in view of his recent declaration that he preferred Bolshevik to British rule, should be deported as a Soviet agent. Mr. Montagu said he preferred to leave the matter of order in India to authorities there." Col. Yate's suggestion was quite idiotic. Not that we would approve of any preference for any tyrannical and selfish class rule like Bolshevik rule, even if it were Mr. Gandhi's preference. We do not know whether he has made any such declaration.

We do not like any rule except self-rule. Even if the Bolsheviks were angels, we would not vote for their rule; because it would be *other*-rule, not *self*-rule.

On the same ground we would not vote for even Mr. Gandhi's enthronement. We want independence coupled with demo-

cratic freedom. We do not want any masters. Therefore, the question of replacing the British masters by any other masters, does not, to our thinking, arise.

The Work of the Legislatures.

We shall not attempt—it would be impossible for us to do so, to discuss even the principal problems debated in the Indian and provincial legislatures. To only one thing we shall refer here. Committees have been appointed to examine the repressive laws, and the press laws, and report which of them or how far they should be repealed or amended. We would urge the members of the committees not to suggest or accept any compromises or palliatives, but to go to the very root of the evils and eradicate them. There should not be any law of any sort which arms the executive or the police with any arbitrary or summary powers or any powers which are not to be exercised in accordance with ordinary legal processes or whose exercise is not subject to judicial scrutiny and control, or against which there is no appeal to a law court. Personal freedom should be enjoyed by every innocent person, and no person is to be adjudged guilty without a regular trial according to the ordinary criminal law of the land. As regards the press laws, the insulting demand for securities even before any technical offence has been committed or alleged should be done away with. No securities should be demanded or any existing security enhanced, except after a regular trial. And, of course, there should be no forfeiture of securities, publications, or presses, except after a regular trial. Freedom of public association and public speech should be safeguarded to the utmost.

Law for Civil Marriage.

Dr. H. S. Gour will be a benefactor of India if he succeeds in getting a civil marriage act passed for the country. If an unmarried or widowed Indian of any race, sect or caste, goes to England, he or she can marry another unmarried or widowed person of the opposite sex, of any race, sect or caste, outside the limits of consan-

guinity, according to the British civil marriage law. It is not reasonable that this liberty should be denied to Indians in their own country. We can never outgrow the cramping influences of sub-castes, castes, sects, etc., without such a law. In ancient times we could make or change our customs and laws. But at present it has become a necessity in some cases to invoke the assistance of the British Indian legislature.

Control of Railways.

It is of the utmost importance that our imperial and provincial legislatures should be able to control Indian railways after bringing all of them under State management. So long as they are under foreign control, daily, hourly, some of India's men, women and children must have to undergo humiliating and insulting treatment at the hands of the railway officials. Though they contribute the bulk of railway income, they must in travelling put up with overcrowding, want of water for drinking and washing, and various other insanitary and unhygienic conditions.

That is not all. The resuscitation of old industries and the introduction of new ones would be very difficult unless railways are brought under our control. The existing railway managements by their rates of freight favour the export of raw materials for foreign manufacturers and the import of foreign manufactures. They also favour the export of grain for foreign consumers. Indigenous manufactures cannot compete with foreign goods, because of prohibitive railway freight. The conveyance of goods from London or Tokyo to Calcutta in some cases costs less than that from Calcutta to Delhi. Moreover, it is easier for Anglo-Indian (old style) than for Indian firms to obtain waggons in goods trains. Works or Factories depend on the supply of coal for their working. And the supply of coal depends on the supply of waggons. There are not enough waggons. What there are, are more at the disposal of Anglo-Indian than of Indian firms. The *Calcutta Commercial Gazette and Investors' Guide* put the matter quite plainly when it said :

As a matter of fact things have been going on from bad to worse for a long time and it is useless for the Government to put the people off with fair words about industrial expansion and fostering of Indian manufactures until they have tackled the problem of coal supply in earnest, or at least shown a disposition to do so. Coal must be freed before we can even talk of making India a self-supporting country as it should be.

Therefore, railways must be brought under our control. Let our legislators look to it.

Fiscal Autonomy.

Similarly with regard to customs tariff, we must be masters in our own country. Fiscal autonomy must be a reality. It may be that we shall sometimes make harmful mistakes. But there is no nation that does not make mistakes. They are stepping-stones to wisdom; and it is easier to correct our own mistakes than the mistakes made by others over whom we have no control.

Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation on the import duty on cotton goods shows that he is determined that a convention should grow up guaranteeing India's fiscal autonomy whenever the legislature and the Government of India agreed.

Export of Food.

There is profit, and virtue, too, in exporting food, when there is a surplus. But the difficulty is to ascertain whether there is a surplus, and if there is, when. To arrive at a correct conclusion, we require to have correct data as to what quantity of food stocks constitute a sufficiency for our whole population and as to the total quantity of food produced in any particular year *plus* previous years' stocks. For such data implicit reliance should not be placed on official standards and statistics. There ought to be among us publicists thoroughly competent to test the accuracy of official standards and statistics.

Mining and other concessions.

There ought to be a law in our country that no mining concessions are to be given to persons who are not natives of India by race and domicile, and

as regards joint-stock companies, no concessions should be given to those of which at least half the capital has not been contributed by Indians and at least half the board of directors are not Indian. In fact, the law should be such that no joint-stock companies can be registered of which half the shares are not owned by Indians and half the directorate is not Indian.

Increased Postage.

It is good that postcards are to continue to be as cheap as now, and also that there will continue to be the half-anna embossed envelope, though it will carry a letter of lower weight than now. But the increase in the lowest rates of money order commission will be a tax on the poor wage-earner, for whom there is so much profession of sympathy, and whom no legislator wanted, in words, to tax (though matches have already doubled in price). The increased money order commission will also affect the retail trade in low-priced goods of all sorts, carried on with the help of the V. P. system.

Newspaper Postage.

We have not been able to read quite diligently and carefully the proceedings of the two Indian legislative chambers. But no spirited advocacy, in the two houses, of the interests of newspapers and therefore of newspaper readers has caught our eyes, in a cursory scanning of the debates on the subject of increased postage. Yet in fact the increased postage is a tax on knowledge, and also a blow at all but the most prosperous papers; and in that category there are not many Indian-owned papers that can be included. In the case of newspapers of light weight, the postage has been almost doubled. To safeguard their financial position, they must either use flimsier paper than what they do now—and that is flimsy enough in all conscience, or they must raise their subscriptions, which few of them can do without risking a heavy falling off in the number of subscribers. In the case of heavier papers and periodicals the postage has been practically trebled. Hitherto for half

an anna the post office carried a 40 tola paper. Henceforth to carry a 40 tola paper it will charge an anna and a half.

Let us now tell our readers what our position will be. We had a mind to use thick paper as far as financially practicable, but we have now to decide to keep within the 30 tola limit. But even in that case we shall have to pay one anna postage per copy, instead of half anna as at present. We have calculated that this will mean an additional annual expenditure of Rs. 3,000 in round numbers—a sum which we have never earned as net profit on this *Review* in any year. Therefore, we must either add six annas per annum to our subscription rate, or must have more advertisements and more subscribers. Having only recently increased the subscription, we are loth to do so again. Therefore, we require

More Advertisements and More Subscribers.

We cannot say that we do not desire to be wealthy. But we can honestly say that we shall be glad simply to be able to go on. We shall be thankful for only sixteen more pages of advertisements and 1500 more subscribers. Here is an opportunity to easily satisfy a party related in no way to *Oliver Twist*.

Repression.

The columns in the dailies devoted to reports of cases of repression in different parts of India do not soothe the minds of readers. What produces additional depression in us is that we can in no way come to the rescue of the victims of official persecution, or lead erring sufferers on to the paths of fruitful devotion to the motherland. That is the misfortune of arm-chair politicians like ourselves. May the innocent oppressed have stout hearts. May there be light for the steps of the erring. And may the hero-worship of the public bear fruit in loving, wise, devoted, self-sacrificing and heroic lives!

Policemen use their fire-arms upon the people more freely and recklessly than in democracies. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri tried to have the law relating to the quelling of

riots so altered as to make it identical with the British law; but, as was to be expected, he failed.

Unsatisfactory Irish Home Rule.

According to the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, England's new Home-Rule Act for Ireland is satisfactory to no one, because—

"The followers of Sir Edward Carson do not want any Home-Rule at all, preferring to retain their places in the House of Commons and the



ROUGH RECEPTION ANTICIPATED.
Pease in the *Newark Evening News*.

present union with England. The Sinn-Feiners and Nationalists repudiate the bill, because it divides Ireland into two sections with two Parliaments and refuses national independence."

Excise in Bihar and Orissa.

An Associated Press interview with the Bihar minister in charge of Excise gives the pleasing information that the pro-drink article printed in the provincial police gazette appeared without his knowledge and that His Excellency Lord Sinha and himself do not approve of the publication of such stuff. The Inspector General of Police of that province, however, asserted in the provincial council that our allegations were an utterly graceless and gross libel on the police, though he could not deny the publication of the article,

or give any reason why it should have appeared in an official police gazette, and at this time. The libel, then, in his opinion must have consisted in what we said about police underlings *samjhawing* the people about drink. Regard for truth prevents us from retracting what we wrote. If the Inspector-General could give a guarantee that police officers helping us to prove the truth of what we wrote would not have to suffer in any way, then we could have attempted to substantiate the allegations.

It is very encouraging that the popular representatives of Bihar have taken up a firm attitude on the question of drink. We hope total prohibition will become the policy of Lord Sinha's government in the near future.

Military Expenditure.

We give below some brief extracts from the speech of the finance member introducing the Budget for 1921-22. Speaking of the "current year", ending 31st March, 1921, he said :

"It is excess military expenditure which is answerable for the remainder of the total deterioration of Rs. 22 crores in the budget anticipations, for we expect a total military expenditure of Rs. 70.4 crores against the budget provision of Rs. 55.2 crores."

The total revenue anticipated for 1920-21 was 132 crores ; but it actually turned out to be something like 120 crores. Out of this, military expenditure has swallowed up 70 crores. This is like a family having an income of Rs. 120 having to spend Rs. 70 for door-keepers, armed retainers, etc., though its children go without proper education, feeding, clothes and medical attendance and its adult members without sufficient food, clothes, medical attendance, etc., and all have to live in ill-constructed insanitary dwellings. And the fun of the thing becomes plainer still when it is remembered that the door-keepers and armed retainers are maintained mainly to keep the family dwelling as somebody else's property and to preserve a suitably terrified and submissive mood among the members of the family. Let us, however, pass on. The Finance Member went on to observe :—

"Members will perhaps recollect that the deficit in the previous financial year, 1919-20, was Rs. 23 crores, due, I need hardly say, entirely to the Afghan war, and that in 1918-19 the deficit was Rs. 6 crores. These deficits, including that of the current year, have been, or are being, met either by increasing our floating debt," etc.

Coming to speak of the year 1921-22, he said that the expenditure would amount to 129 crores and the income on the basis of existing taxation would amount to 110½ crores. And the budget provision for military expenditure in 1921-22 "has been taken at 62.20 crores" out of a total income of 110½ crores on the basis of existing taxation. But as the total expenditure is estimated at 129 crores, the deficit has been decided to be met by new or enhanced taxation. It is plain, then, that whatever the amount of the deficit, whether foreseen or unexpected, Government can find means to meet it, because military expenditure, which is the main cause of the deficits, is considered necessary. But for giving all our children the benefit of free elementary education, which would cost 18 crores at the most for the whole of the British India, or for improving the health or the productive capacity of the country adequate amounts can never be found. They are unnecessary ! Why are they unnecessary ? Because if foreign invaders conquered India, they would kill large numbers of persons and plunder the country. Or in other words, there would be loss of life and property. But is it not found from official statistics that more men die in India every year both from preventible diseases and malnutrition than Nadir Shah or Timur Lang ever killed or than the total loss of life in the big War ? Is it not a fact, too, that India has remained poor because of illiteracy and absence of technological education and because insignificant amounts are spent for enabling the people of the country to exploit its resources ? Is it not also a fact that more wealth goes away to foreign countries along the channels of legalised exploitation than was ever taken away from it by plunderers like Mahmud of Ghazni, Timur Lang and Nadir Shah ? Taking the object, then, to be the preserva-

tion and increase of property and population, it can be mathematically proved that educational, sanitary, and developmental expenditure are at least as necessary and reproductive as military expenditure. Nay, the real fact is that the former are far more necessary and reproductive than the latter. In fact, as modern warfare is more an affair of science and intelligence than in previous ages, education is a military asset. And as physical strength and endurance have always been a military asset, the production of agricultural and other wealth, with a view to secure good nourishment for the people, is a necessary part of military preparation.

But perhaps Englishmen think that military expenditure is more necessary than educational expenditure for keeping India in their hands as *their* property. There may be something in this. But they may rest assured that they cannot keep India very much longer as their property even if they spend all her revenues on the army. In fact, their selfish policy has so alienated the people that in case of a foreign invasion, large numbers of Indians may at the best remain passive spectators of the struggle between the actual and the would-be masters of India. And if any foreign invaders pretended to be liberators, large numbers of dupes might not be wanting. England may find out some day that India's good-will had both a moral and a money value. May the discovery be not too late.

Let us, however, take it for granted that the military expenditure is for our good. But for our good in what way? Has the expenditure of crores upon crores made *us* stronger? We are 315 millions, and the white population of the British Empire totals only 60 millions. If the army expenditure be for our good, why are 315 millions of people left to depend for their protection on 60 millions? Our soldiers fight as bravely and skilfully and meet death as fearlessly as any others on the globe. As for military leadership, is it not on British records that Indian generals fought British generals on equal terms and sometimes defeated them, before the British became masters of India? The truth,

therefore, is that Indians are not racially unfit for soldiership and leadership in war. It cannot, then, be denied that it is British rule and the selfish British policy which are responsible for India's loss of military leadership, though it is a temporary loss. It is a humiliating spectacle that Japan with her 60 millions is dreaded, and India with her 315 millions is despised or pitied. And despised by whom?

The Finance Member's speech shows that the Afghan war, the Waziristan expedition, &c., are responsible for big deficits. But who and how many are these Afghans, Waziris, &c.? In Akbar's days, Cabul was a province of India and Man Singh was its governor. But it was not their fellow-Musalman Indian Mughals alone who held the Afghans in subjection. The Indian Sikhs under General Hari Singh Nalua so harried Afghanistan that he is still remembered there with fear. In ancient times Gandhar was an Indian province. India, then, had no need of being afraid of her north-western neighbour at all times and periods of her history. But in this twentieth century the Afghans actually marched out to invade India, defying the mighty British Empire. And how many are the Afghans? Not more than 5 millions all told, as against the 315 millions of India! But they can arm themselves as they like, whilst Indians are selfishly excluded from the most effective branches of the army lest they rise and assert their independence. That makes a main difference.

There is, however, another bugbear. There is the Russian bogey, with whom it was feared the Afghans might form an offensive alliance against India. But even at the zenith of its strength and prosperity, the Russian Empire contained only about 150 million inhabitants, at various stages of barbarity and civilization. What but British policy was responsible for keeping India weak and in dread of the 155 millions of Russians and Afghans combined? Japan with 40 per cent. of Russia's population gave her a defeat, and India with double the population of Russia and Afghanistan combined has ever stood in dread of them! Is n't that humiliating to

India and England alike? Or has the British Empire kept the north-western borders as a training ground for her imperial army?

If Indians had been strengthened or allowed opportunities to grow strong, there was never at any time any reasonable cause for an India united under the aegis of Britain to be afraid of Russia or Afghanistan. And at present European Russia is divided under fifty governments, Asiatic Russia under some more. Disintegration has made her weaker than before. But it is to be admitted that there is one cause of fear. In Europe, America and Asia alike Bolshevik propaganda has been found to be very catching among the discontented proletariat. The British people may have the fear (for conscience makes cowards of us all) that the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism may find allies and adherents among discontented Indians, whose number is legion. But for this cause of fear the remedy is not a ruinous military expenditure, but an educated, healthy, prosperous, strong and contented population. Let Britain make that the goal of her ambition. Otherwise it is as sure as night follows day that Britain's empire in India will end in a way utterly discreditable and injurious to her. That her rule in India will come to a close is certain. But it may still have a creditable end, leaving Indians friendly towards Britain.

The much-dreaded alliance of Afghanistan with Soviet Russia has become a fact, making all subsidies paid to the Amirs and the expenses of all Afghan wars and missions perfectly useless.

Our misfortune is that we cannot even make sure whether it is possible for India to remain at peace with her neighbours. We have to shoulder the burden of England's foreign policy. If any nation has a grievance against her, we are made the scapegoat.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh.

By the death of Sir Rash Behari

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Ghose India has lost a great jurist, a great scholar and a great educational philanthropist. Sir Nilratan Sircar paid a fine tribute to this prince among Calcutta graduates in his recent convocation address. Said he:—

He had by his priceless services to his Motherland secured an abiding place in the hearts of his admiring fellow countrymen. Our University is to-day bereft of her greatest benefactor, as also one of her most cultured and gifted sons, one who stood head and shoulders above his compeers. Providence had endowed him in an uncommon measure with the richest intellectual qualities. In Sir Rash Behari these qualities were united with a fervent heart that readily responded to the call of his country. It is this singular combination that gained for Sir Rash Behari so firm and powerful a hold upon the affections of his fellow countrymen. By his brilliant attainments, his unexampled philanthropy, and his unique record Sir Rash Behari has brought rare distinction to his own University. His greatest claim upon the grati-



Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh.

tude of his countrymen lies in the open-hearted generosity that he showed in advancing the cause of learning. Sir Rash Behari's charities for education were of a most catholic and wide-embracing nature. By far the largest amount of his benefactions was received by our University and most of this was placed at her disposal during his life time. And at the time of his death he made over to his University the further sum of two lakhs and a half to be set apart for the furtherance of agricultural education. Besides his munificent donations to this University he has left a princely endowment, estimated to yield about 10 lakhs or more, which is to be devoted to the promotion of technical education.

The institution to which Sir Rash Behari Ghose has left 10 lakhs or more for the promotion of technical education and which Dr. Sircar has left unnamed, is the Bengal National Council of Education, of which Dr. Ghose was the president. This institution has been doing good work for years, and will now be able to increase its usefulness.

The Railway Committee's Enquiry.

The Indian Railway Committee have, practically speaking, completed their enquiry in India. In a few days the members of the Committee would sail for England, where they propose to draw up their recommendations. The arrangement by which the determination of questions in which Indians were vitally interested was entrusted to a committee on which English interests and company interests outweighed Indian interests in so preponderating a manner, must be regarded as manifestly unfair, especially at a time when so much was being said by the British authorities on the indefeasible right of Indians to direct the affairs and safeguard the interests of their own country. That the apprehension of Indians in the matter of the future of Indian railways is not an imaginary one is realised by all those who have taken care to follow the proceedings of the Indian Railway Committee and have taken into account the general trend of questions put to witnesses by the President and other English members of the Committee and the suggestions underlying those questions. The situation demands that Indians should be vigilant and wide-awake in this important matter. Whatever the recommendations of the Committee, they should be placed for consideration before the Indian Legislative Assembly, which should

have the courage to veto any proposals that might go against the interests of Indians.

The Terms of Reference to the Indian Railway Committee included consideration of the arrangements for the financing of railways in India and, in particular, the feasibility of the greater utilisation of private enterprise and capital in the construction of new lines. A number of questions bearing on railway finance had accordingly been included in the Questionnaire addressed to individuals and public bodies interested in the subject matter of the Committee's enquiry. These questions related to such matters as whether the supply of funds for railway purposes had hitherto been adequate, the use of such funds as were available, the extent of further demands for funds, the sources of supply, borrowing in India, any possible method that might be suggested for supplementing the existing system of providing funds for railway purposes, etc., etc. Some of the witnesses who appeared before the Railway Committee urged, while replying to the aforesaid questions or to questions arising out of them, that it would be easier to finance railways under Company management than under management by the State even though the railways be State-owned. It is worth while examining this plea, which has been put forward by more than one witness in justifying the retention of the system of Company management in some form or other.

Whatever justification there might have been for the formation of English Companies at the time when railways were first introduced in India, they no longer exist; as the present conditions are different. The question before us, therefore, is, whether at a time when capital may be expected to be forthcoming in India it is desirable in the interest of the country that the preferential terms that have so far been offered to English capitalists to invest their money in India should be continued. It has to be borne in mind in this connection that while in the beginning the entire capital required for the construction of railways was subscribed by English Companies, only a part, and that a small part, is now subscribed by Companies. The Companies to whom railways are leased for working are required to provide a nominal capital in the undertaking in shares or in deferred annuities. By far the largest part of the capital invested in Railways is supplied by the State, which owns the railways. W

do not see why the amount that is now raised through Companies should not be raised by Government and, so far as possible, in India. Even now the guarantee of the Secretary of State is necessary in each case of money raised by Railway Companies. The Secretary of State himself, as has been suggested before the Railway Committee, may raise money by mortgaging state property, the railways for instance, or by direct loans, or bonds. As Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah said, when moving his Resolution on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council, Government need not employ middlemen, as the Managing Companies obviously are, for the purpose of borrowing money, which they can themselves easily raise.

It has been complained that the funds now supplied for the extension and improvement of railways fall far short of the demands of the present situation. We are further told that neither is India in a position to be able to furnish the requisite capital, nor does the Government of India possess the confidence of investors. It has accordingly been suggested that such terms should be offered as would attract investors from the whole Empire or even the whole world. We cannot agree with the views set forth above. We think that under the new constitution and if Company management is replaced by State management, people in this country would be naturally inclined to invest their capital more and more in railways. Wealthy Indians would do so because of the great change that has taken place of late in the attitude of mind of the investing public in this country. Indians have begun to think of concerns such as railways as their own. They can very well realise that any benefit that they may get from railways will be advantageous not only to themselves but would benefit the people of the country generally. It is obvious that you cannot expect the people to feel in this way if Company management is continued. The fact that quite a large number of Companies have been started since the cessation of war mainly with the support of Indian shareholders, shows that there is no ground for the assumption that Indian investors cannot be expected to invest their capital in railways.

It is gratifying to find that Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasada, Retired Assistant Traffic Superintendent, Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, whose knowledge and experi-

ence entitle him to speak with authority on the subject, in the course of the excellent statement that he made before the Indian Railway Committee, emphasised the view that Capital funds required for Indian Railways should be raised in India only. He puts the Indian point of view in a nutshell in the following words :

Objections have been justly raised in India to the borrowing of outside capital, not so much on the ground of the burden of remitting the interest but because the use of such capital leads to exploitation of India by foreign agencies. The employment of British companies as agents for construction and working of Indian Railways has many elements of objectionable exploitation. These companies have not only been pushing on foreign trade by charging lower rates for the carriage of export and import goods than they charge for local traffic and local industries, but they have been employing foreigners almost exclusively in all the higher posts of the Railway Service. Thus the cost paid for obtaining foreign capital is unduly higher, and there is a loss of wealth, work, experience, and wisdom, which go away as the men retire to foreign countries. Consequently the people of India have not been benefited to the extent they ought to have been, and have not had due opportunities of acquiring aptitude for higher work on the Railways; the most they have got is generally wages for low workmanship, and this is no compensation for the enormous advantages reaped away from the country. Under this circumstance the use of British capital and employment of companies for Indian Railways cannot be said to be an unmixed blessing to the country.

That fair-minded and disinterested Englishmen think alike with Indians in the matter of the source from which the supply of funds for Railway purposes should be provided is seen from the following observations made by the late General R. Strachey, R.E., C.S.I., F.R.S., in 1884 :—

I, in common with many people who have interested themselves in Indian finance, have a very strong disinclination to do anything which shall add to the sterling liabilities of the Secretary of State. I think, whether it is in the shape of a guarantee of interest in sterling or the creation of sterling debt, the increase of home liabilities is greatly to be deprecated.

There are two classes of investors whose support it is possible to secure for the purpose of raising loans for Railways. These are, first, that large body of people who seek safe investments. Whenever Government have floated loans, however low the rate of interest, they have succeeded enormously. This shows that with Government guarantee this source may be tapped with advantage. Another source from which an abundant supply may be expected is the vast amount of capital lying inert in Indian States. With a

little energetic organisation satisfactory results in obtaining capital on loan from both these sources may be expected.

There is absolutely no ground for the gratuitous assumption that Indians cannot now be expected to invest their capital in Indian railways. New lines should as a rule be started only when funds are available. Loans can be expected to be successfully floated when the market is easy. These arguments refer to normal conditions and not to special circumstances such as those arising out of the war. We believe that there will not be much difficulty in raising money for railways in normal times if suitable terms are offered. It is to the interest of India and her people that any money required for national purposes, such as the construction of new railways, etc., should, as far as possible, be raised in India.

S. K. L.

An Indian lecturer at the Sorbonne.

Our readers will be pleased to learn that Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, whose valued contributions have so often appeared in this Review, has been elected to deliver a course of six free lectures (followed by discussions, *conférences*,) at the University of Paris on February 24th and 28th and March 3rd, 7th, 10th and 14th, 1921, in the Amphitheatre of the Faculty of Law, Sorbonne. His subject is "*The Public Law of the Hindus*," and the following is a translation of his syllabus:

I. The comparative method devoted to the investigation of the political institutions of the Hindus:

(a) The errors current in comparative sociology. (b) One ought to be on the guard against the delusion of the western political life during the classic age, the middle ages and the ancient *regime*. (c) The need of a just historical perspective. (d) Objective exposition of the constitutional systems in India.

II. The results obtained by the Hindus in the administration of the social interests:

(a) The law of property and the laws about the women. (b) The ecclesiastical constitution or *samgha*. (c) The trade union (*shreni*) among the peasants, the artisans and the merchants. (d) The Universities. (e) The perpetual endowments. (f) The jury.

III. The democratic organisation of public life (*sabhā*) in India.

(a) The village commune and its assemblies: South India. (b) City government: Pataliputra on the Ganges. (c) The council of ministers (*Parishat*).

IV. Indian imperialism and the *sarva-bhaumika* peace.

(a) The minister of war. (b) Centralisation of the administrative services: the Empires of the Mauryas and the Cholas. (c) The hierarchy of the tribunals of justice. (d) Finances. "The sinews of the republic:" Kautilya, the Richelieu of India.

V. The republic States (*gana*) of the Hindus.

Three epochs (a) 600-450 B. C. Eleven republics. The United States of the Vajjis. Shākya Sinha, the Buddha, was not a prince, but only the son of a president of the republic of the Shākyas. (b) 350-300 B.C. Alliance between the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas against the Greek Alexander. (c) 150 B.C. —350 A. D. The militarism of the Yaudheyas.

VI. The positive law (*shāsana*) in the Hindu constitution.

(a) The *shāstras* on *dharma* or *smṛiti*, the so-called judicial codes are not the only sources of information on Hindu law. (b) The lack of government archives is compensated for by the juridic study of the epigraphic memorials. (c) Hindu life was not exclusively controlled by a bundle of customs. (d) The innovations sanctioned by the State. Hence Hindu law was dynamic.

The Montefiore Prize of Belgium.

This year, says the *Electrical World*, the triennial award of a prize of 20,000 francs for the best work written in the three preceding years upon the scientific advancement and technical adaptation of electricity is to be made by a jury of ten electrical engineers, five Belgians and five of other nations, under the presidency of the director of the Montefiore Electro-technical Institute of Belgium. This prize was instituted by George Montefiore, the late honorary president of the institute, and the coming award will be in reality that for 1917, when the war made the competition impossible. Works may be submitted in either French or English, in printed form or in typed manuscript. A dozen copies of each must be furnished, April 30, 1921, being the last day for their reception. The recording secretary of the Foundation, George

Montefiore, may be addressed at 31 rue Saint-Gilles, Liege, Belgium.

Pictures in this Issue.

The frontispiece represents, according to the artist, a Sikh philosopher. The sickle and the hoe show that he is a peasant. He leads a life of contemplation also, and is engaged in reading the Sikh scriptures in a devotional and meditative mood.

Of the other reproductions of water-colours, "Ma" depicts a mother and child, the "Shackled Freedom" is self-explanatory, picture of the cow-herd and the cow requires no elucidation, and the picture of the Vaishnava prophet Chaitanya represents him in the posture of adoration. "The Satee Stone" shows a woman putting the vermillion paint, the mark of chaste wifehood, on the "Satee stone" in token of reverence. The Satee stone is a stone erected to mark the spot where some chaste and devoted wife voluntarily immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her departed husband. The picture of the birth of the Ganges, illustrates the mythological story that the river descended from heaven on the tangled locks of the god Siva, engaged in meditation in the Himalayas, and thence flowed downwards on the plains below. We are grateful for the photographs of these six pictures, all exhibited at this year's exhibition of Indian pictures, to Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Editor of "Rupam", and to the artists.

Indian Unity Undesirable!

Sir Charles Dilke wrote years ago:

"Provided that military and financial unity be secured we have much to gain by not attempting to reduce India to one dead level in other matters, and may be glad, not sorry, that linguistic and racial differences, a varied history, and diverse extent of social development, form obstacles to unity."—Sir Charles Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain*, vol. II, part IV, chapter II.

Have Englishmen in general given up this way of thinking?

Dr. Rasik Lal Datta and the Temperature of Explosion.

It is a well-known fact in physical chemistry that every liquid has a definite boiling point and every solid a melting point. With regard to the explosive compounds, as also all endothermic compounds generally, it was reasonably expected that *each and all* of them should have a definite temperature of

explosion. The latter was known only with regard to a few isolated cases, *e.g.*, fulminate of mercury and some organic perchlorates, etc., which have no tendency to decompose before the temperature of explosion is attained. Dr. R. L. Datta, of the Calcutta University Post-graduate Department of



Dr. Rasik Lal Datta.

Science after a laborious and pains-taking investigation extending over several years, has at last hit upon the fixed and definite temperature at which every endothermic substance would explode. Chemists have hitherto failed to find such a point on account of the ready fusibility and decomposability of such substances. Dr.

Datta's success in this field depends upon the discovery of his special method of finding such temperatures. It will be in the recollection of some of our readers that the Royal Society of London in recognition of the importance of Dr. Datta's work awarded him a grant of £75 to enable him to continue his work in this promising field. We are glad to be able to announce that his researches have been appreciated by some of the eminent experts in the American scientific world, including Profs. Theodore William Richards and Charles Loring Jackson, who speak in very eulogistic terms of Dr. Datta's achievements, and on their recommendation, the Trustees of the Wolcott Gibbs Memorial Fund have awarded him a grant of 300 dollars. They have also recommended an additional grant of 400 dollars from the C. M. Warren Fund of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

In connection with the experiments mentioned above, Dr. Datta was the victim of an explosion which very nearly blinded him of both the eyes and disfigured his countenance. Fortunately he recovered from its effects.

Prof. Bipinbehari Sen Memorial.

The late Prof. Bipinbihari Sen was a

great teacher and devoted himself to higher educational work for more than 25 years as a Professor of History in several Colleges and in the University. The Committee appointed to raise a memorial for perpetuating his memory, find it impossible to approach each of the thousands of students and admirers of Prof. Sen and, therefore, appeal to them through the press for subscriptions, which would be utilised in the foundation of a medal and a prize in his memory. Contributions will be thankfully received by Dr. Gauranganath Banerjea, Treasurer of the fund, Durbhanga Buildings, Calcutta University.

Barbarities and the Military Classes.

The atrocious massacres at the Nankana Sahib Sikh Temple, followed by the probable burning alive of some wounded victims, have shocked humanity. The barbarities of General Dyer and of German generals and soldiers, and the atrocious deeds being done in Ireland at the present day by both the British and the Irish, cannot palliate the devilry of any Indian or group of Indians. Such cruelty seems to be connected in some way with the character of the military classes of both civilised and uncivilised peoples. The following passage in Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology*, pp. 208-9, illustrates our remark:—

"Every one old enough, remembers the reprobation vented here when the French in Algiers dealt so cruelly with the Arabs who refused to submit—lighting fires at the mouths of caves in which they had taken refuge; but we do not see a like barbarity in India, such as the executing a group of rebel sepoys by fusillade, and then setting fire to the heap of them because they were not all dead, or in the wholesale shootings and burnings of houses, after the suppression of the Jamaica insurrection."

With reference to the statement relating to the sepoys, Spencer adds in a note:

"I make this statement on the authority of a letter read to me at the time by an Indian officer, written by a brother officer in India."

Lt.-Col. Sureshprosad Sarvadhikari.

Lt.-Col. Sureshprosad Sarvadhikari, M. D., was a distinguished surgeon. His academic career was brilliant, and, as Sir Nilratan Sircar said in his convocation address, he "rose to the eminent position he occupied in his profession by dint of conscientious work and sheer ability. His death deprives our university of one of her most active and wide-awake members."

He was one of the few senators of the university who displayed some independence of spirit and judgment. He was the president and one of the founders of the Carmichael Medical College. Government bestowed on him the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in recognition of his labours in connection with the Bengal Ambulance Corps and the Calcutta University Corps.

Dr. Sircar's Convocation Address.

Like Dr. Nilratan Sircar's previous convocation addresses, his address this year, too, is thoughtful and well repays perusal. We have no space to deal with it at length. We will refer here to an undoubtedly beneficent activity of the university, viz., the medical examination of students. Said Dr. Sircar:

Another important work to which we have put our hand, with the help of a competent and willing and, practically, voluntary staff of workers, is the medical examination of students. In countries such as England, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Japan, the United States of America, there exists a regular system for the examination of the health of students. The object for which this system has been introduced is to increase the physical efficiency of the people of these countries. Unfortunately we in this country have so far been indifferent in this very important matter. The results of the investigation that we have so far conducted show how urgent is the need of organised work for improving the health of the student community in Bengal. It has been found that the percentage of our students who may be regarded as free from any physical defects comes up to only 36. A further deduction should be made by taking into account general malnutrition without any special defect in any organ. *Roughly speaking it may be said that 33 per cent. of our students are free from defects and about 67 per cent. are defective in some way or other.* This means that two-thirds of the student population have got some disorders to be attended to. Only 12 per cent. of the students examined show a proper development of the musculature. The teeth show a very large percentage of defect. Only 68 per cent. of the students have got normal teeth. It is curious that the percentages of eye and tooth defects are almost the same. Whether there is any real correlation between the two remains to be investigated. Contrary to expectations the percentage of heart defects was found to be as high as 7 per cent. Most of these were unattended with any subjective symptoms. Lung defect shows a frequency of only 5 per cent. This is probably explainable

because lung trouble is likely to draw more attention. The percentage of liver trouble is only 1. Spleen was observed in about 2 per cent. of the cases, throat trouble in about 4 per cent., general eye defects apart from refractive error in 7 per cent., hernia in 3 per cent. It is imperative that steps should be taken to remedy this grave condition of affairs. The Government on the one hand and the general public on the other should come to the help of the University in this matter. Neither money nor efforts should be spared to improve the physical well-being of the youths of Bengal.

The sentence we have italicised above reveals a serious state of things. We join with Dr. Sircar in urging that "neither money nor efforts should be spared to improve the physical well-being of the students of Bengal."

National Education. .

In his convocation address Dr. Sircar dwelt on the need of increasing the physical efficiency of the people, and of promoting technological and vocational studies. He had much to say on the subject of national education. He was right in observing, "that systems and institutions grow. You cannot expect that the mere reiteration of the magic words 'national education' will bring into existence one fine morning a fully equipped and faultless system of education which like a full-grown banyan tree would spread its branches far and near."

When the movement for national education originated in Bengal fifteen years ago, its promoters, who included some of the foremost educationists of the day in our Province, defined its objects in definite and distinct terms. Amongst its principal objects were the provision of national control, the imparting of education designed to incorporate with the best oriental ideals of life and thought, the assimilable ideals of the west; the attaching of special importance to a knowledge of the country, its literature, history, and philosophy; the promotion of the study chiefly of such branches of the arts and sciences as are best calculated to develop the material resources of the country and satisfy its pressing wants; and to impart and facilitate the imparting of education through the medium of the vernaculars.

A few things have been left unsaid here, to some of which the promoters of national education in Bengal fifteen years ago and even now do not seem to have paid adequate attention. Dr. Sircar and the other

promoters of national education were and are no doubt alive to the need of rousing the spirit of patriotism and civic service. That love of liberty should be inculcated from the very childhood of our future citizens will be admitted by all who desire the growth of perfect citizenship in the country. But the need of training in Civics, in Public Administration, in Public Finance and Statistics, in Journalism, and other allied branches of study, does not appear to have occurred to the promoters of national education in Bengal. The Indian Nation consists mainly of Hindus and Moslems. It is, therefore, rather curious that the promoters of national education have not devoted any attention to those branches of Art which are the joint products of Hindu-Moslem culture, viz., Music, Painting, and Architecture. It should be borne in mind that the soul of a people is found in its Art, as well as in its Literature and Philosophy.

The two greatest desiderata have still to be referred to.

By national education we understand, among other things, such education as will make and keep us a nation. National education, then, should promote national solidarity, and prevent national disintegration. It should seek to destroy intercaste, intersect, and "religious" rivalry, jealousy, rancour, disputes and riots. National education should, therefore, lay stress on the promotion of neighborly feelings and virtues. It should bring Hindu, Buddhist, Jew, Jaina, Christian, Moslem and Sikh closer together. Our object here in this note is not to examine any system of faith or theology. Everyone is entitled to follow his own beliefs and be as orthodox as he thinks proper. But if anybody be a promoter or adherent of national education, he ought to see that his orthodoxy does not degenerate into such bigotry, fanaticism and obscurantism as would interfere with the growth and maintenance of national solidarity. A Nationalist's orthodoxy should be such as would lay the greatest emphasis on such teachings and aspects of his faith as tend to foster fraternal feelings towards the followers of other faiths. Such teachings are found in the scriptures of all faiths. His orthodoxy should not be such as would make him

exclusive, narrow-minded, touch-me-notistic, and narrowly devoted to the selfish interests of his community alone. Unfortunately, there are too many Hindu promoters of national education who understand by it education on narrowly orthodox Hindu lines, and there are too many Moslem promoters of national education who similarly understand by it education along narrowly orthodox Islamic lines. No reasonable citizen ought to have anything to say against Hindus giving orthodox teaching to their children, and Moslems giving orthodox teaching to theirs. But the question is, is such teaching a part of *national* education or of *denominational* education? We need not confine ourselves to merely academic discussion. Let us appeal to experience. Have the distinctively Hindu and the distinctively Musalman "national" institutions succeeded to any extent in bridging the gulf, in obliterating the lines of cleavage, existing between caste and caste, religious group and religious group, race and race? Have they made the attempt? We do not want to answer the questions dogmatically one way or the other. Let there be a searching of hearts. Let the promoters of national education compare notes of their experience. And let them promote such education as would help in nation-building, as would foster the growth of national solidarity, as would preserve and strengthen national solidarity and prevent national disruption and disintegration. A mere appeal to sectarian and racial vanity and to the spirit of Past-Worship will do more harm than good.

National education should be such as would tend to decrease and ultimately destroy mutual repulsion and increase mutual attraction between the component parts of the Indian nation, and thus produce, conserve and increase national solidarity. Have we at present any national education of this description?

The last question to which we wish briefly to advert is the object of national education. Suppose our national institutions make us masters of all existing knowledge, Eastern and Western; suppose they promote research according to Western methods or methods devised by ourselves; suppose we are equipped with all knowledge, training and appliances to develop and exploit the resources of our country. The question that remains to ask is: What use shall we make of all this

knowledge, research, training and scientific and mechanical equipment? The answer to this question will show whether our national education has any distinctively national ideal at its back and any distinctively national motive and object before it. We know what use Western nations have made of *their* national education. They have been increasingly mastering the forces of nature; they have exploited the resources of their own and other countries; they have conquered, enslaved, exploited foreign peoples; they have hankered after and obtained the means of leading luxurious lives; their Haves and Have-Nots are fighting tooth and nail; they are flying in the air, floating on the sea, diving beneath its surface, marching on the surface of the earth and digging into its bowels, in order to pursue the game of manslaughter on a large scale; and they have invented the poison gas. What would we do with *our* national education? Shall we make of it a handmaid to Mammon and the Devil? Or shall it bring Healing to the lacerated peoples of the earth and Peace and Bliss to the miserable poor and the miserable rich, the de-humanised masters and the de-humanised slaves, all over the world? Shall our *national* education also be a *human* and *humane* education, impelling us to work for world-wide unity and concord?

May our national education enable us to co-operate with God!

"Post-Graduate Teaching in the Calcutta University, 1919-20,"

When men hold salaried appointments, we do not think it is discreditable for them to prefer posts carrying higher salaries to posts carrying lower salaries. At the same time, we think it is creditable for men to voluntarily choose to work for a mere subsistence allowance, for love of the work, as the professors of the Poona Fergusson College do. A vow of poverty should be voluntary. It should not be either prescribed or enforced.

But in the Annual Report of the post-graduate departments of the Calcutta University, the president Sir Asutosh Mookerjee sneers at two former University teachers, Mr. A. K. Chanda and Pandit Surendra Nath Majumdar Shastri, for having "found the allurements of Government service so bewitching," and later on speaks of them as deserters. May we ask the legal luminary who uses this lan-

guage, what allured Professors Bipin Bihari Sen and Ambika Charan Mitra (we do not mean the least disrespect to them) to "desert" Government service for University chairs "late in life"? Was it the offer of a lower salary by the University or a higher (including plurality of examinerships)? Who bewitched them? Who offered four professors of the Fergusson College Rs. 400 a month (in the place of their present pay of Rs. 100) if they would "desert" to the Calcutta University? It must be said to their credit that these sons of Maharashtra preferred to continue at Shivaji's home instead of coming to serve under the "imitation Shivaji" (*Shivaji-sārkha*, as Prof. Surendra Nath Sen calls him in an authorised publication of the Calcutta University).

Are we to understand from the learned *Vyavahāra-vāchaspati* that it is academic desertion to leave the University for Government service on a higher pay, but a meritorious deed to leave your college for University service for the same "allurement"? But we forget; the president of the post-graduate departments in arts and science is himself a "public servant" and as such he must be "petrified in the illusion" that there is one set of ethical principles for himself and another for the rest of mankind. Our readers will perceive that Government has not a monopoly of the iniquity of seducing professors to join its service by offering a higher pay. Our Sham-Buddha-Gama-Chakravarti, too, plays the same trick.

In the Report which is the subject of this Note, we have counted the following numbers of University professors, lecturers and teachers in different departments and subjects who were formerly connected with some college or other: English, 10; Sanskrit, 7; Pali, 3; Arabic and Persian, 1; Philosophy, 7; Experimental Psychology, 1; History, 4; Ancient Indian History and Culture, 4; Economics, 8; Pure Mathematics, 5.

Many dailies have published a letter addressed by the Registrar of the Calcutta University to Government complaining that the Dacca University has been able to draw away some of the distinguished professors of the former by offers of better pay. Did not the Calcutta University secure the services of the professors enumerated above by exactly the same means?

Is it Calcutta University justice that those

who are not deserters are to be branded as deserters, whereas one who has deserted his post of duty without leave should be given every possible indulgence? Take the following item from the proceedings of the governing body of the University College of Science, dated the 12th March, 1921:—

1. Read a letter from Mr. S. Maulik, University Professor of Zoology, asking for leave on the ground of ill-health for the period from the 17th January, (or from any other date when he avails himself of it) to the date when the College closes for the long vacation.

Read also a letter from him stating how the work of the Zoology Dept. will be carried on during his absence.

RESOLVED—

That Prof. Maulik be informed that the Governing Body cannot consider his case before they get an explanation from him as to the circumstances under which he left India without informing them.

It is said Prof. Maulik is a relative of Sir A. Mookerjee, and that for behaviour like his Government servants are dismissed.

In Sir Asutosh's report to the Senate, Dr. Ramdas Khan's monograph on *Society in Evolution* published by the Calcutta University is numbered among the monographs which he praises as constituting "valuable contributions to the advancement of our knowledge." Why is this monograph still withheld from a public thirsting for the advancement of its knowledge *a la Goldighi*?

Who are the judges that certified Dr. Khan's book as an original addition to human knowledge? Who ordered it to be printed at the cost of our University? What is the extent of the Sham-Buddha-Gama-Chakravarti's responsibility for publicly praising this sham piece of research and foisting it upon the University? The Bengal public, who are paying through their noses for the inflated post-graduate departments, have a right to know the names of "these fleeting spectres of humanity" who direct, judge and reward the research work of that University and stamp such monographs with the seal of their approval. For, thus only can the real value of the theses approved for the P.R.S. and Ph.D. be understood. Dare these "spectres of humanity" come out from the darkness of anonymity and from behind the shield of their patron and acknowledge their own acts? Their names ought to be nailed to the mast for the future benefit of the University,—if its future is expected to be better than its past.

In the course of his address Sir Asutosh

speaks of Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee's paper on *International Law and Custom in Ancient India* as "undeniably breaking new ground." We are not surprised at this example of "the colossal ignorance which prevails among the so-called cultured" presidents of post-graduate research boards, as to what constitutes *originality* and the breaking of *new ground*. The public will remember that Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee's thesis was submitted by him on 31st October 1919, while *six* long papers on the same subject, based on original Sanskrit sources were published by Prof. S. V. Viswanatha, M.A., L.T., in this *Review* fully a year *before that date* (*viz.*, in May, June, July, August and November, 1918.) And yet the learned Saraswati has no hesitation in telling an unsuspecting Senate that Mr. Banerjee has been first in this field.

We have heard that a work on this subject by Mr. Nagendranath Law was with the University authority concerned, for some 13 months, and that it was returned to him about the time of the submission or approval of Mr. Banerjee's thesis. But it is not certain that Sir Asutosh knew of its existence.

On page 70 we are told, "Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in addition to his (*sic*) giving public lectures [on ethnology] *full* of original researches often contributed *valuable* articles on the subject in the Newspapers (*sic*) and Monthlies." Happy India, where articles based on original research of value are offered by *newspapers* to the public. In benighted England that is the function of the journals of learned societies.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's sense of justice requires that some men should be branded as deserters because they accepted lucrative posts elsewhere (and possibly also escaped a humiliating position and a demoralizing atmosphere thereby) but that some others should have lucrative jobs in abundance. Some examples follow.

Sayce in his *Philosophy* speaks of "agglutinative languages." The University Report before us gives examples of *agglutinative salaries*. The happiest of these pluralists is Mr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar, who draws Rs. 1250 per month as University Professor of Ancient Indian History *plus* Rs. 100 + 50 + 50 for lecturing on Sanskrit, Pali and Marathi respectively. Now, as the initial salary of a full-time lecturer under the University is Rs. 200 only, the "extras" that Mr. Bhandarkar

gets every month are the money equivalent of one additional lecturer's work. If the University gets value for its money, are we to infer that Mr. Bhandarkar has taken the work of two full lecturers on his Atlantean shoulders, as far as *quantity* is concerned? But what about the quality? If you ask your milkman to supply ten seers of milk for a rupee while five seers is the bazar rate, he may consent. But will it be milk?

In the absence of dates it is not quite clear to us whether Mr. Bhandarkar combined these University pluralities with the supervision of the Indian Museum (on another extra of Rs. 100 a month), or was relieved of that work by Mons. Foucher before July 1920. Should the former supposition be true, the query regarding the quality of his work would be still more pertinent.

In this connection we ought to remember that from the failure of the first two incumbents of the Minto Chair of Economics at the Calcutta University to do their stipulated research work, the *Times* argued that these gentlemen were saddled with too much class teaching to have adequate time for research, — though original investigation is the main purpose of these "University Professorships." The Government of India, too, asked the University to re-consider the terms of appointment to the Minto chair, in the light of the above criticism, when Mr. C. J. Hamilton vacated it. But the work expected of the Minto Professor of Economics under the old terms was as nothing to that which has been added (as shown above) to the primary duties of the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History. Is he doing all of them? Is it practicable for an ordinary man (we are not speaking of supermen) to do all of them up to the standard expected of the highest paid class of professors in a University? Or are there any personal reasons for Mr. Bhandarkar's preferment?

It is to be regretted that while figures are given for the lecture and tutorial *hours* of every member of the staff in English, Philosophy and Pure Mathematics, such information is withheld in respect of the variety of subjects over which the versatile genius of Mr. Bhandarkar ranges with majestic ease.

Another pluralist is Dr. Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardi al-M. A. al-Ph.D. He gets Rs. 200 + 300 + 50 for Arabic, History and Urdu respectively. It may be said that he

comes up a bad second to Mr. Bhandarkar, because Rs. 550 is nothing to Rs. 1450. But Dr. Suhrawardi is evidently gifted with a herculean frame : he teaches three distinct subjects at the University (full time for each), practises at the High Court, takes part in the debates of the Legislative Council (of which he has long been a member), and addresses his constituency.

It would be in the best interests of the University if it publishes every year the names of those members of the post-graduate staff who are doing private tuition, mentioning against each the class and subject of his pupil. No teacher in Government service can take up a private tuition without the sanction of the higher authorities and the knowledge of the college office. This precaution is a greater necessity in the case of post-graduate lecturers, because they (unlike ordinary college teachers) are called upon, in their capacity of internal examiners, to set the questions and examine the answer papers in the very subjects they teach. But there is a world of difference between an internal examiner proper and a private coach. The former is a teacher whose lectures are open to all students reading that particular subject, his instructions are *publicly* delivered, and he goes through the essays of *all* the students in rotation ; none of them, therefore, can have an unfair advantage over the other examinees. A coach, on the other hand, stands on a different footing. He teaches only one pupil and in private ; his very reputation as a coach depends upon his success in making that particular boy pass brilliantly. It is expected of him to give tips to his pupils, or as teachers euphemistically put it, to lay special emphasis on the "important" portions of his subjects. He must make a wise anticipation of the examination questions or as near a guess to them as he can.

It is, therefore, fundamentally opposed to all notions of fair play and purity of examinations to allow any student's private coach to set or moderate or otherwise get a previous knowledge of *any* of the papers on any branch of the subjects that his pupil is preparing for. We do not know how far this healthy rule will be enforced by the Calcutta University. Those who are in the know remember with respect that the late Sir Gooroodas Banerji refused one year to

have anything to do with setting question papers for a certain examination because one of his grandsons was to be a candidate for it !

In this connection it is immaterial whether the coach gets any salary from his employer or not. In some cases he will be wiser if he declines direct monthly payment for his services.

The Next Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

In the course of his Calcutta convocation rectorial address Lord Ronaldshay said with reference to "the post-graduate courses recently introduced" :

Surely you must be proud of the splendid attempt which is being made here to render to Indian civilisation and culture the homage which is its due. Teaching of the highest order along with research work by Indian scholars of repute is being carried on in a number of branches of higher Sanskrit which in themselves cover a wide field of ancient Indian learning ; in Pali which embraces the far-reaching field of Buddhist studies ; in Islamic studies including Theology, Literature, Rhetoric, Poetics, Grammar, Philosophy and Science ; in Indian Vernaculars and in the elaborate course of study devoted to Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Lord Ronaldshay's praise is certainly well deserved in great part, though we are not competent to say to what extent. We will only say that along with much genuine research, there has been much that is mere translation (in some cases, of writings which are themselves out of date), much that is mere compilation, and, worst of all, much that is plagiarism pure and simple. We recognise that there is an earnest desire to promote research. But it is to be regretted that there are not enough men in the University who can distinguish between genuine research and pseudo-research. Therefore some compilers and plagiarists obtain preferment.

Lord Ronaldshay proceeded next to pay a tribute to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. Said he :

Surely the gratitude and support of every Indian who truly loves his country is due to the man who has done so much for Indian learning. That man is himself an Indian among Indians, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. But Sir Asutosh Mukherjee's claim to your support does not rest solely upon the fact that he has created this great department of Post-Graduate teaching

and research. He was also a member of the University Commission whose recommendations are designed to introduce into the existing system of higher education many improvements and in particular to bring about change in the two directions to which I have referred, that is to say, by developing vocational courses and by giving to the whole system a more specifically Indian orientation....It is true that I—an Englishman—shall become your Chancellor; but that is due to the accident of my being at the moment Governor of Bengal. I welcome the fact for many reasons; but not least because it will place me in a position to invite Sir Asutosh Mukherjee to co-operate with me and with the Government of Bengal in bringing about by a process of evolution those changes to which I have referred. It is my intention, acting with the full concurrence of the Minister concerned, to invite Sir Asutosh Mukherjee to accept the Vice-Chancellorship. No man surely is better qualified so to mould the future of your University as to make of it a national University in the best and truest meaning of the word. One thing only is required and that is your whole hearted support. Do you desire Revolution or Evolution. Destruction or Construction? Non-co-operation of Co-operation? The choice is yours.

The services rendered to the Calcutta University by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee deserve unstinted praise. No man ever devoted his intellectual powers, his energies and his time to the service of this University to the extent that Sir Asutosh has done. No one possesses such grasp of the details of all its affairs as he does. But the shield has a dark side, too. We are not competent to measure the full value of his services and the full extent of his disservice, and strike a balance. It may also be that the disservice done has been unconscious and incidental. But for a true estimate of the result of his connection with the University, it will not do to mention only his services. The evil results have been such as are generally incident to one man rule. It is only fair to state that his ascendancy in the University is due not chiefly or merely to recourse to Tammany Hall methods. His high intellectual powers, his administrative capacity, his driving power, his energy, his constructive talent, his grasp of details, his unrivalled devotion to the work of the University,—these also lie at the root of his influence. But however gained, his masterfulness and autocracy have been attended

with bad results. Favoritism and jobbery of sorts there have been. There has been wasteful expenditure in some directions, to the neglect of the just claims of departments for which particular endowments were made. There has been unnecessary reduplication of arrangements for studies for which better arrangements exist elsewhere. Unscrupulous persons have taken advantage of Dr. Mookerjee's megalomania and his feverish desire to promote research, to sometimes foist upon the University things which are not at all original or even honest work. Studies have been sought to be promoted for which there are few, if any, competent teachers. Megalomania has led to the opening of classes at inordinate expense for studies which have attracted only a few students. To find money for the huge post-graduate departments every possible step has been taken to multiply the number of candidates, to the inevitable lowering of the standard of examinations, thus commercialising the University. For some of the highest degrees and rewards, there have been examiners convenient for particular candidates and inconvenient for others, in a sense other than academic. The highest academic recognition, distinction, reward, and preferment have been won by the methods of the courtier and the sycophant, and the moral and intellectual atmosphere of the University have been thus vitiated and academic values lost. As regards the senators and members of the Syndicate and other university bodies, there has been a general, though not universal, decrease of self-respect, manhood, independence of spirit and independent exercise of private judgment.

Lord Ronaldshay asks whether there is to be co-operation or non-co-operation? So far as the Calcutta University is concerned, one can co-operate with Sir Asutosh only in the sense in which the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy ask us to co-operate with them, *viz.*; that the bureaucrats are to initiate, dictate and control and Indians are to cry ditto and carry out orders like subordinates. Sir Asutosh's masterfulness cannot brook any equals. You

must merge your will in his, you must cringe, if he is to tolerate your presence. Self-respecting men cannot co-operate on such terms.

If Lord Ronaldshay claims any credit for choosing Sir Asutosh, we must tell him, it is a virtue of necessity. It is Hobson's choice. Barring Sir Asutosh only two kinds of Vice-chancellors were possible: those whom Sir Asutosh would continually oppose and defeat and make their lives miserable and positions not worth keeping, and those who by their acquiescence in whatever he might do would only prove the superfluity and uselessness of their presence. It is, therefore, quite probable that no other man was available for filling the office of Vice-chancellor, high though it be. Why should people agree, either to be non-entities and underdogs and play second fiddle, or to be targets for Sir Asutosh's shafts? The appointment of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has this merit that he will get all the credit and all the blame; there will be no target, nonentity, pawn or scapegoat.

As for inviting Sir Asutosh "to co-operate with me," that is undoubtedly the only "dignified" way of putting the thing. There is delicious humour in the situation. Indians may feel a certain pleasure (malicious, if you like,) in thinking that one of their countrymen has forced Government to invite him to co-operate with it on his own terms. But the real question is, who co-operates with whom?

As for making a national university of the Calcutta University, we do not see how Sir Asutosh can do it. Unless the government of a country is national, no official university can be national. A national university must also mean that it is under national control. But Sir Asutosh's control cannot be called national control, though he is an Indian national. Moreover, he is an official. Even if he were a non-official, his dictatorship could not be identical with national control. Whether the Calcutta University with its present constitution and character, can acquire the highest and deepest connotations of a national educational institution, we leave

our readers to judge, after they have read our note on "National Education" in the present issue.

There is another reason why in its present condition the Calcutta University can not be made national in spirit. Our national ideal includes reverence for the teacher. But there cannot be any reverence for parasites, proteges, pawns, or plagiarists. We do not mean to suggest that all University professors, lecturers, teachers, etc., are men of this description. But the number of those who do not fall under one or more of the above categories is believed to be not very large. So long as the University is destined to be conducted along the present lines, it would be an improvement to destroy the show of democratic government by doing away with the councils of post-graduate teaching and the teachers' nominal part therein. When the real power is in one man's hands, why pretend that the teachers, too, have a voice? They are mostly either mutes or gramophones. Such persons do not inspire respect. They should be rescued from such a humiliating position, and given simply to teach; and then as honest teachers they can command respect.

An Affray of a Novel Character.

We lift the following from the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle*:

Riotous scenes in Corby Street, Sheffield, in mail week, were followed by the arrest of four Hindus. During a quarrel outside a public-house two men received knife wounds which necessitated hospital treatment. Afterwards the quarrelsome Hindus rushed to their lodgings in Corby Street, followed by a big crowd, which tried to break open the door. The landlady and the Hindus went into the garret, where they were assailed with a volley of stones. Considerable damage was done to the house. It is alleged that the Hindus became frightened, and two shots were fired. The crowd threatened to burn the house down, but the police arrived. As a sequel to the affair four young Hindus were yesterday charged with wounding three persons by shooting at them, and one of the prisoners was also charged with stabbing two people. They were remanded in custody, the police saying they could not guarantee protection to the accused if they were released owing to the feeling in the neighbourhood. The police said that no serious

injury had resulted from the affair.—“Daily News.”

We have never been *shikaris* ourselves, but we have heard that genuine sportsmen take greater pleasure in hunting big and dangerous game than in killing hares or rabbits and animals of that sort. Sportsmen of this stamp may, therefore, read the above with a slight sigh of relief to find that there are Hindus who can shoot, though only when at bay, and who would, hence, be better game from the sportsman's point of view than those who are only tamely shot down. In any case, the affair breaks the monotonous story of Englishmen shooting at Hindus.

The Barisal Conferences.

The very large number of delegates and visitors of both sexes who attended the Bengal provincial conference at Barisal is another proof of the stirring of new life in the country. That Babu Bepin Chandra Pal's presidential address has not pleased the followers of Mr. Gandhi is not in itself a proof that it is devoid of political value. Though unable to discuss it, having received it too late, we can see that the speaker has thought for himself, which is a point in its favour, particularly in these days of blind adherence to party shibboleths.

We are pleased to find that there was a social conference, too, under the presidency of that earnest worker, Rai Radhikamohan Lahiri Bahadur. Justice requires that there should be social reform, humanity requires that there should be social reform, and nation-building requires that there should be social reform.

Glasgow Student Conference.

The following paragraph from *The Challenge* of London relates to the Glasgow Student Conference:—

“The outstanding topic at Glasgow was unquestionably the Indian situation. Few of us had realised until we heard Mr. Alec Fraser and discussed his speech with Indian delegates how urgent and how hazardous was the crisis. A great authority and publicist is stated to have expressed the opinion that unless the conscience of England throughout the length and

breadth of the country were aroused to speedy action and to a complete repudiation of the O'Dwyer policy we should lose India within six months. Those of us who have become more or less accustomed to what is called “sedition” among Indians in this country, and who realise how much our own attitude to them is to blame, were startled to find that instead of the casual and rather superficial exasperation of the young sons of the motherland, there is now a deep-rooted and utterly sincere conviction that we have proved ourselves false and unworthy. A high-spirited but friendly resentment has given place to a calm and deliberate rejection of our right to rule, to a refusal to recognise any excuses for our failure or to place any further confidence in our professions of regret or in our plans for reform. If the feeling of the Glasgow Conference is typical (and after all the delegates were among our best friends in India) we have been weighed already in the balance—weighed and found wanting. And neither the admitted excellence of much of our work, nor the transparent sincerity of many of our Civil Servants (for whom Sir William Marris was a most impressive advocate) can redeem us.

“We should lose India within six months”—there lurks within these words, unconsciously it may be, the belief that India is Englishmen's property and that, instead of being fellow-men and fellow-citizens, we are their subjects. Again, with reference to the words “rejection of our right to rule”, we may tell both friends and foes of India that no foreigners, however angelic, have the right to rule India; though every one has the right to help India to be free and to realise herself.

Dr. Tagore on the Ideal of Womanhood.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore told Winifred Van Duzer, an American interviewer, “It is woman who carries a torch to light the feet of the race in its long long progress to destiny.” According to the poet, motherhood is the ideal of womanhood.

But, as we shall presently see, motherhood is not to be understood in the merely physiological and domestic sense, though that is implied. It is to be understood also in the social, civic, educational, racial and spiritual senses. The interviewer writes:—

I asked him exactly what woman's work should be. He indicated a belief that mother-

hood is the noblest work women may undertake. Then he outlined a plan of educational training for children which is like nothing ever before heard of in this western world.

SCHOOLS FOR MOTHERHOOD.

It was a plan by which women might be educated to motherhood in schools and colleges instead of to abstract science and art only. Their training then was to enable them to teach their children history, languages, the sciences, and instil them with ideals chiefly by means of nursery stories skilfully told. He continued:

"I believe that women should make all subjects of education vital and organic. Our education has been suffering for lack of life. It has been full of abstractions which cannot be blended without life forces.

"Women naturally have the gift of making truth organic, they have the natural gift of expression. To them language is a living and vivid thing. That is why women are the best letter-writers!

"They have a faculty for taking a vital interest in all things, especially in the concrete things about them. Men's interest is in ideals: they lack picturesqueness of language; that comes early with interest in surroundings.

ASSET FOR THE FUTURE.

"If women's gift of expression is cultivated through story telling, it may become an immense help for the education and training of children: an asset to the future.

"It may, indeed, insure a new and nobler race."

He declared that the world is suffering because of unbalanced equilibrium; and that women's part in righting the wrong will be the creation of a new civilization. He went on:

"Mistakes of past civilization created what is lacking in this present civilization partly by building up a feeling of the immense value of organizations over the individual. But women, who seem instinctively to know the infinite value of the individual over organizations, will do away with the injustice of such an attitude; they will manage to establish harmony between the general good of the public and happiness of individuals."

Our Loss Due to Reverse Councils.

The Leader writes:—

Lord Sydenham's question in the House of Lords brought about the official admission that India has lost 35 crores of rupees by the adoption of the Indian Currency Committee's recommendations. We wonder what the people in England would have done if its recommendations had been such as to cause the loss of a like amount to the British Exchequer. We are perfectly sure that first of all any such recommendation would not have been allowed to be given

effect to by the British Government, and in the unlikely event of that Government acquiescing in them, it would have been subjected to a criticism which might have brought about its downfall.

Education of the Poor in Japan.

The Department of Education in Japan, according to a contemporary, contemplates

initiating a system under which all children who cannot go to school owing to poverty will be given all the necessary school expenses. Of about 8,000,000 children of school age now in Japan, 30,000 cannot attend school owing to poverty, while, 80,000 are only enabled to attend school by the loan of books or by the supply of free food, and 40,000 leave school before finishing their course owing to poverty. It will be seen that about 150,000 stand in need of Government aid. It is the Government's aim now to provide schooling for all these poor children, according to the Japanese Press. The sum of Yen 3,000,000 (4,500,000 Rupees) will be asked of the next session of the Diet for the purpose of bringing education, to the children of the poor who are not able to pay tuition fees. The measure when it is passed, will include all children who, for five years previously, have not been able to attend school.

Commenting on the above, the Tokyo *Asahi*, one of the leading papers of Japan, says:—

"The development of a nation depends largely on the spread of education which means the democratization of education. We are as much opposed to the monopolization of political and economic rights by the privileged few. If children are denied the benefits of education for the reason that their parents are poor, the social order must be defective. In future it is necessary that steps should be taken so that the poor can enjoy the benefits of higher education, and not until that time can be said that education has been democratized."

Wanted Funds for a Village Work Centre.

We know of the existence of a village work centre where nine young men are at work under the guidance and superintendence of an elderly teacher. They have addressed themselves to the promotion of total abstinence, sanitation, improvement of agriculture, education, &c. The young men are working hard, but the work is too heavy for so small a band of workers. Their number, however, cannot be increased for want of funds, which are insufficient

even to maintain the present number. If any one desires to encourage such work on a non-political basis, he may send pecuniary help to the editor of this Review, who will forward it to the proper party. All such help will be very gratefully received.

Ministers' Salaries.

The Government of Bengal appear to hold, after obtaining legal opinion, that the salaries of ministers having been once discussed and voted upon, cannot again be voted upon. We are not competent to discuss legal niceties. But as the ministers are professedly "responsible" to the legislative councils, and as one of the parliamentary methods of bringing home to ministers their responsibility to the people is to propose to reduce their salaries, we do not see how the Bengal Government view is commonsensible.

As regards the salaries themselves, we continue to hold that they should not exceed Rs. 1000 per mensem. That is exactly the salary ministers in Japan draw, the Prime Minister there getting a trifle more than Rs. 1500 a month. We need not give the figures for other countries. In a national government—and we have been told that India has already got one or is about to get one—the ministers should not expect to make money out of their job; such men alone should become ministers as had already been the unpaid servants of the people. When they become paid servants, they can expect to get only maintenance allowances. It cannot be said that when, for example, Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Principal R. P. Paranjpye and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, were unpaid public servants, their monthly expenses were ever more than Rs. 1000. If the expenses of any of the other ministers exceeded that figure, they are rich men who can afford to do without a higher salary for serving a people a very large percentage of whom go through life without full meals, without medical treatment in illness, without education, and without a rainproof roof over their heads. As for status, respectability, and things of that sort, these do

not depend on salary, but on the official powers possessed and exercised by particular officers and on their personal worth and efficiency. There are ministers in England who get higher salaries than the Premier, who as Premier gets nothing; but the status of these ministers is not higher than that of the Premier. No paid public servant, even if he gets a salary of lakhs, can command greater respect than he was worthy of when he worked as an unpaid servant of the people.

Civil Expenditure.

In recent years, not only military but civil expenditure, too, has increased enormously. Every legal care has been taken to make the representatives of the Indian people powerless to reduce the huge salaries paid to English officials to do their professedly philanthropic work in India. But loopholes always exist. If we cannot reduce all such salaries, we can abolish some posts and adopt various other means to curtail expenditure. In some provinces there are no divisional commissioners, in others there are. The former are not less efficiently governed than the latter. Therefore all divisional commissionerships should be abolished. The directors of information should be cashiered. We are right glad that the Mymensingh and Midnapore partition schemes have been knocked on the head. Are the smallest districts in Bengal educationally, sanitarily, materially, "criminally" better off than the biggest district? Are the smallest states in South America, North America, Europe and Asia more progressive and prosperous than the biggest? The enlightenment, progressiveness and prosperity of peoples depend more on other factors than the size of the groups into which they are artificially cut up by others than themselves. But if the idea be to keep people in subjection and terrified trance in the name of administrative efficiency, then the most convenient method is to make the groups small.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's Attitude.

In his concluding address to the Barisal Conference, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal said:—

He realised he had not been able to give what the vast majority of the Conference wanted. They wanted magic but he had given them logic. He had never spoken a half truth when he knew the truth. He had expected that all would not agree with his views on non-co-operation; but it was the biggest surprise of his life when he heard protests against his presentation of the ideal of "Swaraj". He had been asked why he should try to define "Swaraj". "Swaraj was Swaraj" they said; "it was felt within and not defined by words." He felt that this attitude merely led to confusion of ideas, as different people would hold different notions as to what constituted Swaraj. He feared that the day of reckoning would come, when the people discovered that they had been dreaming of one thing and their leaders were talking of another. Proceeding, Mr. Pal said that he now saw that his idea of the constitution of the Government of India under Swaraj was not wanted. Criticism was not wanted. "Sell all thou hast and follow me" was the new call. He regretted he could not accept pontifical authority in politics after having discarded it in religion, and if that was to be the new gospel he for one had no option but to part company with those who accepted it.

Without entering into the merits of his presidential address and concluding speech, or considering whether it was politic or expedient or "dignified" on his part to make the sort of speeches that he did, we may say that we appreciate his bold exercise of the right of private judgment. Never having been a leader or a follower, we have never considered or understood to what extent intellectual and moral self-immolation may be expedient or necessary in the interests of party discipline for the achievement of some particular political object. But one observation we may be permitted to make. If presidents of congresses and conferences are only to reiterate what has been previously said by some man or gathering of men, is not a gramophone cheaper and more handy? Or if that seem very mechanical, paraphrasers may be cheaper than presidents.

Esher Report in the Legislative Assembly.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer moved in the concluding sittings of the Legislative Assembly a long series of resolutions embodying the Assembly Committee's report on the Esher Committee's recommendations. The resolutions were in the

right direction. Most of them were carried in the form in which they were moved. We quote two important passages from his speech on his first resolution.

The Assembly Committee felt that the Esher Committee took an unduly restricted view of their terms of reference, inasmuch as they did not touch the strength and composition of the Army, the financial effects of their report, the methods of recruitment to commissioned ranks of the Indian Army and the best way of giving effect to the natural aspiration of the people of India to play an honorable part in the defence of their country and the ratio of British to Indian troops. What the Army Committee confined itself to was merely the contentment and efficiency of the Army. The result of the Committee's report was that it created disappointment and alarm, with regard to the financial burdens and with regard to the question of the national claim for self-defence.

He would make it clear that not a single pie should be spent on the Indian Army except for purposes of internal unrest, and external aggression and that for this purpose the efficiency of the Army should be the same as that of the British Army. India did not desire to shirk obligations, as regards the difficulties of the Empire, but she insisted that such obligations be the same as rested upon the self-governing Dominions. He repudiated the idea underlying the whole of the Esher Report that the Indian Army be developed suitable to Imperial necessities and that its administration could not be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire.

The second resolution standing in Sir Sivaswami Iyer's name specified the purpose for which the army was maintained.

It urged that the Army outside India be not used except in case of grave emergency affecting the Empire. Thus the Indian Army could not be used for offensive purposes and they had inserted a proviso making it permissible for the employment of Indian troops for garrison purposes at the expense of the Home Government.

It has been urged in favour of the aforesaid proviso that the employment of Indian troops for garrison duty would furnish Indian soldiers with valuable experience of war in other countries and under different conditions. This is true. But nevertheless we are entirely opposed to the employment of Indian troops on garrison duty abroad. Such duty would have to be performed, not in the free British Isles or in the free self-governing

colonies; but in territories conquered by England and held in subjection by her. "Garrison" means "A body of troops stationed in a fort or fortified town to defend or guard it, or to keep the inhabitants in subjection." India does not herself want to conquer or keep in subjection any foreign people, nor does she want to help England to do so. We want to be ourselves free. How can we then help in keeping others deprived of freedom?

The sixth resolution proposed to subject the direct right of the Commander-in-Chief's correspondence with the War Office to the restrictions that it did not commit the Government of India to any pecuniary obligations and any Military Policy which had not been decided by them.

The seventh resolution wanted free admission of Indians to the Commissioned ranks of His Majesty's forces, including Military, Naval, Air Forces, Auxiliary Services such as Medical and Engineering and for this purpose, to begin with, twenty-five per cent. of the King's Commission be granted every year to Indians.

Mr. Renouf (Punjab) moved an amendment to this resolution adding the following to clause (B):—That in granting the King's Commissions, after giving full regard to the claims to promotion of officers of the Indian Army who already hold Commissions of His Excellency the Viceroy, the rest of the Commissions granted be given to cadets trained at Sandhurst. The general rule in selecting candidates for this training should be that a large majority of selections should be from communities which furnish recruits to the army as far as possible in proportion to the numbers in which they furnish the recruits.

This amendment was carried by 30 votes to 29. Though from the point of view of sectional interests it was a just amendment, yet from the view-point of Indian national solidarity it was undesirable as introducing a principle of division and a cause for rivalry and jealousy. How would its supporters like a rule laying down that "a large majority of selections" for filling *civil* appointments in the provincial and imperial services "should be from communities which furnish recruits" to these services at the present day? It should be remembered that it is British policy which has labelled some peoples as non-martial and has ceased to accept recruits from them; originally the inhabitants of all provinces became soldiers.

That they have been unjustly discriminated against should not be made the reason for again discriminating against these so-called "non-martial" races.

Mr. Samarth moved the last resolution on the agenda, that the Assembly expressed no opinion on such recommendations of the report of the Esher Committee as had not been dealt with in the foregoing resolutions.

It was carried, almost all non-official members voting for it.

Hindi Conference.

We learn from a business-like summary in the *New Empire* of Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla's address of welcome to the Hindi Conference in Calcutta that there are five Hindi newspapers in Calcutta, though, he regretted, there were no good Hindi periodicals published here. As Calcutta is the biggest Hindi-speaking (or Hindustani-speaking) city in India, it should certainly have good periodicals in that language.

Mazzini and Cavour.

It is a favourite argument with some politicians that without Cavour Italy could not have been unified and free. That is true. But it is also true that without the dynamic personality of Mazzini, Cavour could not have achieved success. Some of our politicians forget that Government's sweet reasonableness and methods of "rallying" are not a little due to the existence of the political "bad boys" and, at present, to the dynamic personality of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Silent Workers."

Mahatma Gandhi has "instructed" practising lawyers to be only "silent workers", but not to figure on public platforms as leaders. But as everyone who speaks is not a leader, it is to be hoped that practising lawyers may speak provided that they do not claim to be leaders. The desire for full-time public workers is good; but as the number of public workers is small, even part-time sincere workers should be welcome. We should be sorry if the Mahatma's "instructions" tended to decrease the total number of full-time and part-time public workers.

Women's Educational Service.

In India the education of girls is in a very backward condition. The number of girls at school is very small, compared to the total number of girls, and the vast majority of them receive only primary education given through the vernaculars. What inspecting agency is required for them can and ought to be recruited from among India's educated women who know and speak those tongues as their vernaculars. But a Women's Educational Service has been instituted, by means of which some British women may exploit India, and from which Indian educated women have been practically excluded. Not only are British women not required for inspecting schools almost all of which are practically vernacular schools, but they are unfit for this kind of work; for when they attempt to speak a vernacular, it seems very funny to the pupils. On the other hand, Indian lady graduates know and can use both English and the vernacular of the locality, besides being thoroughly conversant with the manners and customs of the country. The arrangement is not only unjust; it is sheer misuse of money. With the sums paid as salaries to the women's educational service, a good many new girls' schools could have been opened and maintained. A contemporary writes with obvious justice:—

The injustice to Indian interests is in the concluding reflection that there is "a paucity of qualified Indian women" and, therefore, no proportion has been fixed as to the number of Indians to be appointed to the Service. We know that the claims of 'qualified' Indians have not been considered impartially and we can easily mention several Indian ladies with high Indian and foreign degrees who have not found a place in the Women's Indian Educational Service. Some have had to seek scope for their talents in Native States, while others have had to content themselves in subordinate positions under European ladies of far inferior qualifications. What makes the position more provoking is the circumstance that this is a feature pervading the women's educational service in all grades in the country. The spectacle of an Indian lady with University degrees being subordinate to a European lady with inferior and sometimes no University qualifications is a very common one and is by no means complimentary to the sense of justice possessed by the administrative authorities responsible for it. This is a matter calling for more immediate redress than injustice in other departments.

To this the *Indian Social Reformer* adds:

Even when an Indian woman gets admission to the service, she is made to feel by her European colleagues and superiors that she is an interloper whose presence can be tolerated only if she falls in with their views. The real remedy is to make European appointments the exception instead of, as at present, the rule in the higher ranks of the service.

Historical researches in Portuguese India.

Our readers are not probably aware of the excellent work on certain aspects of Indian history that is being done for some years past at Goa. A "permanent commission of the archaeology of Portuguese India" was created with seven or eight scholars as members and a high official,—such as a Councillor of State or Director of Public Works,—as President.

The organ of the Commission is a two-monthly review named *O Oriente Portuguez*, which began in January, 1904. Dr. J. A. Ismael Gracias, the distinguished historian, was director of the editorial board till his lamented death in 1919.

Much valuable original information has been published in this paper, and researches in Indian history made by other persons and bodies also have been placed before Portuguese readers by means of summaries in its pages. Several of the longer articles contributed to it have, as they well deserve, been reprinted separately as pamphlets, and some of these are before us.

Senor Braganca Pereira, judge (*Juiz de direito*) of Bicholim, has written a 45 page essay on the *System of Castes*. It is a very painstaking, accurate, well-reasoned and documented historico-sociological essay, in which almost all previous writings on the subject,—e. g., by Senart, Risley, Hopkins, Thurston, the Census Commissioner of 1911, and others,—have been laid under contribution. Senor Pereira has read extensively and wisely,—there is no paradox, no baseless novelty in his production. The only additions that we can suggest to his authorities are—Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index* (s. v. *varna*) Hoernle, Ibbetson (introduction to the Panjab Census Report), and V. A. Smith's *Oxford History of India*. While much of the essay is, under the circumstances, a summary of our existing knowledge on the subject, an interesting and to us original section is that

on caste in Christianity, especially in Portuguese Canara.

Another versatile and devoted worker in the same field is Mr. Panduranga S. Shenvi Pissurlencar, professor and advocate of Sanquelim. He belongs to the same keen-witted and cultured section of Konkani Brahmans of which Sir Ram Krishna G. Bhandarkar is an ornament, viz., the Shenvis or Gaur Saraswats. If our information is correct, the members of this caste in Goa territory maintain a Marathi-Portuguese newspaper.

Prof. Pissurlencar has already published several articles in Marathi in the *Vividh-jnan-vistar* of Bombay and in French and Portuguese in *O Oriente Portuguez*. His French pamphlet on the *Discovery of America by the ancient people of Hindustan*, sums up our existing information on the similarity of customs, cults and folklore of the Hindus and the Red Indians.

His paper (in Portuguese) on *The Antiquity of Krishna-ism* is an effective and erudite reply to an article, (by Captain Francisco A-Lobato de Faria, who held that the Krishna cult is later than and indebted to Christianity. Fortified with quotations from the highest possible names in Indology—men like Buhler, Senart, and Dr. Bhandarkar,—Prof. Pissurlencar has no difficulty in showing that Krishna-worship or the *Bhagabata cult* originated far back in the pre-Christian era, even before the rise of Buddhism. Telang and even Farquhar support him. We admire Prof. Pissurlencar's erudition and painstaking accuracy and wish him success in the many historical projects he has in hand. Only, we must warn him to classify his authorities and not to value all who have written on India as equally credible.

Benares University.

In December last the Maharaja of Benares turned the first sod of the canal from the Ganges to be constructed by the local University. It will mainly be in connection with the agricultural college and farm. His Highness had granted to the University land measuring about 2,100 acres and Rai Ganga Ram Bahadur had donated a lakh of rupees for the purpose, besides another lakh for the agricultural college. Brahmans are no longer to have

the monopoly of Hindu religious teaching in the Benares University.

Dr. Tagore on the Real Storm to come.

According to an American interviewer, "Rabindranath Tagore, Bengalese poet and philosopher, sees civilization going to smash unless the world finds a new spiritual faith which will weld present conflicting forces into a harmonious whole."

"The world war, Bolshevism, labor disorders," he said yesterday, "are all signs that something is very wrong with us, and the trouble is that everybody wants something, everything they can get and that very few are willing to give."

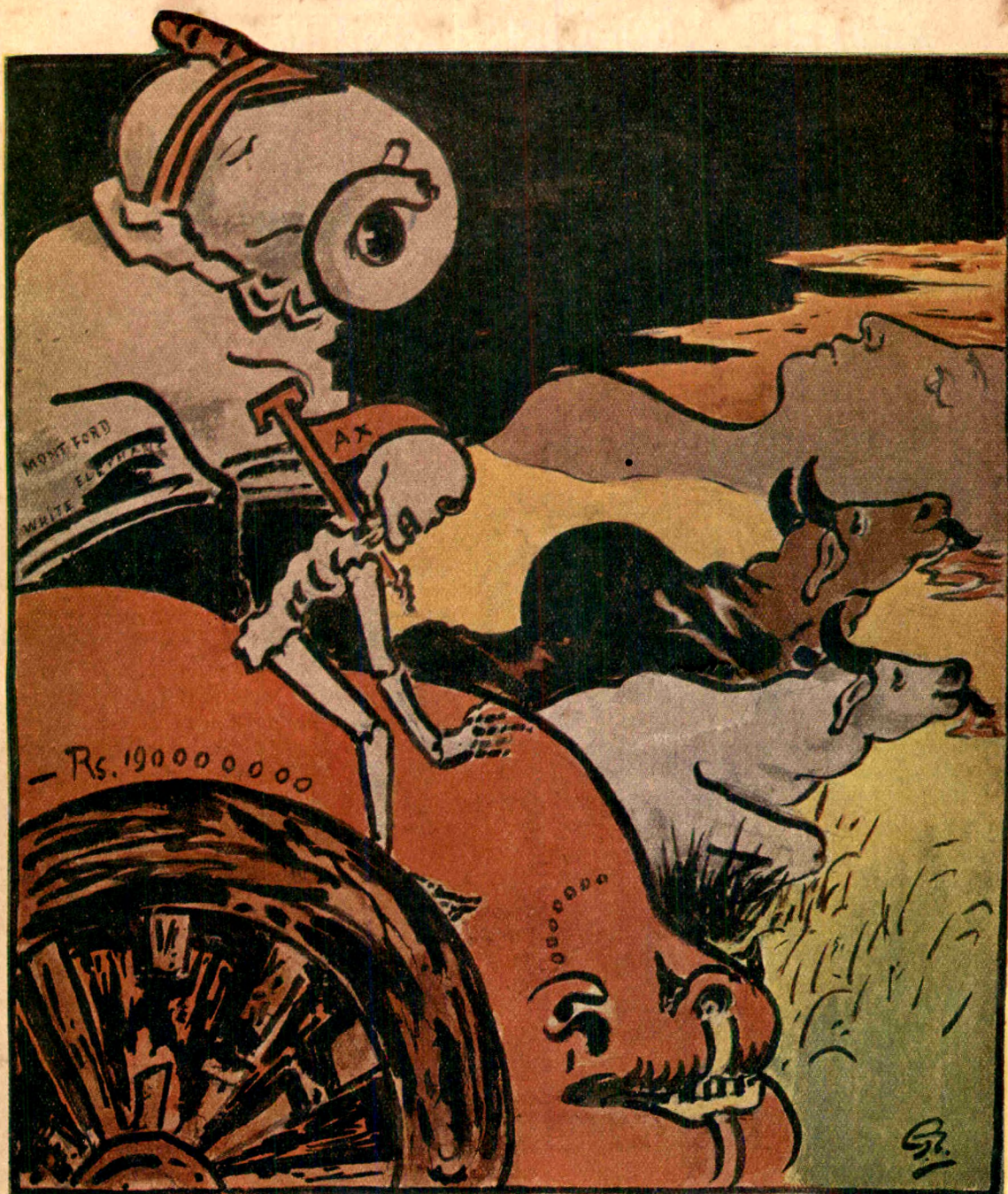
"Most nations to-day, and you in the United States particularly," said Dr. Tagore, "are building up great organizations which are constantly growing more complex, and the machinery of civilization is dominating you and stifling individual expression. That is what is back of Bolshevism—a craving for individual expression and the desire to get free from the cumbersome machinery of existence."

"Of course, Bolshevism is wrong, because it is thoroughly selfish. It exploits one class at the expense of all others. So selfishness is at the bottom of the conflict between the forces of capital and labor. Labor asks for shorter hours and more pay, but proposes to give nothing; capital asks for more capital, but proposes to give nothing. These conflicting forces, of which labor and capital are only two, will wreck the world unless men find a new spiritual faith in which they can all grow together. I do not believe that one religion can serve the world for all time."

"The world war was only the rumbling before the real storm, which must come unless we can learn to understand one another better and to care more for the rights of others. I think this country feels the need of that new faith more than any because it has followed the god of money and found it a hollow god. Yet it is young enough to want to find something in which to believe. Europe is old and cynical."

Tokyo Astronomer Discovers a New Star.

Mr. Kanda Shigeru, a graduate of Tokio Imperial University and a member of the Tokio Astronomical Observatory, in the course of his observation of shooting stars has discovered a new star at a point north-west of the Cygnus Constellation. The Japanese are forging ahead in all directions.



REFORM DAWN

By courtesy of the artist, Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

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THE PROBLEM OF AHIMSA

THERE is a problem before the modern world, in the East and West alike, which cannot be laid aside. We have to discover, in the government of nations, the moral equivalent for War. If humanity is not to sink back into the beast, a substitute in political action must be found, which shall keep intact the courage and the daring of man, that has been associated with War in the past. We must take away from the ultimate political struggle the cruelty, the intolerance, the violence, the murder, the hate which war produces. All that has shone out in the past in martial deeds, all that has been sung in legend and epic about heroes and warriors and knights, must be preserved; but its objective must be changed from the slaying of men to the slaying of evil, from hatred of men to the hatred of evil systems.

I well remember how, in a recent visit to Japan, the Poet Rabindranath Tagore was asked to commemorate in a poem, which should be carved upon the rocks, the martial deeds of two Samurai, who fought in mortal combat against each other and perished side by side at a certain spot on a lonely mountain road. At the time this request was made, I was with the Poet, and I can well recollect the look of pain, which came over his face, as he listened to the story. He went out silently to his own room, and after a while he came back with these lines written :—

They hated and killed, and men
praised them:

But God, in shame, hastens to hide its
memory under the green grass,

As the Poet showed me the lines he had composed he said nothing; but there was something in his pained silence, that I saw, which could never be forgotten. It reminded me of the Buddha, or the Christ.

The years that have passed since August, 1914, have caused a revulsion of mind about war which lends a ray of hope to the future. It is now recognised even by the generals themselves, who were the principal actors in the struggle, that another such conflict would mean the end of western civilisation. The shelling of Louvain and Ypres, of Arras and Rheims; the devastation of one of the fairest lands on God's earth, the northern land of France; the infinite torture of human lives in hundreds of miles of trenches on the Eastern and Western fronts; the inhuman outrages of poison gas; the bombs, growing ever larger and larger, hurled down upon non-combatants from aeroplanes; the zeppelin raids; the barbed wire entanglements heaped with mangled dead; the submarines and their victims; the underground mines which dynamited away whole mountain sides like a volcanic eruption; the lying and persecuting press propaganda; the epidemics of moral degeneracy which ran like a plague through the great cities,—these are some of the things, that we have now learnt to associate with War.

But even this is not all. We have experienced, also, the aftermath of War. We have seen the Law of Karma being fulfilled in all its terrible exactness, proving the truth of Christ's words,—
“They that take the sword, shall perish.”

with the sword." We have lived to know the treacheries of the Armistice and of the Treaties of Versailles and Sevres which followed. We have lived through the horrors which were inflicted on Russia and the Central Powers by the economic blockade,—the deliberate and calculated starvation of mothers and their little children. We have witnessed, nearer our own Indian shores, the insensate greed for plunder in Mesopotamia and the Middle East. We have known also the incessant fomenting of internecine strife in Russia by the Allied Powers, with its deadly effect of hardening into a new militarism the Russian revolutionary Soviet movement. Those who have lived through all this,—the War itself and its after effects,—have now no illusions left. War, to them, is Hell. The one prayer that rises from their lips is this,—“Give Peace, in our time, O Lord.”

Such a prayer to-day is almost universal. Thus far we are nearly all agreed. But the whole problem is not settled by a merely negative conclusion. We have to find out, as I have said, the ultimate moral equivalent for war. Wrong-doing cannot remain unchecked and unredressed. Bullying and lying, treachery and hypocrisy, deceit and violence, cannot go on unresisted. What is needed is, that the resistance shall take a spiritual form, which shall be all the more effective and potent because it is spiritual. St. Paul said of a struggle which he himself was called upon to wage against evil,—“The weapons of our warfare are not carnal; but they are mighty to the pulling down of the strongholds of Satan.” We must find out what those weapons are,—those weapons which are spiritual and not carnal.

While painfully engaged in puzzling over this problem, it was with intense interest that I came across a new writing of Tolstoy; for it dealt with the theory of violent revolution in the clearest possible manner. It is from the account of an eye witness, who wrote down Tolstoy's own words at a memorable interview, which he had in 1908 with the

Russian Revolutionary Party. A translation is given in the ‘Living Age’ of January 15, 1921, and my material is entirely taken from that source.

Tolstoy had read beforehand the programme of the Revolutionary Party, which contained the following words: “Inspire hatred in the hearts of men. This is a holy duty.” These words had shocked him inexpressibly, and he called four of the leading revolutionaries into his presence.

“Isn't that outrageous?” he cried. “The Love of one's fellow man has, ever since the creation of the world, been regarded as the primary distinctive human instinct,—by the Hindus, by the Chinese, by Christians: and now people are to be taught, that the very antithesis of love,—hatred,—is to be cultivated as a holy duty! This proves to me that the men who write such things are in the very lowest depths of moral error. Do you ask me to retract what I have said? No, I will not take back my words!”

After a short silence, one of the revolutionaries spoke,—“Either we must die of hunger, before we have done anything: or we must at once strike our blow and shake off this hated yoke.”

Tolstoy argued and reasoned with them, and showed them, that there was, in truth, an alternative course. “There is,” he said, “only one sensible thing to do. *Refuse to take part in the existing unjust social system.* The only way to attain your end is to refuse to participate in the injustice and violence of the government, which has ruined your life,—to keep out of it entirely.”

One of the revolutionists replied to Tolstoy, that, if he were to do this, then he and his children would starve. He was not in a position to go without employment, because he was married and had a family. This at once brought Tolstoy to the very centre of his own teaching, and he grew excited.

“Then the question of your *family*,” he said, “is more important to you than the question of *morality*! Yet Christ said, that those who would follow him must

leave their father and mother and all that they possessed. Men of your opinion are ready to employ force against force, and violence against violence, in order to gain your ends ; but you are not ready to sacrifice your family at the command of your conscience."

One of the revolutionists broke out and said,—“Truly, these landowners, these usurpers of the soil, deserve nothing but our hatred. We hate them, and would kill them, if we got the chance.”

At this Tolstoy could only with great difficulty restrain himself. “Hatred,” he cried, “is the most bestial thing. It is the lowest sentiment which exists ! Whenever a man is conscious of moral elevation, he inevitably finds, associated with it, a consciousness of *love*, love to God, love to his neighbour, love to all men without exception. But you appeal to Hate. If I have the right to say, that men should hate landlords, then landlords have the same right to say, that men should hate revolutionaries.”

“But if we are unable,” the revolutionist broke in, “to endure their injustice, is it improper to bring pressure upon men in order to convince them that they must cease from injustice ?”

“It is right,” said Tolstoy, “to teach and persuade men. That is always right and good. But is it possible to dispense with the human virtues of reason and love and *compel* a person to be just ?”

One of the revolutionists answered, “We agree with you that it would be possible to pursue a different policy from that of violence, in order to seek our end. But would it bring *results* ? For instance, if we were to practise your doctrine, of refusing to take part in government, for conscience sake, we should be thrown into prison. Thus we should be destroyed, and the whole revolutionary movement would collapse.”

“Take the example of Christ,” Tolstoy replied. “He was crucified, and it might have seemed as though his life amounted to nothing. But the result has been, that I and millions of men are trying to live as followers of his teaching. At the

same time it is very doubtful whether he succeeded in converting Pontius Pilate.”

“But it is questionable,” said the revolutionist, “whether, in our own case, we can get any improvement at all by your principle of passive goodness. History does not show it.”

“Quite the contrary,” said Tolstoy, with great animation, “the course of history teaches us one thing, namely, that humanity exists for the sake of moral progress. That is humanity’s special function, without which it has no meaning, no purpose. If we are merely to debate, whether violence has ever achieved results, and if I take one side and you take the other, we shall get no further. But I have on my side something more than an historical demonstration. By acting according to *my* principle, I am conscious of acting in accordance with the eternal laws of reason and love, which all the wise men of the world have proclaimed and which I feel in my own heart. *You* can have no such satisfying conscience. My inner guide, my private conscience, tells me that violence and murder are revolting, that sacrifice and love are a blessing. This itself is the final proof, that my position is right and yours is wrong.”

Then the revolutionists asked Tolstoy to state briefly, so that they might remember them, his three points against a violent revolution.

Tolstoy replied as follows:—

“First of all, I think violent revolution immoral, because it violates the highest law of human conduct, which is, *Love for all our fellow men without exception*.

“Secondly, I believe that violence never accomplishes its object, *but only leads to fresh violence*.

“Thirdly, the thing that impelled me to invite you to see me was this, that *if you were to sacrifice yourself for a moral law, like those who, for conscience sake, refuse military service, I should envy you, but now I can only pity you in your blindness*.”

One of the revolutionists then said scoffingly: “You compare us with those

Dukhobors, who were forced to emigrate to Canada! What did they accomplish?"

Then Tolstoy could hardly keep his patience any longer. He was hurt to the quick, because he had spent his life for the Dukhobors. "Ah!" he cried, "so you have settled everything and know everything. You think you know that the Dukhobors accomplished nothing, and that they might have done much more, if they had only been as clever as you! You are the only ones with vision, are you? Pardon

me, pardon me, and let me tell you plainly that this self-confidence is due to your fixed ideas which blind you. You must get rid of these errors which betray you."

The revolutionaries asked Tolstoy to give them time to think over the matter, and Tolstoy bade them farewell, with every mark of tenderness, saying, "I shall be very happy if our talk has not been in vain." All his excitement had vanished, and he was like a little child.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE CAKE FESTIVAL

By MISS SANTA CHATTOPADHYAY, B.A.

EVENING was closing in. The angry look of the red sun was gone. Like a spot of vermillion at the edge of the sky, it spread a soft radiance over the world. Seated on the floor of the husking shed, Surama, the widowed daughter-in-law of the Dutt family, was winnowing the paddy. Two peasant girls of the neighborhood were treading the rice-husking pedal. Thump, thump, thump, the pedal danced on, pleased with the touch of their feet. Now and then, Surama would lay aside her winnowing fan and cast a look at the dusty grey road on the other side of the field in the west. As she did so, the peasant girl Pheli kept asking her in tender tones,—“Why are you so impatient, *Bou-thān*? (sister-in-law)*? Why do your thoughts wander? Gopal *Dādā* (elder brother)* will come directly.”

A thin dark-complexioned boy now appeared on the scene with some books under his arms. His head was covered with tangled hair, and his eyes were large with a helpless fawn-like look in them. He was somewhat tall for his age, but his face was soft and full like a baby's. Despite his stature, no woman could see that

face without pressing those cheeks in caress.

Before Surama could raise her eyes, Gopal threw the books into a big wicker-basket and began pulling at the fringe of her cloth. A bunch of keys instantly passed from it into his hands. And then what a dance! What fun! “Give them back to me at once,” cried Surama, stretching out her hand. “You’ll lose them and I’ll have to search everywhere!” The more she called out to him, the more he danced to and fro before her and cried,—“No! No! No! I’ve got them now! And I won’t give them up! Promise you’ll give me four annas! Or else I’ll run off to the *Tālpukur* (the lake of palms).” And he began to race away at once. Surama ran close at his heels, crying, as she went, “Stop, stop, you naughty boy! No! Don’t do it, there’s a dear! Don’t, please! Do give them up!”

While she was running across the large court-yard, facing the pedal-shed, the voice of the postman rang out from the door: “A letter for *Bou-mā* (daughter-in-law)*!” She hurriedly drew her veil over her loosened hair, and as she put her hand forward from behind the door, Gopal suddenly appeared, and snatched away the letter. He stepped into the yard, letter in hand, and shouted, “Oh, it is addressed to

* In Bengali village society, it is usual even for those who are not blood relations, to address one another as if they belonged to the same family.

you, *Bou-thān*. Tell me, who has written it! Let me open it!" He was all impatience! Who could know what fresh news it had brought! And to wait, letter in hand, without knowing it at once,—could any boy's patience survive such a test? No, he would not wait,—no, no, not for a second! He must know at once. She would first go to her room, then open it, and then read it; and then might or might not show it to him at all. That was not to be endured!

Surama, however, betrayed no such impatience. At the very mention of the letter, her face seemed to grow pale and thin. She made no answer, but quietly put forward her hand and took it. A glance at her face and Gopal instantly grew calm. He could read every expression. He saw there a portent of evil, and his soft liquid eyes instantly grew sad. He probably was never clearly conscious, how every pang of hers touched a chord in his heart; but the secret touch of pain in her always checked his high spirits, and cast a shadow on his child-like face.

"I suppose, there's nothing funny in that letter?" said Gopal, as he entered the room. "No," says she. "Oh," says he, and runs out of the room instantly, but steals back, neither knowing when.

"But who has written it?" Hearing the question, she said at one breath, "It is from my father's house. I'll have to go there."

"And I?" asks he eagerly, with a slight start.

"You'll have to stay here, dear."

"Alone?" he pouts, his face clouded.

"You are not coming back, perhaps?"

Who knows whether his voice grew thick as he spoke? Surama thought it did. She thought it choked a little with tears, and instantly her own eyes filled before his. But what would the boy think if he saw? She must speak with a smile in her face.

"Why shouldn't I come back?" she replied. "Of course, I'll come back, dear, very soon." Then she tried to laugh. "You'll have to stay, darling, as you've got your lessons, you know. Could I leave my little brother otherwise?"

Gopal did not like such caressing words. He had grown up, and coaxing made him blush. Forcing a laugh, he said with unconcern: "Very well. What do I care? Go away by all means! It won't matter to me. You think I can't get on by myself, do you? Well, you leave me the key of the cupboard, ask Pheli to light the stove and wash the dishes, and I'll do the rest, and get on quite well without you. But do leave a rupee behind when you go. I've got to be at the fair at Sashipur. Do you hear? And don't forget about the stove. I can't light it myself."

Thus counting over the pleasures of his future house-keeping he went out. Surama, however, did not quite like his words. She herself wanted him not to cry; otherwise it would be difficult to leave him behind. But still, strange to say, her heart yearned for a little sob, and for some troubled look in his eyes. She was going away, and Gopal kept playing the part of wounded affection with only a word or two of protest, and forthwith started a merry tune. Her heart wanted him to be a good boy, who gave no trouble when she went away; but the heart of her heart wanted him to be a bad, naughty, obstinate boy, who gave her no end of trouble, when she went away. Why did he disappoint her? If he were really happy, well and good; let him be as merry as he liked, after she had gone. But oh! if he had only wept a tear or two before she left! "Of course he is sorry!"—she said to herself at last. "There can be no doubt about *that*! This was only his pretence, lest I should be unhappy. He must be deeply hurt, poor boy! Oh yes, he is! Or why should he start like that? And didn't he go away in a kindly hurry?—Ah! he wanted to hide his tears!"

At dinner, after night-fall, Gopal said nothing. Surama came out of the kitchen, and shading the lamp with her cloth went across the verandah and came into the bed-room. She put down the lamp on the shining brass lamp-stand, and was engaged in making the bed, when Gopal stole into the room. The plates on the wooden bathing-seat were shining in the dim light;

and Gopal, after lingering near them for a little while, suddenly began to twist a lock of her hair round his finger.

"Oh! What are you doing? It hurts!" she cried.

"When does the cake-festival come on?" he asked abruptly. "You will come back then, won't you? Who else will make me cakes?"

That one word of affection touched a heart hungry for love. It was not an appeal for cakes. It was a piteous cry for herself. She answered at once, "Oh yes, dear! I'll surely come then, and make you ever so many cakes! My parents are old, and can't eat half as many as you do."

The boy was very glad. Surama understood.

That night, as they lay on a pair of bedsteads placed side by side, how much they had to talk about to each other! Surama was practically a listener throughout, while Gopal was the speaker. Her spirits were depressed by the bad news she had received from her father's house, and the effort of hiding it made her somewhat silent; but lest the hard touch of her silence should choke the gush of his gay laughing chatter, she said a word or two now and again and thus kept the flow going.

His stories went on in endless succession. The story of the unknown blind beggar who sat singing to himself at the gate of an almost forgotten fair, nobody knows when, and the tragic ballad he sang with such pathos; the boat race on the *Bijaya** day; the delights of hot parched rice and pies as he sat by the fire in a cold winter evening well wrapped in *dolai*; the endless miseries suffered by the boys at the hands of the village schoolmaster; and a thousand other things, followed in bewildering confusion. The pleasures and pains, the tears and smiles, associated with those memories, seemed as though they would never come to an end. Suddenly in the middle of a story, Gopal said,—“By the way, do you know why I was so late coming home to-day? *Jadu Moyra* (confectioner) was telling our teacher that

an *Arkāti* (a coolie-recruiter) had come to our village. I wondered what sort of a *Kāti* (stick) it was! I had never seen one. So off we ran to the milkmen's quarter where we heard he could be found near the indigo factory. None of the fellows could beat me in running, you know. But what do you think we saw? Not a *kāti* at all, but a big fat man, wrapped in a pair of sheets, who sat comfortably by a huge fire of chaff and straw, stretching his limbs. And they all said that this man was the *Arkāti*. They thought me a fool, and tried to make me believe whatever they liked. But I am not to be taken in like that. I went straight to the man and asked him, "Please sir, have you heard, they call you a *kāti*." The man burst into a laugh. He laughed, and laughed, and laughed, and his huge stomach shook with laughter. What a sight he was! More like a big Dacca jar than a man."

"Was he?" was the brief response of the sister-in-law.

Early next morning, before the crows and koels had begun their cry, Surama was already out of her bed. Gopal lay cuddled up under the blanket, his knees under his chest, and his arms clasping a pillow, fast asleep. A smile was playing on his lips. Obviously the enormous jar of that recruiter's body, shaking with laughter, was keeping up a supply of laughter in his dreams. Surama covered him with an expensive embroidered quilt and went out of the room. Even at that early hour, you could find a few of the young house-wives of the village at the tank at the back of the house. The eldest daughter of the other branch of the Dutt family came up, rubbing her eyes, and as she saw Surama exclaimed:

"What! Are you up so soon? I hope there is nothing wrong with Gopal."

"Oh no, he is all right," Surama replied. "But my father is very ill. No ordinary illness this time, but small-pox. I am very anxious about it. I must start to-day at noon, and catch the night train."

"Your father! Ah! he is a good old

* The last day of the Bengali Durga Puja festival.

man. May Sitala (goddess of small-pox) spare him," said the daughter of the Dutts.

"I was going to see you, sister," Surama said with some hesitation. "I can't take Gopal with me. If only you could keep him for a few days,"—

The sister was in a pleasant mood.

"Of course, I will," replied she. "It is nothing at all uncommon for a sister to keep her little brother for a short time!"

Surama now gently came to the point. "You know sister," whispered she, "your little brother will not have me out of his sight for a moment. I had to tell him, I would come back on the day of the cake festival; but, between you and me, this won't be possible. That is why I was going to say,—of course, he is your cousin, you'll take care of him. But he's rather sensitive, and may cry on the festival day. Keep an eye on him, do. I know, I needn't tell you all this,—for he is your little brother, but I say it all the same."

"Certainly, I'll take care of him," said the sister. "Don't be anxious. I'll make him plenty of cakes."

At noon a bullock cart drew up at the door. Gopal was then kneeling before his trunk, busily engaged in ransacking his wardrobe for the Sashipur fair. As he was smoothing out a crumpled silver-bordered *dhoti** for himself, Surama's small green box, and a big wicker-basket, containing four small bundles, made up of a napkin fastened at the corners, were placed on the cart. Wrapped in an old blue shawl, Surama turned the key of the inner room, and came towards the cart. As her eyes fell on Gopal, she said: "It is time for me to start, darling." He raised his large eyes and pouted; but his hands were still in his trunk. She pressed his soft cheeks and touched his forehead with her lips. He was too busy to say good bye to her, and put his head again into the trunk. As he heard the rattle of the cart, he looked up and saw his sister-in-law holding up the screen behind the cart and looking at him.

All day long her mind fluttered in anxiety about the boy. Not that she ceased to think of her father; but when

the early bond of her own home had been cruelly torn by social custom, her heart had bled for a time and then had healed again and formed new ties. Every time she pictured her father's face, there arose by its side a dark young face set in a mass of black tangled hair. The back part of the house, where a water melon trails on a bamboo net-work and shoots up a thousand tendrils, was visible up to the turn of the road, and Surama looked on, her eyes fixed on that spot, as long as it remained in sight. To the last moment, she expected to see Gopal there, waving his arms and calling her back, like the naughty boy he was! But he did not come. "Ah! perhaps he is crying," thought she. "He is lying with his face on the floor, in tears." And she longed to rush back to him and wipe away those tears with a thousand kisses! But Gopal was then lost in thoughts of the Sashipur fair. "The poor darling wanted to hide his tears! That is why he would not speak or say good-bye to me." And in her mind's eye she read, in the helpless look of his large eyes, a thousand mute appeals. That single glance which he cast, as he looked up from the trunk with pouting lips, came back to her, as a silent complaint: and her eyes filled with tears.

A smiling field of maize lay before her stretching out its golden limbs amid the dust. As the cart lumbered by, she thought of another day in the month of December long gone by. That was before her marriage, when she, a little girl of ten, came to this very village with her cousin, across a field of golden corn, to see the home of her cousin's husband. One day, they went to visit the Dutt family and to see the new baby. That was the first time she saw Gopal in his mother's arms. She recalled how, as she bent down to look at the little thing, her hair, curling up her neck, hung down to its soft hands, and how,—nobody knows what it saw in her,—the baby caught her ringlets in its tiny pink hands with a ripple of laughter. Really, did he know her, even then? Who could have told at that time how she would be married into this very

* Piece of cloth worn by males.

family, and how this little one would be all in all to her?

At thirteen, during her first visit to her husband's home, her husband died and she became a widow. That very year, her husband's sister was married and went away to her father-in-law's house. The mother, stricken by the great sorrow of her son's death, took to her bed, never to leave it again. Thus left alone, in his third year, the baby clung to Surama, his sister-in-law, as his only stay. That is why she, a darling of her parents, could not go back to them and seek even a few days' solace away from that desolate home of her husband. The ever unhappy Bengali widow, Surama, took the boy into her life as her very own. If she had searched into her mind, she would have found no answer to the question what Gopal was to her. He was not her son, not her brother, nothing; but still he was her all, the delight of her heart, the apple of her eye. She could, no doubt, recall the face of her husband,—the handsome blushing youth, who came one day in a palanquin of state, while the conches blew and the *nahabat* played, and in crimson bridal silk stood by her side. That sweet face still illumined a corner of her heart. But the happy memory of a single festal day cannot fill a woman's heart. She wants a living touch, and if memory alone is to be her stay, it must be the memory of a whole man, a full man, round whom a thousand pleasures, pains, tears and smiles, whims, fancies, caprices and moods, have clustered. She never got that mate of a brief festal day amid these. Thus it was round this boy that all the raptures of union and the pangs of separation sounded their notes. The husband smiled still; loved by her fancy like a distant god; but this boy, her daily companion, stood near her heart, filling with a living human touch the aching void in her life.

(2)

It was the last day of *Pous*. Surama was seated by her father's bed, nursing him; but whenever an opportunity came, her mind flew back to that desolate home

of the Dutts. She was to have returned to Gopal that very day; but this, alas! was not to be. The fair at Sashipur was over. The charm of the music, the dream of a thousand lights, had vanished; the golden fetters which could keep Gopal chained to his village had burst. His vacant mind, free from its spells, sought to fly to his sister-in-law; it yearned for a nearer consciousness of her caress and reproof amid the details of daily life. But his young heart did not clearly know its hidden want. He was now angry with Surama, now pouting his lips at the thought of her neglect, and the cakes at his cousin's house had lost all their sweetness. It was too bad of her to break her word! Why hadn't she come, even to-day? Really, that was too bad of her! It was too bad! He would not stand it! He would go and drag her home somehow or other. In a fit of anger, Gopal went to the length of composing a letter.

(3)

It was a morning in January. The court-yard of Surama's father's house was blazing in the sun. All the little children of the family were seated on the ledge of the kitchen with their backs to the sun, eating cakes and making a deafening noise. One little fellow, wrapped in a check shawl fastened at his neck with knots, had a stream of treacle trickling down his dress. Up the quilt of another a swarm of ants was marching, eager to join in the feast. One over-cautious youngster was carefully saving his best cakes to eat them at leisure; while another, more greedy, having quickly finished his own plate, was now leaning over his hands pressed on the floor like paws, wistfully contemplating the beautiful fullness of another's plate. For the last few days, Surama had been fighting Death and had at last snatched her father from his clutches; but to-day, as she saw the chances of his recovery, her tired eyes were heavy with sleep, and she sat curled up at the door of the kitchen, drowsing. She dreamed in one of the snatches of sleep, that Gopal was saying: "*Bou-thân*, I got no cakes this year to eat, I'll never

“speak with you again, never ; I am rid of you for ever!” Surama awoke on hearing the postman’s call. “Aunt,” cried a little fellow, handing her a couple of letters smeared with treacle, “Here are two letters for you. Just fancy, two!” Gopal’s handwriting startled her into pleasure, and she hurriedly opened the letter and read:

“*Bou-thān,*

You are very naughty. Wait, you’ll see the fun. I’ll teach you a lesson. So you are coming on the *Pous Pārban* (Cake Festival) Day, didn’t you say? I start to-morrow morning, and drag you here by force. Serve you right!”

She grew anxious, as she thought with whom so little a boy was coming; but carelessly opening the other letter, she read,—

“Dear Sister,

I am anxious, because I have not heard from you for so long. Relieve my anxiety by sending some good news about your—

self. On the *Pous Pārban* Day, I made cakes all day long, remembering you were not here, and gave Gopal a good feed. But he ate them with a kind of heavy face. At night, however, when he went to bed, he looked quite cheerful. I have not the courage to tell you more; but this morning, when I found his bed empty, I had an uneasy feeling. A search was made, but he could not be found. A fisherman, who had gone out to catch fish before day break, tells us that he saw a boy, like Gopal, going along the road to the railway station with that coolie-recruiter, while it was still dark. I learnt, on enquiry, that that recruiter also had left the village. Do take action quickly.”

Surama sat petrified, with the letter in her hand. A little tender face rose before her eyes, and the mischievous smile on its lips seemed to shake its finger at her, saying,—“Served you right!”

(Translated from the original Bengali.)

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MAHABHARATAN AGE—I.

ACCORDING to Professor Macdonell, the historical germ of the Mahabharata is to be traced to a very early period, and cannot well be later than the tenth century B.C. The original form of the epic, according to the same authority, came into being about the fifth century B.C.¹ This view is also supported by Hopkins.² Among Indian scholars, C. V. Vaidya is of opinion that “the present Mahabharata furnishes us with evidence of the condition of India between 3000 and 300 B.C.”³ Bankim Chandra Chatterjea held that the battle of Kurukshetra took place in 1430 B.C., and that a thousand years before Christ the original Mahabharata was in existence.⁴ Professor Macdonell shows from contemporary literary and epigraphic records that about 500 B.C. the epic was practically of the same length as that mentioned in the survey of contents in the *Adi-parva* and acquired the sacred character of a *Dharmasastra*. It is unnecessary for our present purposes to enter into a scholarly discourse as to the precise age of the origin of the great epic, and it will suffice for us to note that the epic, as we know it to-day, records the faiths, beliefs, habits, manners, customs, and laws of a

time removed from us by at least twenty-four centuries. If the encyclopædic records of the great epic give us glimpses of a state of society sometimes strikingly at variance with the current notion of ancient India among orthodox Hindus, their point of view hardly undergoes any change, and the answer is made that the Mahabharatan era, which represents the end of the *Dwapara* cycle and ushers in the depraved *Kali Yuga*, hardly deserves to be called ancient. To all persons, however, who attach a meaning to recorded history as opposed to an imaginary antiquity of mythical cycles of *Yugas*, *Kalpas*, *Mahayugas* and *Mahakalpas*, the study of social life in India five hundred to one thousand years before the birth of Christ, when the Vedic Aryans had firmly settled in India, developed a well defined cultus and civilisation, and framed social and political laws for their own guidance, is a study of ancient India in the truest sense of the term. The *Rig Veda*, no doubt, constitutes a record of greater antiquity, but neither it nor the subsidiary *Brahmana* literature that formed round it can approach the Mahabharata in vividness of local colouring and wealth of detail. The last 1500 years cover the entire period

during which the nations of western Europe consolidated themselves and emerged through progressive unification as distinct peoples, and their religion, language and literature grew, and their racial characteristics and local habitation were definitely fixed within this period, and the materials for the study of their national evolution are copious and abundant. The recorded history of the people of India during this period, on the other hand, is extremely meagre, and the blanks are left to be filled in by the imagination, which is thereby developed out of all proportions at the cost of the reasoning faculty. To such a morbid imagination facts which militate against accepted notions make hardly any appeal, and it delights to dwell on the perfection of a mythical antiquity rather than on the lights and shades of a historic past which any other nation would have considered to be the true mirror of the age. But though assuming the role of a prophet, as some of the authors of the Puranas do, it is easy to speak in the future tense of the Golden Age in dithyrambic strains, it is not possible to adduce proofs which have the slightest chance of acceptance by scholars in support of such *tours de force* of the imagination. Those who profess to be earnest and sincere in the search of truth and not mere partisans with a strong religious or national bias, must therefore come down from the imaginative pedestal on which, on the strength of some *a priori* convictions, they sit enthroned, immune from the onslaughts of reason. If they do so, and test the narrative of the Mahabharata in the light of the accepted canons of historic criticism, they will find that in those stirring times the Aryan immigrants in India had not completed their admixture with the indigenous Sudras and the process of racial amalgamation was still going on, that caste had not yet attained its present rigidity, customs were elastic, one could eat and drink and marry very much as he liked, and that not only was thought free, but life in all its spheres was unfettered and capable of the fullest expansion. According to R. C. Dutt,⁵ the Mahabharata displays more healthy life and vigour than society had in succeeding ages and there is abundant evidence in the epos to support this conclusion. There have, of course, been various recensions and redactions of the text of the Mahabharata at different times and "in the Mahabharata..... there are interpolated tedious sermons, tracts on morality, philosophical essays, religious discussions, interminable laudations of the supreme gods."⁶ For our purposes, it is unnecessary to make any distinctions between the original text and the interpolations, which are themselves of ancient date. The great epic has been studied from the point of view of religion, philosophy, history and the like, but its contents are so vast that it furnishes material for study from very various points of view. Our standpoint will be that of sociology with

all that it implies. Of course, whole volumes may be devoted to this side of the great epos but we shall present only some salient features to our reader. The editions we have consulted are the Sanskrit edition issued by the Bangabasi office (with Nilakantha's commentary) and the Bengali edition of Kaliprasanna Sinha, which takes as its original the carefully edited text of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Some or perhaps most of the points which we shall notice must have occurred to all students of the Mahabharata but we have not referred to any such previous studies and our observations are based entirely upon an original study of the great epic itself. We shall take the Adi Parva as the text of our first article.

The introductory chapter of the Adi Parva opens with a reference to the appalling tragedy of the great war at Kurukshetra, in which the casualties are said to have amounted to eighteen Akshouhinis,⁷ and altogether only ten of the combatants—seven on the side of the victorious Pandavas and three on the side of the defeated Kauravas—had survived. Like the victorious allies in the recent great European war, the Pandavas must have felt that the victory they had won had cost them as dear as any defeat. Not without reason had the Pandava hero Arjuna, at the commencement of the war, refused to fight. Overborne as he was by the philosophic exhortations of Sri Krishna, which form the theme of the *Geeta*, at the end of the war how pathetic must have been his thoughts at the desolation wrought by human greed upon the fair face of his beloved motherland! The lurid glow of the funeral pyres on the banks of the sacred Ganges, and the bitter wailings and loud lamentations of the women, who alone were left to mourn the loss of their husbands, brothers, and sons, as depicted in the graphic narrative of the Stri Parva, whose tragic intensity is almost too painful to bear, furnishes the key to his state of mind. War and its concomitant havoc are not, indeed, the peculiar vice of western nations. Ancient and mediaeval India has had her fill of sanguinary horrors. The borderlands dividing rival kingdoms were for ever the camping grounds of contending potentates, actuated by nothing nobler than vanity, and though all that was wanted was perhaps a tribute and a recognition of suzerainty, the loss of life and destruction of property that ensued scarcely seemed to matter. The only monarch, eastern or western, who was struck with remorse at the horrors of his own conquest was the great Asoka, beloved of the gods, whose thirteenth rock-edict proves that the havoc caused by the conquest of Kalinga converted him for good into an opponent of killing in any shape or form.

The division of ancestral property among brothers on the death of the father is, as every lawyer knows, not a modern Hindu custom. The most ancient lawgivers fully approved of

it,⁸ and perhaps one of the reasons why it was encouraged was that it led to the multiplication of the funeral cakes which were regarded as conducive to the spiritual welfare of the manes of the departed ancestors.⁹ The following extract will show that the joint family was far from being an invariable rule in the epic age. There was a great Rishi of the name of Bibhabasu. His younger brother Supratika, who too had performed great austerities (the sages in those days were householders with family and property), was very unwilling to live in commensality with him and would always propose the division of the family property to his brother. One day Bibhabasu, being thoroughly angered, spoke thus to Supratika: "You see, many people are deluded into asking for a partition of the patrimony, but as soon as the partition takes place, the brothers, egged on by interested friends, fall out and begin to quarrel among themselves till they become confirmed enemies. Thus in such cases there is always a probability of their being utterly ruined. For this reason wise men do not consider it desirable that there should be any partition among brothers."¹⁰ One of the reasons why the Pandavas formed a polyandrous union with Draupadi was that they might otherwise fall out among themselves.¹¹ Karna told Duryodhana that it would not be easy to create dissensions among the Pandava brothers, for they had a common wife.¹² This would go to show that then, as now, wives were sometimes a fruitful source of fraternal disunion.

The great lunar race of the Kauravas and Pandavas, from whose ranks the heroes of the Bharata epic are drawn, cannot, by any stretch of language, be said to have a very pure origin. King Nahusa, fifth in descent from Soma, was not very respectful to the Rishis, whom he compelled to pay tribute and carry him like beasts of burden on their backs.¹³ In this he merely followed the footsteps of his worthy grandfather, Pururavas, who engaged in a conflict with the Brahmanas and robbed them of their jewels in spite of their loud protestations.¹⁴ Yayāti, the son of Nahusa, married two wives, Devajāni, the daughter of the Asura preceptor Sukrāchārya, and Sarmisthā, daughter of the King of the Asuras. Being a Kshattriya, Yayāti was naturally unwilling to marry a Brahmana girl, till the sage Sukrāchārya overcame his objection to mixed castes—Varnasankaras—and induced him to espouse her.¹⁵ The Yadavas, represented in the Mahabharata by Sri Krishna the head of the clan, are descended from Devajāni's son Yadu, and have thus Brahmana blood in their veins. King Dushyanta, descended from Puru the son of Sarmisthā, (the hero of Kalidasa's famous drama), was a famous monarch, during whose reign Brahmanism flourished and no cross-breeding was allowed.¹⁶ But alas for the

vanity of human wishes! The sage Viswamitra in one of his amorous lapses had begotten the beautiful Sakuntalā on the celestial nymph Menakā, and the orthodox and virtuous King, so careful about the purity of blood, fell in love with that nymph's lovely daughter, and of this union was born the great Bharata, from whom the whole peninsula, as well as the epic itself, were named.¹⁷ But though of dubious parentage, Sakuntalā had been brought up in the retreat of the hermit Kanva, and had a high idea of her wifely position:

A wife is half the man, his truest friend,
A loving wife is a perpetual spring
Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss,
A sweetly speaking wife is a companion
In solitude; a father in advice;
A mother in all seasons of distress;
A rest in passing through life's wanderings.¹⁸

If the origin of the mighty emperor from whom the great epic takes its name is not strictly pure, that of the sage Vyasa, the compiler of the epic, is still less so. Uparichara (high-soaring) Basu, King of Chedi, had a crystal aeroplane in which he used to fly in the air. During one of his excursions, he begot a daughter, Satyabati, who was brought up by a fisherman and used to ferry passengers across the Jamuna. During her pre-nuptial days, the famous sage Parāsara¹⁹ fell in love with her, and Vyasa, the black, was born on an island in the Jamuna as a result of the illegal intercourse, and was known as Krishna Dwaipāyana. Santanu, the Paurava King, then married Satyabati, his son Bhishma—perhaps the noblest character in all Mahabharata—waiving his claim to the throne in favour of her offspring. His son Bichitravirya was attacked with the 'King's disease' (Raja-jakshma) and died early and childless. Satyabati then commanded her son Vyasa to follow the well-known custom of Niyoga (Levirate) and raise offspring on the two widows of his childless step-brother. Accordingly he begot Dhritarāstra the blind and Pandu the pale on the two queens of Bichitra-virya, and the saintly Vidura, whose character so far outshone in nobility that of any other of Santanu's line except Bhishma that he was reputed to be Dharma or Virtue in disguise,²⁰ was begotten by Vyasa on a Sudra maid of the palace whom the widowed queens, afraid of his dark skin and fearsome appearance, had sent to his bed.²¹ Dhritarāstra being born blind, Vidura being a Parāsava by caste, Pandu ascended the royal throne. But the admixture of blood did not stop here. Dhritarāstra had married the Gandhara King's daughter, by whom he had a hundred sons. But during her pregnancy, she was once nursed by a Vaishya maid, by whom Dhritarāstra had a son Jujutsu, who joined the ranks of the Pandavas in the great

Kurukshetra war.²² King Pandu, again, being compelled to refrain from intercourse with his wife Kunti by reason of a hermit's curse, permitted her to raise offspring by others, and cited the cases of the sages Vyāsa and Vasistha, the latter of whom was visited by Queen Madayanti, under her husband's command, for the sake of progeny. It was only in the Kali age, as we find from the Brihannradiya Purana,²³ that the custom of Niyoga was forbidden. In order to overcome Kunti's very natural disinclination to follow the course suggested by her husband, the King gave an account of the origin of the institution of marriage, which differs considerably from what Professor Westermarck (in his *History of Human Marriage*) has to say on the subject. According to the learned professor, monogamy, and not communal marriage, was the rule among primitive men and the anthropoid apes. But in the Mahabharata account, however, it is stated that in the olden time women were subject to no restraint and incurred no blame for abandoning their husbands and mating with anyone they pleased. A stop was, however, put to this practice by Uddālaka Swetaketu, whose indignation was on one occasion aroused by a Brahmana taking his mother by the hand and inviting her to go away with him, although his father, in whose presence it occurred informed him that there was no reason, for his displeasure, as the custom was one which had prevailed from time immemorial. But Swetaketu could not tolerate the practice and introduced the existing rule. A wife or a husband, indulging in promiscuous intercourse, were, therefore, thenceforward guilty of sin. But a wife, when appointed by her husband to raise up seed to him, is in like manner guilty, if she refuse. We further learn from this passage that the practice was still prevalent among the Uttara Kurus (beyond the Himalayas).²⁴

The legend of the extermination of the Kshattriya race by the Brahmana Parasurama is well known. The Adi Parva describes how the Kshattriya stock was afterwards replenished from Brahmanic seed. "Having one and twenty times swept away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, the son of Jamadagni engaged in austerities on Mahendra, the most excellent of mountains. After he had cleared the world of Kshattriyas their widows came to the Brahmanas, praying for offspring. The religious Brahmanas, free from any impulse of lust, mated at the proper seasons with these women, who in consequence became pregnant, and brought forth valiant Kshattriya boys and girls, to continue the Kshattriya stock. Thus was the Kshattriya race virtuously begotten by Brahmanas on Kshattriya women and became multiplied and long-lived. Thence there arose four castes inferior to the Brahmanas."²⁵ This restoration of the race is said to have been followed by a state of great virtue, happiness and

prosperity. In chapter 104 the subject is again referred to as follows: "The same Parasurama who had exterminated the Kshattriyas twenty-one times, himself saved them from extinction by inducing Brahmanas, learned in the Vedas, to beget progeny on their widows. It is written in the Vedas that offspring begotten on women by others belong to their husbands. Remembering this ancient rule of Law (Sanatana Dharma) Kshattriya widows used to visit the Brahmanas. Besides, the remarriage of Kshattriya widows is also to be found in practice. In this way the Kshattriya race again took root." It is instructive to note how far the Sanatana Dharma has strayed from its old moorings in the matter of remarriage and procreation. The propagation of the Kshattriya race through Brahmanic agency is illustrated in chapter 104, where the well-known story of Brihaspati, the venerable preceptor of the gods, is narrated. The sage violated his elder brother's bed, but the child in the womb protested, whereupon the irate sage cursed him and he was born blind, being for the reason named Dirghatamā. Upon the invitation of King Bali, who was of course a Kshattriya, this blind Brahmana sage begot five sons on his queen, named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma, after whom the provinces of the Eastern littoral have been named. In the opinion of Sir Herbert Risley and other ethnologists, there is little of Aryan blood in the veins of the Bengalis, whom he calls Mongolo-Dravidians by origin.²⁶ The mythical account quoted in the Mahabharata assigns them the position of a cross-breed. The same sage begot Kākshibat, the Vedic Rishi,²⁷ and ten other sons on a Sudra maid of King Bali. We may remark *en passant* that neither low origin nor sex were disqualifications for attaining to the exalted position of Vedic hymn-makers.

The contest between Vasistha and Viswamitra is to be found in chapter 175 of the Adi Parva. In chapter 176, verse 15, it is distinctly stated that there was hostility between the two sages over the sacrificial offerings. The legend is also repeated in the Salya Parva, and in chapters 51-65 of the Balakanda of the Ramayana.²⁸ The story that Surabhi, the sacred cow of Vasistha, created an army of Sakas, Yavanas, Barbaras (barbarians), Hunas, Mlecchas, &c., to protect herself from abduction, and the fact that Viswamitra was compelled to acknowledge the superiority of the spiritual force of the Brahmanas to the physical prowess of the Kshattriyas, may be taken to typify the struggle of the Brahmanas and Kshattriyas for supremacy, to be followed by the victory of the former aided by the non-Aryan races on the borders of civilised India. How violent the struggle was will appear from the legend of Parasurama and there may be a core of truth in the Adi Parva account of the perpetuation of the Kshattriya stock by cross-

breeding with Brahmanas. Sir W. W. Hunter, by way of explaining the existence of degraded Brahmanas following low occupations in Orissa and elsewhere, says :

"From remote antiquity two great tribes of the Indo-Aryans appear in bold contradistinction to each other, the Kshatriyas and the Brahmanas. The latter in the end obtained the supremacy, and their superior culture made them the sole chroniclers of the strife. But even their partial legends describe twenty-one great struggles, each closing with the alleged extirpation of the Kshatriyas, but the next one always opening with them as rampant as ever.....It seems in accordance with the facts of universal history, that in the long struggle the Brahmana should seek alliance with the aboriginal tribes, and that such alliance should in some cases end in an amalgamation, more or less complete, of the two races."²⁹

The account of the river party on the Jamuna in chapter 222 of the *Adi Parva* reminds one of the promiscuous and bachchanian orgies of the Yadavas on the sea of Dwaraka in the *Harivansa*,³⁰ and of the Gandharvas and Apsaras in chapter 120 of the *Matsya Puran*. The freedom of intercourse and the lax morals of seaside watering places in European countries, which have been commented on by some Indian travellers, find their counterpart in the age of the Mahabharata, when things do not seem to have been much different in the sacred land of Bharatavarsha.

In chapter 213 of the *Adi Parva* verse 9, we come across a well-established doctrine of Hindu politics, viz., the king who raises taxes from his subjects but fails to protect them, takes upon himself the entire burden of their sins. In fact so deeply was this idea ingrained in the minds of the people, that a tax was called the salary of the king for the protection of his subjects—*Rakshana-betanam*; and the king who takes more than one-sixth of the produce as tribute is characterised as partaking of the nature of a thief—*Chauradharminah*.³¹ By protection is of course not meant only the elementary duty of keeping order, but of doing everything necessary for the progress and welfare of his subjects. Another deep-rooted Hindu idea is to be found in chapter 217, verse 4, where emphasis is laid on the sacredness of female life, and it is enjoined that under no circumstances should a woman be killed. To this day this injunction is strictly obeyed by the Hindus even in the case of the lower animals,

e.g., goats and sheep, whose males are killed for meat, but not the females.

In the Mahabharata, there are frequent allusions to ships and the salt sea, thus proving that the Indians of those days were a seafaring nation. It is only in the Kali age that sea-voyage was prohibited, as will appear from the text of the *Brihannaradiya Purana* already alluded to above. In one passage we read, "as one can easily cross the vast salt sea in a ship."³² There can be no mistaking here the fact that the ocean is meant, and ships, and not mere rivercraft, are alluded to. In another passage³³ we find a reference to boats on the Ganges which are provided with mechanical contrivances for weathering the storm and waves and are seaworthy (literally, strong) and adorned with flags. In our subsequent articles, we shall revert to this subject.

X.

1. History of Sanskrit Literature, 1905, p. 285.
2. Religions of India, p. 350.
3. Epic India, p. 21.
4. Krishnacharitra, chs. 5 to 7.
5. Ancient Hindu Civilisation, vol. i, p. 122.
6. Hopkins, India Old & New, 1902, p. 68.
7. An Akshouhini consists of elephants, chariots, cavalry and foot soldiers to the number of 2,18,700.
8. E.g. Narada, S. B. E. S., xiii, 2.
9. See, on this subject, Guruprasad Sen, Introduction to the Study of Hinduism, iv, i.
10. *Adi Parva*, ch. 29.
11. *A. P.*, ch. 191.
12. *A. P.*, ch. 202.
13. *A. P.*, ch. 75, see also *Bana Parva*, ch. 180.
14. *A. P.*, ch. 75.
15. *A. P.*, ch. 81.
16. *A. P.*, ch. 68.
17. *A. P.*, ch. 72 et seq.
18. *A. P.*, ch. 74, Monier Williams' translation.
19. Himself born of a Chandala woman—the lowest of castes, *Bhavishya Purana*, *Brahma parva*, ch. 42.
20. *A. P.*, ch. 63.
21. *A. P.*, ch. 95 and 106.
22. *A. P.*, ch. 67 and 115.
23. ch. 22.
24. *A. P.*, ch. 122. Mr. C. V. Vaidya (*Epic India*, p. 97) observes: "If the Uttara Kurus are identified with the Tibetans, the remark may well apply to them even now."
25. *A. P.*, ch. 64.
26. The People of India, 1915, p. 33.
27. Rig Veda, i, 122-26.
28. The whole subject has been treated in p. 388 ff. of Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. i (1890).
29. *Orissa*, 1872, vol. i, ch. v.
30. Ch. 145. See Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's article on the subject in his *Indo-Aryans*.
31. Markandeya Purana, ch. 18.
32. *A. P.*, ch. 2.
33. *A. P.* ch. 141.

MEMORIAL TO INDIAN SOLDIERS AT BRIGHTON

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

SOME time ago, I suggested in the pages of the *Modern Review* the erection of a monument to Indian soldiers by the banks of the Thames—a memorial Indian in design and executed by Indians. I was, therefore, greatly interested in going up to Brighton to witness the unveiling by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, of the *Chattri*, erected in memory of the Hindu and Sikh soldiers who were cremated on the spot on which that memorial now stands.

The special train conveying the Prince of Wales and party left Victoria Station (London) at 9.45 A. M. on Tuesday, February 1st. The High Commissioner for India, Sir William Meyer, three members of the Council of India—General Sir Edmund Barrow, Sir James Brunyate and Sir Murray Hammyck,—Mr. A. R. B. Vaux of the India Office and several generals accompanied his Royal Highness. The military element clad in khaki predominated, in fact I have seldom seen so many generals congregated together as in one of the saloons on that train. There were but two Indians in the party, the Rajé Sahib of Aundh and myself.

The train arrived at Brighton at 10.45, the Mayor of Brighton, Councillor Southall accompanied by the Mayoress received his Royal Highness, who inspected the guard of honour drawn up in front of the train. While the Prince was inspecting the guard, we all filed into the motor cars waiting for us.

The procession, headed by the Prince of Wales and the Mayor, drove through the principal streets of Brighton, gaily bedecked for the occasion and lined on either side with dense crowds, all in their holiday attire, and all lustily cheering and waving handkerchiefs, towards the South Downs at Patcham, about five miles from the city. The houses along the route were

crowded with spectators, every window being full and in some cases also every roof. In one place I noticed that some English soldiers who must have served in India, or at any rate along with Indian troops, had wrapped pieces of cloth round their heads in imitation of turbans.

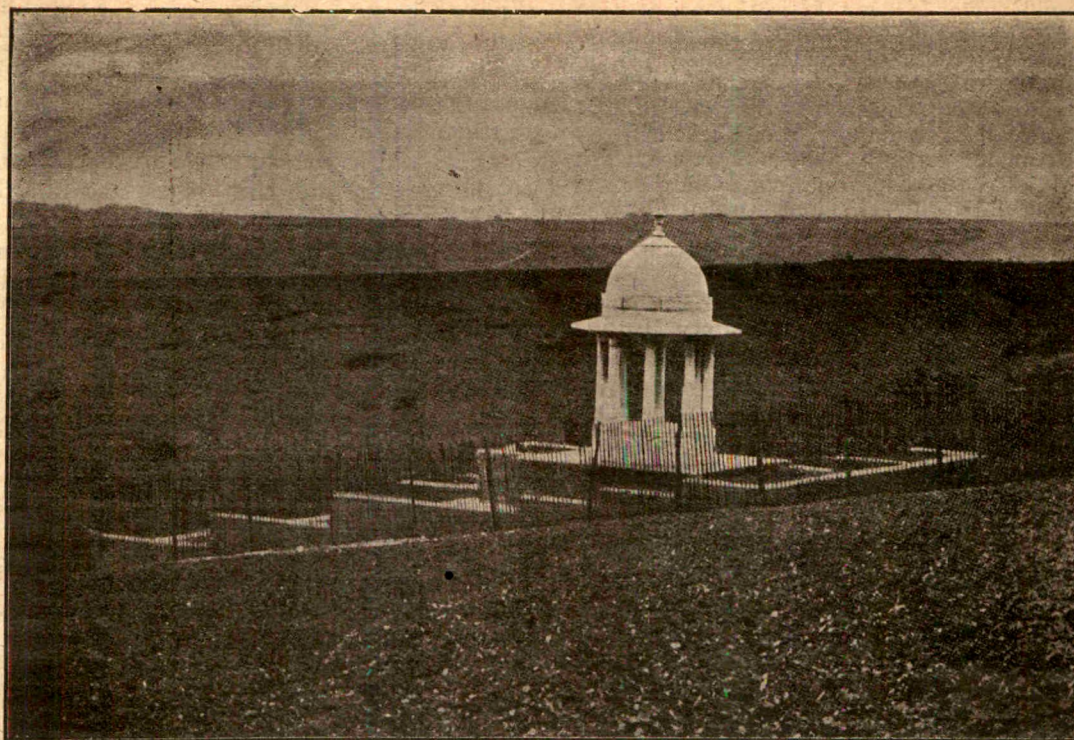
The car in which the Rajé Sahib and myself were riding seemed to attract a good deal of notice because of the Rajé Sahib's red turban, and we constantly heard the remark, "There are the Indians."

At times, the cheering was deafening. That was especially the case when the cars passed through Preston Park. The road was lined on either side with school children, boy-scouts and girl-guides, accompanied by their teachers, enthusiastically cheering and hurrahing the procession as it passed in front of them. Not unless one saw the spectacle could one believe, that the English people could be so enthusiastic and noisy as they were on that occasion.

When we arrived at the Downs, the ground was much too wet for our cars to climb the rather steep incline without danger of slipping down. Ropes were, therefore, fastened to the wheels. Even with the safeguard, the progress up the hill was somewhat slow. We had to dismount some 200 or 300 yards from the memorial and walk to the *Chattri* through rather slushy ground.

On arrival we found the memorial swathed in a huge Union Jack with a large Star of India pinned against it. Only the white dome upon which the sun glinted was visible, cinema and newspaper photographers had stationed themselves in front of it. At one side were gathered a number of men and women riding on horses, which went scampering off when, later the volleys were fired.

In the speech which Alderman Sir John Otter, the Ex-Mayor of Brighton, who



THE CHATTRI, erected at Brighton as a memorial to the Sikh and Hindu soldiers who died while being cared for at the Brighton hospitals.

headed the movement for the erection of the memorial, made in asking his Royal Highness to unveil the *Chattri*, he gave a running account of the inception and working out of the idea. It had been their purpose, he explained, to follow the traditional form of Indian monuments to the dead, and, in order to carry out that idea, the design had been prepared by a brilliant young Indian architect, Mr. E. C. Henriques, "under the advice and supervision of the late Sir Swinton Jacobs."

Mr. Henriques, I take it, is a Portuguese Indian or an Indian Christian, from Portuguese India and, I understand, is now assistant architect, Public Works Department, Bombay. Sir John Otter and his colleagues upon the Memorial Committee deserve to be complimented upon their good taste in securing the services of an Indian architect to design the memorial for fallen Indian heroes.

Sir John Otter went on to relate that when the project was initiated it gained

the warm support and co-operation of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, then His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that since his resignation Mr. Montagu had fully shared his interest.

The *Chattri*, he explained, had been erected on the site of the burning *ghat* where the Indian soldiers who had died of their wounds while being cared for at the Brighton Hospital had been released by the sacred flames from "the last entanglements of the flesh" and "their mortal bodies transmuted into incorruptible elements of earth." The ritual of the burning *ghat* had been strictly observed as far as means would allow. "Elaborate was the symbolic use of metals, grain, fruits, flowers, scents and other things, and we heard at intervals the low chanting of Vedic hymns." Sir John continued:

"To us, indeed, those rites seemed alien, and perhaps to many significant of a religion hard to understand. But there is a religion underlying all religions. It is the consecration of the principles of justice, righteousness, mercy and

good-will towards men. It is the orientation towards the unseen Giver of life, of our thoughts on those principles of conduct implanted in mankind. Notwithstanding deep differences of religion and temperament between ourselves and our brethren in India we meet them here on ample common ground. That is the cause which His Majesty the King-Emperor maintains, as did King Edward VII., and Queen Victoria before him, and in that strength, and in its beneficent harmonizing influences will rest secure the Imperial Throne at Delhi."

I learned that altogether thirty Hindus and Sikhs had been borne to the burning ghat, and that below the three granite slabs on the platform of the *Chattri* lie the concrete blocks upon which their bodies rested when the last sad rites were performed.

Sir John Otter paid a high tribute to our soldiers, living or dead. He said:—

"The debt we owe to the troops of India is indeed great. From the Punjab, 'the sword-hand of India' as it is called, to the south of that vast land they came with loyal hearts in the hour of need. Historians will record their valour and endurance in Flanders, their splendid feats of arms in Palestine and Mesopotamia. To-day from this bleak spot in a chilly island, Brighton sends a message to the millions on the burning plains and beautiful mountains of India, and Brighton aspires to-day to speak in the name of the nation. The message that we send to them to-day is that we honour their slain—slain in the bloody, cruel war which has scarred the world, but which has also freed it from the perils of an audacious ambition; that we feel towards them a very lively and sincere goodwill; that we sympathise with the desolate and bereft in India in their sorrows. In token thereof is this monument set. We hope that it has some intrinsic beauty. It is not a work of magnificence. The sign is less than the things signified. Your Royal Highness, by your presence here to-day, gives a value which it would indeed be hard to over-estimate, and lends, as it were, wings to the message we send to-day to India from the Sussex Downs."

When the Prince of Wales pulled the cord which disclosed the memorial to view, one immediately realised that the young Indian artist had succeeded in imparting Indian feeling to it. It stood upon a slope at an elevation of about 500 feet. The original site occupies 90 by 121 feet, and the superficial area of the *Chattri* itself is 60 by 40 feet. This space is enclosed by

a parapet wall carried out in Stancliffe stone.

The platform is reached by four steps leading up from the centre. On this platform are three granite slabs equidistant from it, measuring 8 by 4 feet, one in the centre and the other two exactly covering, as already remarked, the actual concrete slabs on which the cremations took place. Beyond the centre slab a flight of steps leads to the main portion of the structure—octagonal in shape and constructed from white Sicilian marble, quarried and worked in Italy. It is supported by a solid plinth of Shipley Blue stone, 16 feet square and 3 feet 6 inches high.

Eight pillars rise from the plinth, four-square halfway up and then octagonal, finished by bracketed capitals, Indian in style. These eight pillars support the dome, which is circular in shape, hollow and 8 feet in diameter, surmounting an octagonal base of projected marble slabs weathered at the top. At the foot of the dome and about the base is an octagonal band with incised Indian ornamentation. The dome is completed by the keystone finial of Indian design. The *Chattri* itself is 29 feet in height. Eventually the following inscription will be placed upon it:

"TO THE MEMORY OF ALL THE INDIAN SOLDIERS WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR KING-EMPEROR IN THE GREAT WAR THIS MONUMENT ERECTED ON THE SITE OF THE FUNERAL PYRE WHERE THE HINDUS AND SIKHS WHO DIED IN HOSPITAL AT BRIGHTON PASSED THROUGH THE FIRE IS IN GRATEFUL ADMIRATION AND BROTHERLY AFFECTION DEDICATED."

The *Chattri* commands a fine view of the Downs, which stretch on all sides as far as the eye can see. It is a fascinating structure, producing different effects according to the weather conditions. In the bright sunshine the marble dome and its slender supporting columns shine with dazzling brilliance. In the winter fog, however, an entirely different effect, singularly weird but very impressive, is produced.

On the day of the unveiling we were privileged to see it in sunshine, for although it had rained for days past—so much so that the Prince had intimated

that gentlemen accompanying his party would not be expected to wear top hats—the weather was most propitious. The sun shone brightly, smiling upon the people who had come from all parts of the compass to pay homage to our men who had so staunchly served a cause in which they reposed the completest faith.

The Prince of Wales, in a brief speech, paid a befitting tribute to the men to whom that memorial had been raised. He said :—

“We are met to dedicate a memorial to brave men, our fellow-subjects, who after the fire and stress of Flanders, received the last sacred rites of their religion on this high eminence. It is befitting that we should remember, and that future generations should not forget, that our Indian comrades came when our need was highest, free men and voluntary soldiers who were true to their salt—and gave their lives in a quarrel of which it was enough for them to know that the enemy were the foes of their Sahibs, the Empire and their King. It was a great adventure to them to leave home and a congenial climate, to pass over the black water, and to give all in a conflict of which the issues were to most of them strange and impersonal.

“The monument marks, too, another fact. When the wounded Indian soldiers were brought to England, there was no place ready for their reception, and your generous town came to the rescue, and, with a hospitality which will ever be remembered in India, gave not only her finest buildings, but gave also her friendship and respect to those gallant men. Brighton has erected this memorial to the Hindus and Sikhs who died in her beautiful hospitals, and has testified to the affection and admiration she felt for men who fought so gallantly and bore themselves so patiently and so nobly during the long months they lay by the sea, thinking of their village homes so far away. I can assure you, Mr. Mayor, that India never forgets kindness and sympathy, and from this *Chattri* a wave of goodwill will pass to India.

“In conclusion—though this is purely a memorial to the Hindu and Sikh soldiers—I am thinking, too, of the Mahomedan soldiers who passed away in your care. These were buried with all military honour at Woking; and I hear that before long a gate of oriental character, the gift of Indians, will adorn the Pavilion. May these memorials, so historical and so instinct with compassion and mutual regard, strengthen the ties between India and our country.”

When His Royal Highness finished his speech, which was delivered in a clear, ringing voice, came three volleys of fire

each followed by a roll of funeral drums. Trumpeters then sounded the “Last Post”, and the “Reveille”, and the ceremony was over.

His Royal Highness again referred to the brave deeds of our soldiers in the course of the speeches that he made that afternoon at the Pavilion, which early in the war had been converted into a hospital for our sick and wounded soldiers. “I have already spoken on the Downs of the ceremony which it has been my privilege to perform this morning,” he said, “and now once again, within these Pavilion grounds, our thoughts are with those brave men who suffered patiently in a strange land far from their own homes.”

In the ordinary course of events, the Prince continued, he should have been in India now. So he was specially glad to join that day in paying a tribute to the gallant Indian corps, whom he first saw with the King in November, 1914. Perhaps next year, he declared, he will meet some of those who had been cared for at Brighton and will be able to speak to them of scenes to which a strange fate brought them, and of one corner in England where their memory will ever remain.

The Pavilion in which these words were spoken had been erected by an English king, who sought to reproduce in it the glories of the Moghul palaces. Though he succeeded but indifferently, yet its Eastern atmosphere made it a fitting place for Indians to be sheltered in. As more than one wounded soldier told me at the time, they rather liked the idea of living in what was formerly a King's palace.

The first convoy of wounded Indians, numbering 345, arrived at the Pavilion Military Hospital in Brighton on December 14, 1914. Altogether more than 2,000 Indians passed through the hospital, but there were only twelve deaths, six due to wounds. There were, however, more deaths in the other two Indian hospitals in Brighton.

The Hindus and Sikhs who died were taken to the burning *ghat* on the Downs.

near Patcham. After being burnt, their ashes were scattered in the sea.

When a Muslim died, however, his body was placed in a motor hearse in charge of one of his own people and with a Muslim doctor, and was sent to Woking, where it was received by a Muslim priest and buried in a special section of the cemetery, with all the rites of his religion. Such funerals were always military ones, the firing party being supplied by the nearest troops.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling sat next to me at luncheon given by the Mayor and Corporation of Brighton to the Prince and told me of his visits to the Pavilion when it was serving as a hospital for Indian soldiers, and of his talks with our fighters. He appeared to have been greatly impressed with the great changes which had been caused in their mentality by their war experiences in the West, and upon comparing notes, I found a strange similarity between his and my own impressions.

The Indian soldiers who came to France and Flanders were very different men when they returned to the Motherland. Never before they had had the opportunity of coming in contact with any other European people than British. The French, amongst whom they found themselves at the front, were fighting on their own soil against an invader who had desolated towns and villages, destroyed homes and ravaged women and children. The coming of our men from across the seas to fight for the preservation of French life and honour touched the Frenchman's imagination and evoked his gratitude. Our men were, therefore, treated as heroes and great honour and affection were bestowed on them. Even at that critical time they saw enough of French life to realise how backward they were in education and in methods of work and life. What wonder that they went home filled with the desire to give to their children better opportunities for education and progress than they themselves had enjoyed.

Sir John Otter, replying to the toast of the "Mayor and Corporation of Brighton," proposed by His Royal Highness,

again paid a most touching tribute to Indian loyalty. When the Indian memorial was proposed, he said, not only was there no dissent, but the most enthusiastic approval was given by the Corporation of Brighton of "this simple tribute to our Indian fellow subjects, and to their loyalty." He continued :—

"The presence of Indians here stirred our imagination very deeply. These have, loyal men from the East, symbolised the unity of the Empire. They were the representatives, or the majority of them, of ancient civilisations which were flourishing when our ancestors were gnawing bones in caves at home."

After a complimentary reference to Sir Walter Lawrence, Bart., as Chief Commissioner of Indian hospitals (who owing to illness could not be present at the function) and to Colonel McLeod, one of the officers who commanded the hospital at the Royal Pavilion, Sir John took the luncheon party into his confidence in regard to the future of the *Chattri*. The memorial was not finished, he declared—far from it. To make it proper and agreeable to the traditions of the modes and feelings of India, the environment remained to be treated. It was proposed to form an Indian garden of about two acres, the *Chattri* itself to form the central point of a cosmic cross on it. The garden would be planted with trees of symbolic value to Indians. They had already bought 44 acres as a protection of the amenities of the position. That had been made possible by the benefaction of a private person, and he hinted that gifts towards the garden would be most welcome to the Memorial Committee.

The menu card and toasts list was illustrated with views of the Pavilion of the present day, the Pavilion and Steyne in 1805, and the *Chattri*. Illustrated souvenirs and a description of the Indian memorial were also presented to the guests, while the Mayor presented His Royal Highness with a silver tablet on which was engraved a reproduction of the *Chattri*, as a souvenir.

After luncheon the Prince visited the Lord Roberts' memorial workshops, then went to the Ex-Service Men's Club, and was entertained at tea by Sir Bernard and

Lady Oppenheimer at the diamond works, where he was shown the process of diamond polishing and cutting. The party returned to London by special train at 5-40 p.m.

Taking part in the ceremonies at Brighton on that day, as I did, was to be impressed with the genuine gratitude which the British feel towards India for the help she gave them in their hour of crisis.

ENGLAND UNDER BENGALI RULE

SOON after returning to bed the other night I fell into a thoughtful mood, and the present condition of Bengal was the subject to which my mind attached itself with a special fondness. I thought that our present rulers were governing us well, that they were doing good to us in various ways and for all this they deserved our deep gratitude, but could everlasting subjection, I asked myself, be desirable even under such satisfactory circumstances? Then I remembered the past glory of Bengal, and specially of the days when the Bengalee Emperors of the Pal dynasty like Dev Pal Dev planted their royal banner on the vast region extending from the confines of Thibet to the Carnatic. Plunged into these meditations, I fell into a sweet slumber, and dreamt the following wonderful dream.

It seemed to me that Bengal had become a free country and the English had quitted her shores. Within a brief space of time after its liberation from English domination, Bengal had become more highly civilized than any other country in the world, but England had continued to be in the same stage of civilization when her connection with Bengal ceased to exist. When Bengal had thus become the most civilized country on the face of the globe, the Bengalees invaded and conquered England. After her conquest, England was placed under the rule of a Bengalee Viceroy.

Sometime after, I made a voyage to England and found that under Bengalee domination she had undergone such a great transformation that she appeared to be quite another country. I saw that in the schools and colleges, the languages to the study of which chief attention was paid were Bengalee and Sanskrit, while English was taught but indifferently. The Professors at Oxford thought the Bengalees to be their models in civilized manners and customs, and in imitation of Bengalee Pandits, appeared in their colleges dressed in silk *dhoti* and *chudder*, and as they taught Sanskrit to their pupils, they frequently indulged in the luxury of the snuff-box which they always kept on the table before them. Many Englishmen thought the Hindu schools of philosophy to be superior to the English schools, and applied themselves

with devotion to their study. Scholars were deeply engaged in the task of churning out of the great ocean of the eighteen great *Puranas* and the numerous minor *Puranas* facts regarding the past history of India, and scientific and philosophical truths. Chevalier Bunsen of Germany had long ago asserted that the *Puranas* were not mythology but the repositories of valuable truths in the garb of allegory. Many Englishmen were now admitting the truth of this observation, and were wondering why their forefathers thought them to be mere figments of the imagination. I found many aspiring literary English youths composing poems in Bengali, thinking their own tongue to be unfit for such purpose. Poems of such Bengali poets as Vidyapati and Kavikankan were being taught in the schools and colleges, and some English teachers had published keys to the poetical works of these great poets of Bengal. Great change had also come over the manners and customs of Englishmen. The *Shastras* extol the virtues of a vegetable diet and of abstinence from spirituous liquors. Many of those Englishmen who had studied the *Shastras* had eschewed meat-eating and drinking. But the majority had adopted the prevailing Bengalee custom of taking kid-meat and fish. In the villages in the interior some peasants had failed to conform to the altered conditions of life and were as addicted to beef-eating as their forefathers, and since the Bengalee Viceroy had imposed severe punishment on the killing of cows or bulls, these simple villagers obtained their favourite food by illegal means. English physicians and physiologists had commenced to demonstrate to their countrymen that beef was injurious to health, and that fish and kid-meat were infinitely preferable to beef. I saw that pickles and sauces were being fast replaced by their Bengalee substitutes called *achar* and *kasundi* which were being largely imported from Bengal. The fishes called *magur* and *koi*, so dear to all Bengalees, were also being imported into England, preserved in tins, and they were highly appreciated by all Englishmen as being fishes native to the most civilized country in the world. Of the Bengalee dishes, those called *suktani*, *charchari*

and *phulbari*, had come into general use. The practice of anointing the body with oil is beneficial only in hot countries, but I saw that many *sahibs* in imitation of their Bengalee conquerors had adopted it, and were full of admiration for Lord Monboddo whom they declared to have been much in advance of his time, as he used to anoint himself with oil and to walk about almost without any clothes on his person. I observed that many had replaced the pipe by the *hookah*. Though England is a cold country many had adopted the Bengalee dress consisting of *dhuti*, *chadar* and *pirhan*. Those who used this new dress were found to shiver with cold but they did not seem to feel this serious discomfort at all, as they felt proud of having adopted the dress of the most civilized people on earth. I did not feel surprised at this for I remembered the days of British rule in Bengal when my countrymen adopted the English dress though it was utterly unsuited to its climate. I saw that English ladies no longer went out of their houses, but putting on *Sari a la Bengalee*, confined their movements to spaces within doors. They all thought the *Sari* to be far more graceful than the petticoat, and were convinced that they looked very attractive in their adopted dress. When England was a free country, many Englishmen had begun to complain of the excessive liberty of their womenfolk; these now rejoiced that all their countrymen had at last realized the many blessings of the custom of the *zenana*. I found that most of the inhabitants of England had embraced Hinduism and those in the villages who had not turned Hindus were looked down upon by the superior classes and contemptuously styled "pagans". England had a caste system during her days of freedom, but then it was

based on wealth, but it was now replaced by the Hindu system which is said to have been originally based on learning and public and private virtues. A number of Englishmen I found to be solely occupied with the cultivation of knowledge in its various branches or devoted to charitable and religious works. These had been constituted by the king of Bengal into a new Brahminhood, called in Sanskrit *Swetadwipi Brahmins*, which means "Brahmins of the White Island." I discovered the full justification of the name in the fact of England having been mentioned in the *Puranas* as *Swetadwipa* or "White Island", and in the support given to the contention of the *Swetadwipa* of the *Puranas* being no other than England by Captain Wilford in one of his essays in the *Asiatic Researches*, on the ground of the old name of England, viz., Albion, which means white. I saw that the custom of burial had been absolutely abolished and cremation had been adopted in its place. I was deeply engaged in surveying new England in its metamorphosis under Bengalee rule, when the news came that the King of Bengal had desired to visit his new kingdom. One fine morning His Majesty arrived in London in a big air-ship. Great preparations were made for his reception, and the streets overflowed with crowds of Englishmen and women who came to welcome their Bengalee sovereign. So great was the din on the occasion that it was too much for my delicate ears and perhaps it was this that broke my sleep. On awakening, I realized that I was only dreaming a great dream.

—Translated from the Bengali
by the late

BABU JOGINDRANATH BASU.

FIRST FRONTAL ATTACK UPON THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

EVERYONE who knew anything at all about the powerful interests which, during recent years, had leagued together in the attempt to prevent the transfer of any real administrative power to Indians was prepared for the frontal attack that was launched in the British press and Parliament within a few days of the opening of the new legislatures in India. The appointment of Lala Harakishen Lal as a Minister in the Punjab provided the desired opportunity, which was seized upon with avidity, even though it betrayed our political opponents,

usually such sticklers for form, into committing an unseemly act while H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught was still touring about in India endeavouring to allay Indian bitterness and persuade Indians to take advantage of the new constitution.

There is a little secret history attached to the incident which needs to be revealed if its inwardness is to be grasped. Lala Harakishen Lal's appointment was not made the subject of attack until after the publication in the *Pall Mall Gazette* regarded as a semi-official organ, of a note which read :

"PUNJAB GOVERNOR'S GREAT COUP."

"Sir Edward Maclagan, the Governor of the Punjab, has shown great imagination and courage in choosing as one of his Ministers Lala Harkishen Lal, who was one of the Punjabi leaders, amnestied under the King-Emperor's Proclamation. His was one of the case which, as pointed out by the Secretary of State in his despatch on the Hunter Committee Report, should not have been tried by special tribunals set up under martial law.

"Lala Harkishen Lal is a distinguished graduate of Cambridge. Instead of practising at the Bar, for which he qualified while in this country, he took to banking, and set up factories in the Punjab, and during the last two decades gave a great impetus to financial and industrial organisation in his province."

That note appeared in the issue dated January 21, 1921. About three weeks later, on February 17th, the *Morning Post* published a letter from "a Special Correspondent," who roundly abused Lala Harkishen Lal and attacked the Governor of the Punjab for appointing him a Minister of the Crown.

After giving a running summary of the Lala's political record and calling attention to the sentence that had been imposed upon him, this correspondent referred to questions and answers in Parliament in regard to the eligibility of men "let out" under the King's Amnesty to election to the new Councils, seeking to prove that the Secretary of State for India had given Parliament to understand that men convicted of complicity in the Punjab "rebellion" would remain ineligible for election, as prescribed by the law, and yet had later announced that the legal disability had been removed by the Government of India. The disability removed, the anonymous correspondent continued, Lala Harkishen Lal was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Council.

"Then, within a month of his election, and a year of his release from the sentence of transportation and forfeiture, this ex-rebel has been selected by the Governor of the Punjab as one of the two Indian Ministers who will administer such important subjects as Public Works, Education, Excise, Commerce and Industry, Local Government, Co-operative Societies, Agriculture, &c., &c." As Minister in these Departments he "will control hundreds of British and thousands of Indian officials and will exercise enormous patronage and wide financial powers."

The *Morning Post's* "special correspondent" did not hesitate to put in cold

print his conviction that the "appointment to a high office of a recently convicted agitator and rebel is the triumph of disloyalty and an insult to all loyal men, British and Indian." And he called upon Parliament to insist that the Secretary of State should require the Governor to cancel an appointment "which," he declared, was "surely indefensible." In spite of the animosity, it is not difficult to surmise who the author of this letter is. The animus against Lala Harkishen Lal is of so personal a nature that it at once connects him with an Anglo-Indian who sought to ruin that Punjabi leader.

It is not difficult to realise the significance of the letter appearing in the *Morning Post* instead of in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. It needs to be added, however, that had not the latter paper bought up the *Globe*, which, during its period of financial difficulties, served as the platform of Anglo-Indian reactionaries, there is little doubt that the joint attack upon Lala Harkishen Lal and Sir Edward Maclagan would have been made in the columns of the *Globe*.

The *Morning Post*, which for years has been the bitterest foe of Indian aspirations and also of Mr. Montagu personally, gave editorial support to the attack. "The new Councils of which we are asked to hope so much," it declared in the course of a leader, "are being filled, we might say, from the prison and the dock, with convicted enemies of the British Empire in India." And it proceeded to fill a half-column with vilification of Lala Harkishen Lal and Mr. Montagu, roundly abusing the latter's Indian policy generally.

The next Wednesday the matter was transferred from the columns of the *Morning Post* to the floor of the House of Commons. Sir W. Davison asked a question in the nature of an attack upon Lala Harkishen Lal, Sir Edward Maclagan, and the Government of India and the Secretary of State, repeating practically word for word what had already appeared in the columns of the *Morning Post*.

Mr. Montagu replied that under the Government of India Act, Ministers are appointed by the governor of a province, hold office at the pleasure of the Governor, and are responsible to the legislative councils who vote their salaries. In that circumstance he submitted that the proper place to consider

the title of a Minister to the confidence of the legislature is the provincial council.

That did not silence Sir W. Davison. Was it not a fact, he asked, in the course of a supplementary question, that the actions of the Governor were subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State?

Mr. Montagu replied that under the Statute the Governor appointed the Ministers and his action in that matter was not subject to the "superintendence, direction, and control of the Secretary of State."

Then a battery of questions was opened upon Mr. Montagu. Viscount Curzon and Sir Henry Craik, who years ago made a cold weather tour in India, has a son highly placed in the Indian Civil Service and served upon the Joint Select Committees on the constitutional reform legislation, rushed to the aid of Sir W. Davison, and sought to trip up the Secretary of State. Was it true, they demanded to know, that Lala Harkishen Lal was "a convicted rebel and holds jurisdiction over a large number of Europeans? Was the House, which is responsible for the Government of India, not entitled to know whether a convicted rebel had been appointed to a high office under the Crown? Was the nomination made by the Governor of the Punjab without any suggestion from home or from the Government of India? Would the Right Honourable Gentleman, one M. P. sarcastically asked, use his influence with the Leader of the House to secure the release of the hon'ble member for Leyton (Mr. C.L. Malone, serving a sentence in gaol for sedition in connection with Bolshevik propaganda)?"

The Speaker, interposed: "The House having given practically Home Rule (cries of 'No')—government in the nature of Home Rule—to these councils," he declared, "the less it interferes with them the better."

Sir Henry Craik was furious. "Can the Government of India be described as Home Rule," he demanded, "when, on the contrary, there was instituted this new-fangled word 'di-archy,' or divided rule, which implies a common responsibility between this House and the Government of India?"

The Speaker explained that he had used the word not in the technical, but in a general sense. Certain subjects had been transferred wholly to the legislative councils, and

it was with regard to those, and those only, that his expression was used.

Sir W. Davison enquired if members were not entitled to ask the Secretary for India for information as to certain actions which may have been taken by the Governor or some of his Ministers in India, and the Speaker replied that that would depend upon the information asked for. When the question appeared upon the paper he would consider it.

A ruling so decisive should have settled the matter once for all, but the M. P.'s who think that we are better off under tutelage are not so easily beaten. On February 24th, the very next day, after the ruling had been given, Viscount Curzon addressed a question to the Speaker. After summarising the proceedings of the previous day, he asked: "When a country (*Sic*) has been given Home Rule, are we to understand that no further questions may be asked about the details of administration in that country?"

Sir William Joynson Hicks, who during his recent tour had the benefit of learning wisdom from Lord Pentland and, I believe, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, backed him up. He called the speaker's attention to the fact that "The Governor of this Province was an officer appointed by the Crown, and for the appointment of this officer the Secretary of State is clearly responsible." And he submitted that under the terms of Section 4 of the Government of India Act, "this Minister having been appointed by the Governor of the Province, who was appointed by the Secretary of State here, we are entitled to ask questions of the Secretary of States as to the conduct of his own appointment."

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, who served on the Joint Select Committee and belongs to the "Tory Democracy" intervened. Was it not laid down that the Ministers so appointed are responsible to the Local Legislature and removable by the Provincial Council? he asked. "If that be so, would not a deadlock be reached at once if Ministers were appointed to an Indian Province and had not the confidence of the Provincial Assembly of that Province?" That being so, he wished to know, if it was not impossible "for two Legislative Chambers to attempt to share the same responsibility," if it will not have to be made quite clear whether the Indian Ministers are responsible to the Provincial Councils or to Parliament. It must be one or the other, he

maintained, both cannot possibly exercise the responsibility.

Sir Henry Craik rose to point out, that the Joint Select Committee, of which he was a member had been repeatedly assured "that the Governor (who would nominate the Ministers) would be responsible to the Secretary of State. That is quite independent of the methods used by the Assembly for removing such Ministers. The original appointment of the Ministers is in the hands of the Governor and the Governor is responsible to the Secretary of State, who is answerable to this House."

The Speaker was adamant. Viscount Curzon, he declared, had asked him a general question, but he refused to answer it in general terms. He would only say "that it must depend upon the questions which are put." He continued:—

"We are now commencing a new era in India, and it appeared to me yesterday, and still appears to me to-day, that it would be extremely undesirable if this House were to undertake the function of controlling or criticising the Ministers who are responsible to the newly created legislative bodies. After all, the Ministers, however chosen, however selected, are the Ministers of those legislative bodies, they presumably have their confidence, their salaries are voted by them. Talk of dyarchy! It would indeed be dyarchy if we supervised those Ministers as well as the legislative councils to whom they are responsible. For that reason I think that we had far better begin by abstaining from asking questions and criticising the Ministers who have been duly selected by the Governor, under the statutory powers which this House has given him for that purpose."

But Sir Henry Craik would not be silenced. He persisted in contending that the Governor, in appointing the Minister, was responsible to the Secretary of State, and, through him, to the House.

The Speaker replied that the question was intended to hit the Minister through the body of the Governor.

Sir W. Davison found another way to repeat his question, while Viscount Curzon took the occasion to re-state it.

The Speaker, however, remained firm. "If you say that a man is a convicted rebel," he declared, "I think you criticise him. You do not do him any good."

This offered too good an opportunity for Mr. Devlin, the Irish leader, to lose, and he instantly asked if he understood "that a rebel is entitled to be a Minister if he is not convicted?" His allusion was so obvious that it

relieved the tension, and the matter was dropped.

The same afternoon Lord Tenterden raised the same issue in the House of Lords. Strange to say he did so in the course of a debate upon such a harmless subject as cow-killing.

His Lordship delivered a lengthy and weighty address upon the evils of cow-killing, pointing out the various directions in which India, the Empire, and, indeed, the whole world suffers from the indiscriminate slaughter of cows in India. The depletion of oxen, he contended, meant the curtailment of agricultural pursuits, it had a very great bearing upon infant mortality in India, and it deprived Indians of their means of livelihood, and undermining the constitutions of Indians of all ages by making it impossible for them to get an adequate supply of milk.

Now who could have expected that such talk could be the vehicle securing a definite statement from the Government in regard to the right of Parliament to interfere with the power of the Governor to appoint a Minister? And yet that was exactly what it was, as quickly transpired from the statement made by the Right Honourable the Earl of Lytton, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India. He simply declined to enter into a discussion of the matters raised by Lord Tenterden, for the simple reason that

"...neither His Majesty's Government nor this House are any longer responsible for the matter dealt with in the noble Lord's speech. The noble Lord several times expressed the wish that His Majesty's Government would deal sympathetically with the question, but I would point out to him that His Majesty's Government is no longer responsible. A very important constitutional matter is here involved, and, as I think this is the first occasion upon which any question has been addressed to the Government upon matters which have now been transferred to the jurisdiction of Ministers in India, it is desirable that the position should be made perfectly clear. There are three departments of Government involved in the noble Lord's question, the agricultural, the veterinary, and the municipal. All these are transferred subjects, now under the jurisdiction of Indian Ministers."

In order to be absolutely explicit upon the point that he was making, Lord Lytton continued;

"It is quite true that the Secretary of State has a general power of superintendence and direction over Indian affairs conferred upon him by the Government of India Act, but it has been the subject of a Resolution by the Secretary of State in Council that the discretion which is vested in him shall not be exercised in future in regard to transferred subjects,

except for the purposes of safeguarding the administration of Central Subjects, of deciding questions arising between two Provinces in cases where the Provinces concerned fail to arrive at agreement, of safeguarding Imperial interests, and of determining the position of the Government of India in respect of questions arising between India and other parts of the Empire. Therefore only in matters where Central Indian or Imperial interests are involved is the general power of supervision now exercised by the Secretary of State over transferred subjects.

"That being so, those who, like the noble Lord, take an interest in this question should direct themselves to those who are now responsible—namely, the Ministers presiding over these subjects, and the Legislative Councils in each of the Provinces to which they are responsible, and not His Majesty's Government, or either House of Parliament in this country, who no longer have the responsibility for the matters concerned."

Lord Crewe rose when Lord Lytton had taken his seat, and declared that he considered it most important that Britain "should not attempt to carry on two different systems of government simultaneously; that is to say, give with one hand powers to the Provincial Governments in India, and at the same time to be perpetually asking questions as to the method by which those powers have been exercised."

Lord Amptill lost no time in presenting the opposite point of view. "It is evident," he declared, "that the intention of Government is to burke inquiry and discussion of Indian affairs in Parliament." He went on to say:

"Interference with the actions of the new Legislative Governments in India is one thing, but it is quite another thing to inquire as to facts; and nothing can derogate from the right of members of the British Parliament to ask for information as to the acts of British officials and the British Government in India, so long as India remains a part of the British Empire and His Majesty the King is Emperor of India."

Lord Amptill added that he would protest on every possible occasion at attempts to stifle inquiry in Parliament or elsewhere, of facts in India. Parliament has every right, he insisted, to know what is going on and it is eminently desirable that Parliament and the public should be fully informed of what is being done in India, why it is being done in India, why it is being done, and the whole tendency of events there.

Strange to say, Lord Sydenham ranged himself, in this instance, on the side of the Government. After justifying cow-killing on the grounds of necessity, he went so far as to say that "we must leave this kind of question to be dealt with and discussed in the Indian Councils and not attempt to deal with it our-

selves." "He took that view because, in such matters, questions are involved which it is much better to leave alone."

On the day when this discussion took place in both Houses of Parliament, the *Morning Post* came out with a long letter, prominently printed on the leader page, from "an influential Indian gentleman in the Punjab, who did splendid service in the War and is a member of the Provisional (Provincial?) Council," to indicate how the military and land-owning classes regard Lala Harkishen Lal's appointment, and "their disgust at the manner in which the Government has betrayed them to their and its enemies."

The statements that this "Indian gentleman" made were calculated to appeal to the O'Dwyers and Dyers. It will be fortunate for India, if this gentleman carries out his declared intentions "of resigning" his "seat in the local Council," as he "can't make friends with the Extremist party," nor does he appear desirous of fraternizing with the baker who, he says, "has been returned for the Lahore town constituency." He feared that "a sweeper may probably be returned from the Amritsar town." "Are we to sit with them, and will it give us any pleasure to be on such a Council?" he asked. Beaten in the House of Lords, Lord Amptill, who appears to be the most outspoken opponent of Indian aspirations in the House of Lords, possibly because he has been left out of all the Indian Select Committees which have been appointed, transferred the fight from that House to the columns of the *Morning Post*. In a lengthy letter he attacked the Speaker of the House of Commons for his ruling. "Everyone expected," he declared, "that sooner or later India would be lost on the floor of the House of Commons, but nobody had foreseen that the fatal blow would be dealt through the hand of the Speaker of that Assembly."

There was nothing new in Lord Amptill's letter. It was but a repetition of everything that he and his colleagues had said before. He drew a growsome picture of the fate of Englishmen and women in India if the theory put forward by Mr. Lowther (the Speaker) were upheld by his successors. The statement read out by Lord Lytton in the House of Lords, he said, left no doubt as to what they were to expect. And he called upon

the members of the House of Commons to assert their right to be informed upon everything that affects the great interests for which Parliament is responsible, "namely the safety and welfare of British subjects all over the world, the public service, and the integrity of the British Empire."

On the same day there was a renewed attack in the House of Commons, again led by Sir W. Davison, who this time opened his batteries upon the Prime Minister and asked him to give the House an assurance that he would see that in the warrant of appointment to the new Viceroy of India the power of pardon in the case of political offences is reserved to His Majesty the King on the advice of the Secretary of State for India, in accordance with the old practice. Of course, Mr. Lloyd George refused to accept that proposal. Nothing daunted, Sir W. Davison asked the premier to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into and report as to the present position of the Secretary of State for India in relation to Parliament, and in particular as to his powers of superintendence, direction, and control over the action of States Governors. An old Parliamentarian like Mr. Lloyd George is not so easily taken in. He said that the Government did not consider suggestion as necessary or desirable. Tuesday saw the fighters return to the charge. This time it was Sir Henry Craik who acted as commander of the forces. He asked the Speaker if the Members were right in assuming that nothing in his ruling of last week should be understood as limiting the powers of Parliament to supervise the action of officers acting in India under the Secretary of State, or the right of Members to raise questions as to such action.

The Speaker made a definite statement in reply, in the course of which he said that he had time to look into the matter and refresh his memory by reading again the Preamble of the Act of 1919. The more he looked at it the more he was convinced that he was right. The last paragraph read:

"And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities."

If the house was of opinion that it was desirable to give the Provinces of India the

largest measure of independence of the Government of India *a fortiori*, it was desirable that those Provinces should be given a large measure of independence of the Imperial Parliament. Having started upon this new departure of granting a measure of self-government to the Provinces of India, it was highly undesirable that the House should interfere in any way with the control by those Provinces of their own affairs. The Ministers who are selected by the Provincial Governors are selected under the Act of Parliament by the Governors, but they are responsible to the Legislative Councils of those Provinces, and even if the Houses were to pass some censure, either direct or indirect, upon such a Minister, it would be futile. It was, therefore very undesirable that it should be done, or any step should be taken which would lead up to it. He concluded:

"It seems, therefore, to me that, taking the broad view of the situation, Parliament intended to transfer to these Provinces of India complete control, subject, possibly, to the action of the Indian Legislature, of the transferred subjects and of the transferred subjects only—those are the ones I am referring to. For that purpose the Governors of Provinces are empowered to select Ministers who will be responsible to the Provincial Legislative Council. Therefore, to permit criticism of the character or conduct of the Governor in the matter of transferred subjects appears to me to nullify the intentions of the Act. I have also come to the following conclusion. If it is desired to condemn the action of any Governor in a matter not transferred, it is open to make a Motion of a character similar to that which is made in the case of the Governor-General of India or the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

In spite of the lucidity and definitiveness of this statement, Sir Henry Craik doggedly fought on, helped by Lord Hugh Cecil and Sir W. Joynson-Hicks. Nothing further emerged from the discussion, however. The Speaker refused to move an inch from his decision that if criticism of a Governor is desired, it will be necessary to put down a Motion in the ordinary way and have it discussed by the house.

Sir J. D. Rees, who like Sir Henry Craik had served on the select committees, suggested that the difficulties of the Indian Governors, already sufficient, would be immensely increased if the House were to discuss and criticise their appointment of Ministers. The Speaker thanked him for his support.

Mr. Ronald McNeill, a great authority on Parliamentary Procedure, asked that the Standing Orders on which the Rules of Procedure for the House are based should be

altered to meet the growing requirements, for the guidance of Members. The Speaker replied that there were no Standing Orders applicable to the case, but there was no reason why the House should not introduce such a Standing Order as that suggested.

Mr. Ormsby Gore suggested that if they were going to frame a new Standing Order dealing with the powers of Parliament to question all the various Legislatures of the Empire, the word "subordinate" should be carefully kept out in each case. He knew how that word would rankle in the Colonial mind.

At question time on Wednesday, Sir W. Davison re-opened the subject. First of all he asked Mr. Montagu a question relating to the instructions issued to Governors with reference to the safeguarding of all members of His Majesty's services in the legitimate exercise of their functions and in their recognised rights and privileges; to which the Secretary of State replied that he trusted Parliament would not seek to intervene in matters specifically entrusted to Indian legislatures. Next he wished to know if, in view of the Preamble of the Government of India Act, Members of Parliament would be able to ascertain from him, from time to time, as to the manner in which the various Provincial Councils are dealing with matters committed to them, so that Parliament may be guided as to its future action regarding the conferring of further responsibilities on them.

The answer was in the affirmative. To a further question as to whether Parliament can ascertain facts which occur in the Provincial Legislatures with regard to the action of the Governors without interfering with what actually takes place, Mr. Montagu replied that he always desired to place at the disposal of the House any information of this kind.

On Tuesday, March 8th, Lord Ampthill reopened the whole question in the House of Lords by asking His Majesty's Government whether, in view of the fact that the Preamble of the Government of India Act contains the words "Whereas the time and manner in each advance (towards responsible government) can be determined only by Parliament upon whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people," the House is justified in assuming that any act of any official which affects the 'welfare' of

any section of the people of India must be a legitimate subject of inquiry in Parliament.

In replying for the Government, Lord Lytton declared:

"The Government certainly had no intention whatever of disputing the legal right of Parliament to discuss any matters affecting the welfare of any of His Majesty's subjects in India, and neither the ruling of Mr. Speaker in the House of Commons nor the remarks I made in your Lordships' House last week, in reply to a question from my noble friend, Lord Tenterden, are to be considered as an attempt either to invade the responsibility of the Secretary of State, or to deprive Parliament of any means of exercising its legal right of discussing Indian affairs.....

"But in respect of transferred provincial subjects it is obvious that there must be a substantial change, and the real question raised by the noble Lord is what exactly is the nature and extent of the change which has been brought about by transferring certain functions of government to Indian Ministers responsible to elected Legislatures. In the first place the transferred subjects are now administered by Ministers who are directly responsible to the Legislatures, which vote their salaries. They are also responsible to the Governor who appoints them, and by whom they may be dismissed. If they do not satisfy the majority of the Legislature they may be forced to resign by the withholding of their salaries. If they do not satisfy the Governor they may be dismissed, and, in the last resort, of course, if the Legislature in either supporting, or failing to support, the Ministers, does not satisfy the electorate, then the electorate may change the Legislature. Therefore, the responsibility for the administration of transferred subjects is shared by the Governor, the Ministers, and the Legislative Councils.....

"It is impossible to deny that Parliament has also an ultimate responsibility for the administration of transferred subjects, and it might even be contended that Parliament has some responsibility for the actual selection of Ministers, though I think reflection would show that this last connection would be untenable in practice.....

"At the same time it must be perfectly clear that government in India, under the new system, would be absolutely impossible if Parliament, by virtue of its ultimate responsibility for the welfare of India, were to interfere in the administration of subjects which it has transferred to Local Governments as represented by the Governor and his Ministers, and if it were to seek to make Indian Ministers responsible to itself in detail as well as to their Governors and their own Councils.....

"Parliament has undoubtedly the ultimate responsibility, but it must exercise some self-restraint in the exercise of that responsibility. The thorough investigation of the working of the new Act by periodical Statutory Commissions has been provided for in the Act itself, but Parliament must be content to limit its legal right of pulling up the young plants to see how they are growing."

I have given this lengthy extract because of the great importance of that statement upon the constitutional position in India.

Some attempt is being made in this

country to give the impression that Lord Ampthill's persistence has made the Government recede from the position taken by the Speaker of the House of Commons. No one can, however, read the Under-Secretary's words without coming to the conclusion that any victory gained by that faction is illusory.

While in legal theory Parliament is Sovereign and the legislatures in self-governing Dominions are subordinate, in actual practice those legislatures are quite untrammelled.

In the opinion of such a constitutional authority as the present Speaker of the House of Commons, the provincial legislatures in India, in respect of transferred subjects, have been given a status analogous to that of the Dominion legislatures. Lord Lytton, while neither so clear nor so firm, takes substantially the same position.

Any attempt upon the part of the provin-

cial executive in India to dislodge its legislature from that position will only lead to a deadlock, while any intervention from above cannot but lead to disaster. Some of the men who monopolised power in India of yesterday and some of those who, to-day, continue to enjoy wide, uncontrolled powers, are likely to prove short-sighted enough to upset the balance. Their struggles will, however, fail in India as surely as those of the reactionaries in the Dominions.

Indians must not forget that the people in the Dominions have had a bitter struggle to attain to their present constitutional position, and that they have to be ever vigilant lest under one pretext or another, they may be deprived of some of the powers they have acquired. We must also remember that the people in the Dominions are constantly seeking to better their constitutional position.

CHINA OLD AND YOUNG

China is old, old, old, too old with years,
Too worn with weight of outworn, smothering custom ;
Hardly the twisted streets hold any secret of youth,
Hardly the old temples give back a smile to the sky.
A ruined land, a land of useless age,
An old, old mother, teased with swarming children,
Deaf to their cries, who finds her peace in sleep.

I walk the streets and meet the straining toilers
Struggling to no end ; the crippled wrecks of women,
Moving like wooden figures painfully ;
Childhood is blasted in the poisoned air,
And youth is wronged and crushed and caught with chains.
Why is she here to-day, the old, old mother,
Half clad in tattered garments of old days ?
Why did the winds not rock all long ago
Into the hollow lap of gray oblivion ?
Why did the spreading waters not sweep away
The clinging towns with their unquestioning folk ?

I almost faint in the heavy, smothering air,
I am borne down by weight of ugliness,
The final mist arises to overwhelm ;
But rising from it, you come forth, dear child,
With starry eyes and vision of sure beauty,
And young lips parted to sing of love and joy.
You are the flower blooming among the ruins,
The perfect life upon complete decay.
There is still wholesomeness in the wind-swept air,
There is still sweetness in the weary soil,
And youth eternal triumphs evermore.

MAYCE F. SEYMOUR.

THOUGHTS ON NON-CO-OPERATION

THE small provincial town where I reside has recently passed through a mighty convulsion, caused by the advent of one of the Bengali leaders of the non-co-operation movement to open a national school, and incidentally, to gather a fresh harvest of students and lawyers into the fold. Behind the scenes, a great controversy was raging among the local leaders as to the proportion of Hindus and Muhammadans among the office-bearers of the proposed national institution, the representatives of each community claiming a majority for themselves. Simultaneously, the members of the Vaidya caste of the Hindu community were holding meetings with a view to give themselves a Brahminical status, and the corypheus of local journalism, a patriotic Brahmin was leading opposition. The Census operations required the services of about a hundred clerks on a bare pittance for a couple of months, and matriculates and non-matriculates, to the number of about two thousand, had applied for these coveted posts, and were canvassing for the same. Side by side, students who had left their colleges and schools were picketing among the examinees, dragging some of them away by main force, and abusing others and their guardians where they failed, thus casting the creed of non-violence to the winds. While not thus engaged, they were leading processions through the town, displaying posters and singing swadeshi songs, in which however Moslem students who joined the procession did not take part, probably because their politico-religious and extra-territorial loyalty to the Khilafat was nearer to their hearts than the purely political problem of Swaraj in India. All this while, the European community, like Olympic gods, were going through their usual round of business and pleasure with supreme unconcern, as though the country was not in the throes of an agitation which was tearing it to pieces.

In the midst of such divergent activities of different sections of the people, the hero of the movement arrived. There were the usual decorations, mass meetings, and promises of temporary suspension of practice

on the part of a few pleaders, not necessarily leaders of the bar, accompanied by the defection of a fresh batch of students, some of whom, judging from previous experience, are likely to return to their classes as soon as the present excitement subsides. But the greatest triumph of the occasion was the resignation of a senior professor of the local college to join the ranks of the non-co-operators. His indeed was a sacrifice, considering his pecuniary position and family obligations, greater even than that of the leader himself, and great was the jubilation among the seceders at this accession of strength to their cause.

But although the irresistible impulse of a moment of tense indignation and taut nerves may lead a proud and sensitive nature to take an irrevocable plunge into the unknown, and make a tremendous sacrifice in scorn of consequence, his whole inward character is bound to assert itself by and by after the spiritual exaltation of the feat is followed by a depressing reaction, and he has leisure, in his calmer moments, when the clamour has subsided and the bells have ceased to ring in his honour, to reflect on the effect of his whole-hearted response to what he considers to be the call of his motherland.

He will then find perhaps that for one thing, there is as good fish in the sea as out of it, and that the material with which he shall have to work in his new sphere of activities is not essentially different from that which he has left behind, the same injustice, insincerity, hollowness, love of domination and intrigue, intolerance of opposition, exaggeration and excess in thought, speech, and act, the same incapacity for self-analysis, proneness to identify a narrow selfishness with altruism, will meet him at every turn; above all, he will find his freedom of thought and speech hampered by the dictators of the movement, whose shibboleths he will have to inscribe on his banner and whose views will be imposed on him; compromises with conscience will be as much expected in the new field as in the old, though in different matters; and the ideal of democratic equality which would

embrace the masses within the vast network of opposition to the established authorities will receive a rude shock when nationalistic patriotism glorifying ancient Aryan ideals will come into clash with the new spirit of discontent among the "lowcaste" Hindus, as well as with the religious patriotism of the Muhammadans. Thus he will find that self-realisation, for which he gave up everything, will be as difficult under the new dispensation as under the old order of things.

The system of official education glorifies the machine at the cost of the man; race, and not merit, is here the test of efficiency; and patriotism is not taught in our schools and colleges. There is a good deal of truth in these charges. Too much is made of buildings and equipment and inspection, and the live human souls of the pupils, full of noble enthusiasms and crying out for sympathy and encouragement are starved and uncared for. The colour line is as prominent as in other departments of government service; patriotism is not directly and systematically inculcated as in other countries, and the ideals of peace and order are elevated above progress, which furnishes their sole justification. Today the government is sore at the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges, but their pathetic appeals for more schools and colleges and their inability to find accommodation in the existing institutions and the consequent failure of many to enter the University in previous years, left it entirely unmoved. To find an outlet for them by starting really efficient vocational schools never occurred to the Government, and even if it did, money was wanting, or was grudging, and the boys were left to shift for themselves. If now the students have developed an unexpected attitude of mind, the Government is largely responsible for it.

But the whole spirit of the literature that was taught in the official institutions was saturated with the principles of freedom and equality—freedom in thought, speech and action as well as freedom from foreign subjection, and equality of opportunity in social life as well as political equality with other races and nations. And excessive devotion to the cult of nationalism, as Rabindranath has shown in his book of that name, is fraught with dangers to the development of the human soul. Vocational

schools may be opened by the leaders of the movement to supplement the existing institutions where the teaching is mainly literary, and all the funds that they may raise will be a mere drop in the ocean in view of the vast requirements of the country. If instead of concentrating their activities on this particular kind of work, they try to destroy the Government schools and colleges and diffuse their energies over the whole wide field of the liberal arts by establishing bad copies of the official institutions, they will stultify themselves and impoverish the resources of the country without being able to supplant the official by a new and better system, and even in these new national institutions the license of unrestrained freedom shall have to be curbed, and discipline shall have to be enforced, with the possible loss of the more ardent spirits among the student seceders.

For them, their work is cut out among the masses. It is contended by the supporters of the movement, that even if it yields no other result, it is no small gain in itself to have shattered the hypnotic influence of the ruling race and the prestige of its institutions, to have destroyed the faith of the impressionable youth in the goodness of an alien government, and to have created a widespread spirit of discontent and unrest, so as to make autocratic government on the old lines next to impossible. It will now be the duty of the boys, purged of the illusion that everything that is, is for the best, to spread the light among the masses of their countrymen. 'Back to the villages' is to be their battle-cry, and the sphere of their activities will lie in the attempt to infuse into the minds of the common people a burning sense of the grievous wrongs they suffer under. It is no use saying that this is mere negative and destructive work. This is construction, and not mere negation. Once you succeed in implanting hope and driving out despair from the minds of the masses, and can make them think for themselves and burn into their minds the conviction that their salvation lies in their own hands, reconstruction will proceed apace on the right lines. Even the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (para 144) recognises that "the placid, pathetic contentment [apathy?] of the masses is not the soil on which Indian manhood will grow, and in deliberately disturbing it we are

working for her highest good." But the question immediately arises, will the masses, at whose doors the light of reason is to be carried by the students who have given up their studies, be content only to look at their political wrongs and grievances and shut their eyes to their social and moral degradation, which touch them more intimately at every point of their life than political subjection to a distant *Raj*? If not, are the students prepared to teach them their social rights as well? If so, are the students themselves properly equipped for the task? How many of them have cast off their own mental shackles, and how few of the 94 per cent. of the illiterate population of India are in a sufficiently receptive frame of mind to be able to imbibe the great and fundamental lessons of social and political equality? It may round off a peroration at a political gathering to say that illiterate does not necessarily mean ignorant, but those who cannot read a popular vernacular print and form any idea of the public affairs of their own country and of its relation to the rest of the world can be worked up to some purpose only through widespread elementary education for which Gokhale pleaded so importunately towards the end of his life, and to which the President of the last Nagpur Congress drew the pointed attention of the non-co-operators as the most pressing and imperative duty lying before them.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report rightly says:

"It is indeed plain that there is an immense work of education to be done throughout the countryside. Everything that tends to waken the Indian ryot's intelligence, that helps him to be an independent, selfdetermining man; everything that breaks down the barriers between communities, and makes men regard each other as neighbours, and not as the wearers of some caste or creed insignia, hastens on the day when self-government within the Empire will be attained. All this is work that the educated Indian can, and ought to, undertake. The work is more than arduous" (para 149).

Again:

"We can at least appeal to Hindu and Muslim, Brahman and non-Brahman, to cultivate a community of interests in the greater welfare of the whole. On them all rests a greater responsibility for the development of their common country, and the realisation of this truth will be the surest way, perhaps the only way, of ending disunion. Self-government for India within the empire is the highest aim which her people can set before themselves, or which we, as trustees for her, can help her to attain. Without it there can be

no fulness of civic life, no satisfaction for the natural aspirations which fill the soul of every self-respecting man. The vision is one that may well lift men up to resolve on things that seemed impossible before. Is it too much to hope that the desire of the people of India so to govern themselves, and the conviction that they can never do so otherwise in any real sense, may prove eventually to be the solvent of these difficulties of race and creed? The first duty of the leaders of every party in the State is to unteach partisanship. If the Hindu or the Muslim displays intolerance of the other's religious practices, if the higher castes refuse to admit the children of low castes to schools which their own sons attend, or if caste exclusiveness takes even harsher shape towards the outcast, it is the business of the enlightened leaders of the community to explain to them that they are only retarding a cause that ought to be dearer to them than their sectional interests. *So long as the latter are paramount any form of self-government to which India can attain must be limited and unreal at best.*" (Italics ours, para 151)

To those who would plead the shallow justification that class-distinctions exist in every country, we would answer, in the words of Sir M. Visvesvaraya (*Reconstructing India*, p. 239):

"Social distinctions exist in every country—distinctions based upon wealth, birth, or occupation. No country outside India has, however, a social system which cuts at the very root of human brotherhood, condemns millions of persons to perpetual degradation, makes people hyper-exclusive, magnifies religious differences, and disorganizes society."

To invite the attention of the politically advanced section of our countrymen to these matters may be futile; for they will be apt to regard them as "the barren optimistic sophistries of comfortable moles" who have not felt the urge divine, the sacred call of the motherland. But when the heat and bustle on the present agitation subsides, as it is bound to do, we shall feel that the effort which is calculated to lead us on the full tide of achievement and success does not lie in sudden spurts of sacrifice on the part of generous and impulsive natures without a definite aim, but that it will come from the recognition of the duty

"Of toil unsever'd from tranquillity;
Of labour, that in lasting fruit outgrows
Far noisier schemes, accomplish'd in repose,
Too great for haste, too high for rivalry."

Morley, in his life of Voltaire, compares the relative missions of Voltaire and Rousseau, the father of the democratic movement, who was his junior contemporary. The single object of Voltaire was to reinstate the understanding in its full rights, to emancipate thought, to extend knowledge, to erect

the standard of critical commonsense. Rousseau dealt with the concrete wrongs and miseries of men and women, and not the abstract right of the intelligence. Hence the two great revolutionary schools, the school which appealed to sentiment, and the school which appealed to intelligence.

"It was impossible to effect a stable reconstitution of the social order until men had been accustomed to use their minds freely, and had gradually thrown off the demoralising burden of superstition."

This was the work of Voltaire, while Rousseau "first inflamed men with a righteous conviction that the evils of the existing order of things reduced civilization to a nullity for the great majority of mankind, and that it cannot for ever be tolerable that the mass should wear away their lives in unbroken toil without hope or aim, in order that the few may live selfish and vacuous days." While each of these tasks seemed equally desperate, it is Morley's deliberate opinion that "Voltaire was the more right

and far-sighted of the two in his perception of the conditions of the problem." The pity of it is that in the emotional soil of Bengal, few even among the leaders are impressed with the necessity of studying and propagating the intellectual conditions of the problem and of building up the national character from the foundations. The expenditure of a vast mass of energy, followed by achievement which is far from being commensurate with the heat generated, is the disappointing result. To correlate our aims and endeavours is our primary duty if the aftermath of the present agitation is not to leave us prostrate at the very gates of the promised land and to compel us to surrender at discretion to the reactionaries by provoking active persecution and reducing our activities to futility by reason of the unpreparedness of the soil and our own unwillingness to consider the problem in all its bearings, social, political and intellectual.

A SPECTATOR.

MINERAL RESOURCES OF INDIA

THE *Mining Magazine* of October 1920 gives a synopsis of the General Report of the Geological Survey of India for 1919. This also has been published in the *Journal of the Chemical Industry*. But has it been able to catch the fancy of our countrymen? Certainly not. A few of us have gone through the Report of the said Department which contains an account of the various economic inquiries conducted throughout the year for furthering the development of the mineral resources of India. What can be more shameful to us than the ignorance of our hidden wealth, which is exploited and taken away by the foreigners before our eyes. This, also, cannot be excused that so many of our Indian papers have paid no heed to it at all. However, let me put the same before our countrymen which, I think, they will not be able to ignore.

Bauxite:—Attention has been paid to Indian bauxite, and schemes have been considered for the manufacture of alumina, and even of aluminium, in India. It was decided to examine all the well-known bauxite deposits, and it is hoped that the field work will be completed by the end of the season 1919–20. The output of bauxite in 1918 was 1192 tons entirely from Jabbalpore.

Chromite:—In consequence of the discoveries

of chromite near Fort Sandeman in Baluchistan, it was decided to resume the survey of the Zhob and neighbouring areas. The first discovery of chromite in Zhob was made nearly twenty years ago, but since then no systematic exploration has been undertaken. Average samples of the Fort Sandeman chromite yielded 43.62 per cent. Cr_2O_3 , and although these only represented second grade ores, they are of importance as proving the presence of chrome bearing basic rocks and suggesting the possibility of further discoveries. The production during 1918 was 57,769 tons.

Coal:—During the survey of the Tenasserim valley, the Kawmapiin-Theindaw coalfield was re-visited, but little new information resulted. All the samples taken indicated very poor material, carrying about 30 per cent ash, but samples taken at Kyankmitthwe were found to cake strongly and to contain only 3.77 per cent. ash. At the request of the Madras Government, the Biddadanol coalfield in the Godavari district was visited and sites fixed for deep borings. The production of Indian coal has steadily increased in recent years, but the coal resources of the country have not been yet fully exploited. In 1915 the production rose to over 20 million tons.

Copper:—During investigations at fort

Sandeman, Baluchistan, a supposed copper lode occurring in the neighbourhood was examined, but the deposit appears to be a poor one. Attempts to work commercially the indigenous deposits of this mineral have met with very limited success so far. A certain amount of argentiferous copper ore occurs in association with the lead-zinc ore bodies of the Bawdwin mines in the Northern Shan states of Burma, and the existence of considerable quantities of copper in Sikkim has been established, but it remains to be seen whether its extraction is commercially possible. The output of copper in 1918 amounted to 3619 tons.

Iron:—The recent discoveries of iron ore in the southern parts of Singhbhum having resulted in a large number of applications for prospecting licences and mining leases, it was decided to examine the ferruginous belt. The results show that the iron ore usually occurs at or near the top of hills, the most important being in the range running from about three miles south-west of Gua to the Kolhan Keonjhar boundary east of Naogaon. The Kolhan hæmalites usually contain:—iron 64 per cent.; phosphorus, 0.03 to 0.08 per cent., and in some cases, 0.15 per cent. The sulphur content is usually below 0.03 per cent. Traces of titanium are also found occasionally in the ore. Samples from the better parts of the ore-deposits contain as much as 68–69 per cent. iron. Little prospecting work has been done hitherto on the deposits, but enough is known to justify the belief that the quantities available will run into hundreds of millions of tons. In most cases, the chief obstacle to development lies in the difficult and inaccessible nature of the country.

Kaolin:—Extensive examination of the China clay deposits of Upper Burma proved the existence of very large quantities of clay eminently suitable for the manufacture of porcelain. The raw sand is said to contain about 60 per cent. of free silica, 25–30 per cent. of Kaolin, and to be very free from iron and alkalis. Laboratory test indicated that the plasticity, refractoriness, and colour of the levigated material were good.

Soda:—An enquiry has recently been made into the soda deposits and industry in Sind. Prior to this little was known regarding the nature and extent of these deposits. The salt obtained is a crude trona known locally as 'Chaniho', and is used for washing and dyeing clothes, for hardening treacle, for the preparation of molasses from sugarcane, but principally as a yeast in the manufacture of 'papars' or pulse biscuits. The total output in Sind averages approximately 1000 tons per annum.

Sulphur:—Early in 1919 the old sulphur mines near Sayni in Baluchistan were examined but the results showed there was likely to be only a small amount of sulphur available.

Tin:—A good show of tin was found in the streams adjoining the Tenasserim river (Tavoy) from the west. Tin mining is now a well established industry in Burma, the output of 1918 amounting to 15,607 cwt.

Mining:—A school of mines and geology is to be established by the Indian Government at Dhanbaid in the coal-mining district of Behar and Orissa, and a Principal and senior professor of mining are soon to be appointed. A mining and metallurgical society has been formed at the Kolar gold field.

KALIPADA GHOSH, M. B. A. C. (Lond.)

THE WAY TO GET IT DONE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

(Specially translated for the Modern Review)

This paper was read by the author in 1905-6 and, like the "Swadeshi Samaj" translated for our last number, it is remarkably apposite to the present situation. Ed., M. R.

THE river may think that it divides a country, but it really brings one part nearer another by carrying commerce and keeping open a permanent way. In a disunited country foreign domination is just such a unifying agency; and it is as the instrument of divine providence for this purpose that British Rule in India has been touched with glory.

This process of unification will go on even if England does not like it.

History has shown that no permanent good can be gained by one set of men at the expense of another. Only in a harmonious development is to be found that permanent force of coherence which we call *Dharma*. If the harmony be destroyed, so is the *dharma* and — *Dharma éva hato hanti*

— if the dharma be destroyed, it destroys in turn. Britain has been made great by her Empire. If now she tries to keep India weak, her greatness cannot last, but will topple over of itself, — the weakness of a disarmed, effete and starving India will be the ruin of the British Empire.

Few have the gift of taking a broad comprehensive view of politics, especially when greed stands in the way. If any system of political exploitation should fix its ambition on the permanence of India's connexion, then such a system is bound to overlook the very factors essential for such connexion. A permanent connexion is against the law of Nature. Even the tree has to yield up its fruit, and any artificial attempt to prolong its hold can only result in a shortening of its natural term.

To make a subjugated country weak, to keep it distracted in disunity, to prevent the natural growth of its powers by refusing to allow their exercise, and thus to reduce it to lifelessness,—this is England's policy of the day when world-entrancing flowers have ceased to bloom in her literature and only thorny politics flourish in overwhelming luxuriance; when pity has ceased to well up for the weak, the unfortunate, the downtrodden; when only the expansion of dominion is accounted greatness; when deeds of daring have given way to aggressive exploitation, and the selfish cult of patriotism has usurped the place of religion.

Whether this state of things in England is unfortunate for us in India, or otherwise, will depend upon ourselves. A clearer vision of Truth is to be obtained in the day of tribulation, and without the vision of Truth there is no hope for any people. God has been visiting us with suffering in order to bring it home to us that we cannot gain by petitioning what it is our own duty to earn, and that expenditure of words is mere waste where service alone will do. So long as these simple truths are not realised by us, sorrow on sorrow, contumely on contumely, will be our lot.

We must first of all understand one thing clearly. If moved by some secret,

underlying apprehension, the Government should choose to put obstacles in the way of our growing unity, to protest is worse than useless. Can we contrive any form of words clever enough to give them the assurance that we desire for ever to be under the British Empire as our *summum bonum*? And are they of such infantile innocence as to believe it? All we can say — and it will be clear enough even if we do not say it — is, that we have use for the British connexion only so long as we are unable to evolve a secure and lasting union among the differing elements which exist within India,— and no further.

Such being the case, if the Englishman looking to his own selfish interests — selfish albeit glorified with the name of Empire — should say that it is high time for him to set about consolidating his position by refusing to allow us to be united, then what reply have we to give him except in the shape of the purest of platitudes? If when the woodman is about to ply his axe, the tree should cry: "Stay, else I lose my branch," and the woodcutter should reply: "I know, I am here because I want it!" — is there any room for further argument?

But we have learnt that in Parliament they debate: one party replies to the other party: and the winning party rejoices in its victory. So we cannot get rid of the idea that success in debate is final. We forget the difference. There the two parties are the right and left hands of the same body, and are both nourished by the same power. Is it the same here? Are our powers and those of the Government derived from the same source? Do we get the same shower of fruit when we shake the same tree? Please do not look into your text books in answering this question. It will be of no avail to know what Mill has said, and Herbert Spencer has said, and Seeley has said. The book of the country lies open before us, and the true answer is there.

To put it briefly, it is for the master to call the tune, and we are not the master. But the lover of argument will not be silenced. Do we not pay so many crores of

taxes, and is not the power of Government based on our money? Why not ask for an account to be rendered? But why, oh why does not the cow brandish her horns and ask for an account of the milk that has gone to fatten the plump young hopefuls of her lord and owner?

The simple truth is that methods must vary with circumstances. If the British Prime Minister wants to get some concession out of the French Government, he does not try to get the better of the French President in argument, nor does he preach to him high moral doctrine,—he makes some diplomatic move, and for that reason expert diplomats are permanently employed. There is a story that once upon a time when England was friendly with Germany, an English Duke left his seat at dinner to hand a table napkin to the Kaiser—this, it appears, largely advanced his cause. There was also a day when the Englishman had to bow and scrape at the durbar of the great Moghul, smilingly and with infinite patience to put up with repulses, spend any amount of money and toil in gratifying his satellites, in order to gain his object. This sort of thing is inevitable if concessions have to be won from adverse hands.

And yet in this impotent country of ours, what possesses us to think that constitutional agitation will serve with our all-powerful Government? Agitation may raise butter from milk, but not if the milk be in the dairy and the agitation at home. Granted that we are only asking for rights and not favours,—yet when the rights are barred by limitation, that means the same old begging from the man in possession. Our Government is not a machine,—it is run by creatures of flesh and blood, with a good dash of passion in their composition, who have by no means come here purged of all earthly weaknesses. So, to put them in the wrong is not the way to make them mend their ways.

We never pause to consider the nature of our circumstances, of the object of our desires, and the means and methods best fitted thereto. Just as victory is the sole

end of war, so is success in gaining the object the end of politics. But even if we admit this in words, we fail to realise it in action. That is why our political meetings are conducted like a debating club, as if the Government is a rival school-boy whom to silence is to defeat! But as men may die under the most scientific treatment, so have we failed of our object in spite of the most splendid oratory.

May I make a personal confession? For my part, I do not worry myself overmuch about what the Government does, or does not, do for us. I count it silly to be a-tremble every time there is a rumbling in the clouds. First of all, a thunderbolt may or may not fall; secondly, we are not asked to assist in the counsels of the thunderbolt factory, nor will our supplications determine its course; and lastly, if the thunderbolt is at all to be diverted that cannot be done by making a counter-demonstration of feebler thundering, but only by using the proper scientific appliances. The lightning conductor does not fall from the skies, like the lightning itself; it has to be manufactured patiently, laboriously and skilfully down below, by our own efforts.

It is no use fretting against the laws of nature. The winged ant may complain about the inequity of its getting burnt, but if it flies into the flame, the inevitable will nevertheless happen. So, instead of wasting time over a discussion of the equities, it is better to keep the fire at a respectful distance. The Englishman is determined to maintain his hold upon India at any cost, so that whenever he finds anything working loose he is bound to hammer in a nail or two, promptly and vigorously, in order to fix it firmly again. Merely because we can speak good English or chop subtle logic, he is not likely to give up this very business-like habit of his. And whatever else we may, or may not do about it, it is futile to lose our temper.

One thing we should always remember,—how very small we figure in the Englishman's eyes. He rules us from a remote corner of his vast political arena. All his

attention and skill are absorbed in steering through the rocks of the European waters and in keeping together his colonies. We who inhabit a fringe of his unwieldy empire,—our likes and dislikes, our effusions and tantrums, alike leave him cold. Hence the soporific power of Indian debates in Parliament.

The Englishman passes through this country like flowing water; he carries no memory of value away with him; his heart strikes no root in its soil. He works with the prospect of furlough in his mind, and even for his amusements he looks to his compatriots alone. His acquaintance with our language is confined to the depositions of witnesses and with our literature to translations in the Government Gazette. How little of his view we subtend we are apt to forget and so are every now and then taken by surprise at his callousness towards us. When we blurt out our feelings, he in turn, naturally considers such expression an exaggeration, which sometimes provokes irritation and sometimes only a smile.

I am not saying all this by way of formulating a charge against the Englishman, but merely to point to the facts as they are, and naturally must be. How can the high and mighty have a vision keen enough to discern in detail the agonies, however heart-rending, the losses however vital, of what is so very small? So what seems to us of immense moment is negligible to his perceptions. When we rage and fume over the partition of this little province of ours, or of some problem concerning this petty municipality of ours, or this education or literature of ours, we are astounded at not getting results proportionate to our outcry. We forget that the Englishman is not of us, but over us; and if ever we should reach the olympian heights where he dwells, only then could we know at what a distance we are and how ridiculously diminutive we look.

It is because we appeared so small to him that Lord Curzon asked with naive surprise why we were so absurdly unable to appreciate the glory of being

merged in the British Empire. Just think of it! To be compared with Australia, Canada, and the rest, for whose imperial embrace the Britisher is pining, at whose window he sings such moving serenades, for whose sake he is even willing to allow the price of his daily bread to mount up! Could his lordship have been serious? But whatever Lord Curzon may have felt when making this extravagant suggestion, our feelings were much the same as those of the lamb ceremonially invited, along with the guests, to join the feast! So are we called to glory within the British Empire. There, if tropical areas are to be brought under cultivation, it shall be our function to furnish cheap indentured labour; it shall be our right to supply funds for expeditions against poor, inoffensive Tibet; and if there be a rising of the oppressed in Somaliland, it shall be our privilege to die in its suppression. Only thus can both big and small participate in a common glory.

But, as I say, that is a natural law over which it is no use making our eyes either red or moist. In all that we do, it is enough to bear in mind what the natural law is. If we appeal to the Englishman on the ground of lofty morality and say: "Rise superior to the level of ordinary humanity and subordinate the interests of your country to those of India!" suppose he retorts: "Look here, we'll listen to your preaching later on, but will you first have the goodness to come down to our very ordinary level, and place the interests of your country before your own selfish ones; if you cannot give up your life, at least give up your money, your comforts, anything at all, for your country. Are we to do everything for you and you nothing for yourselves?" What are we to say to that? What after all are we doing, what are we giving? If we had only kept ourselves acquainted with our country, that would have been something,—but so lazy are we, we know next to nothing about her. The foreigner writes our history, we translate it; the foreigner discovers our grammar, we cram it! If we want to

know what there is next door, we have to look into Hunter. We gather no facts first hand,—neither about men, nor commerce, nor even agriculture. And yet, with such crass indifference on our own part, we are not ashamed to prate about the duties of others towards our country. Is it any wonder that our empty preaching should be so utterly futile? The Government is at least doing something and has some responsibility. We are doing nothing and have none. Can there be any real interchange of counsels between two such parties? And so it happens that on the one hand we get up agitations and hold indignation meetings and vociferate to our heart's content and then, the very next day, swallow the most unpalatable humiliations so completely that no doctor, even, has to be called in!

I do hope that my readers will tell me that I am uttering the stalest truisms. The truths — that we must look after our own interests, carry on our own work, wipe away our own shame, earn our own welfare, do everything ourselves — are certainly not new. And I shall glory in any censure that may be passed on me because of their triteness. What I dread is lest any one should accuse me of advocating something new-fangled; for then must I confess ignorance of the art of proving self-evident things. It is the sign of a critical condition indeed, if the simple should appear difficult and old truths come as a surprise, or rouse honest indignation!

However, I have wandered of nights on the vast sandbanks of the Padma, and I know how, in the darkness, land and water appear as one, how the straightest of paths seem so confused and difficult to find; and when in the morning light dawns, one feels astonished how such mistakes could have been made. I am living in the hope that when our morning comes, we shall discover the true path and retrace our steps.

Moreover, I am sure that all of us are not wandering in the same darkness. There are many enthusiastic young fellows whom I know, who are willing to spend more than words in the service of

their country. Their difficulty is, they do not know what to do about it, where to go for advice, what service is to be rendered and to whom; to spend oneself without method and without organisation would be mere waste. If there had been some centre of our *shakti*, where all could unite; where thinkers could contribute their ideas, and workers their efforts; then there the generous would find a repository for their gifts. Our education, our literature, our arts and crafts, and all our good works would range themselves round such centre and help to create in all its richness the commonwealth which our patriotism is in search of.

I have not the least doubt in my mind that the rebuffs which we are meeting from the outside are intended by Providence to help this centre of our *shakti* to become manifest within the nation; our petitions are being thrown back to us in order that we may turn our faces towards such centre; and the pessimism which is spreading amongst the feckless, workless critics of the government is due not to the smart of any particular insult, or the hopelessness of any particular concession, but to the growing insistence of an inward quest for this centre.

If we can establish such centre in our midst, our persuasions and arguments may be addressed to it and will then acquire meaning and become real work. To this centre we can pay our tribute, to it we can devote our time and energy. It will be the means of evoking and giving full play to our intellect, our capacity for sacrifice and all that is great and deep in us. To it shall we give and from it shall we receive our truest wealth.

If our education, our sanitation, our industries and commerce radiate from such a centre, then we shall not, off and on, be kept running after orators to get up public meetings to protest against some wrong, to ventilate some grievance. These sudden awakenings and outcries, by fits and starts, followed by a relapse into the silence of somnolence, is getting to be ludicrous. We can hardly talk about it seriously any more, not even to ourselves.

The only way to put a stop to this farce is to take upon ourselves the whole duty of our national progress.

Let no one think that I am advocating a policy of sullen aloofness. That would only be another form of sulking, which may have its place in a lover's quarrel, but not here. What I say is the reverse. I am for courteous, diplomatic relations with the Government. In courtesy there is freedom. A relationship which is forced on us is but a form of slavery and cannot last. Free relations may mature into friendship later on.

Some of us seem to think that if only we could get all we are asking for from the government, a state of effusive friendliness would be sure to arise. But that is contrary to experience. Where can one find the end to begging on the one hand and granting of favours on the other? As our *shastras* put it, you cannot quench a flame by pouring oil thereon. The more the beggar gets, the more does he want and the less is he satisfied. Where getting depends, not on the earning of the recipient, but on the generosity of the giver, it is twice accursed,—it spoils both him that takes and him that gives.

But where the relationship is one of give and take on both sides, of an exchange of benefits, there amicable arrangements are always possible, and the gain to both is real. This can only be brought about if we establish our power on a foundation of good works. Mutual concessions between two powers are graceful as well as permanent, pleasing and honorable to both parties. That is why I say that, in order to get from the Government what is due from it to the country, up to the last farthing, the only way is to render in our turn the services which our country may expect from us ourselves, likewise to the last farthing. We may demand only by the measure of what we do give.

Here it may be asked, what if the Government should use its forces to hinder our rendering true service to the country? That, of course, is possible. Where interests are adverse such attempts

are only to be expected. But that is no reason for our giving it up as a bad job. We should remember that it is not an easy matter to obstruct a person who is honestly engaged in doing his duty. Moreover we must not confuse such obstruction with the arbitrary withdrawal of favours. Take for instance the matter of self-government. We are crying ourselves hoarse because what Lord Ripon wanted to give, some other Lord took away. Shame on us for attaching such value to what others can give and others can take away. It was only our folly which led us to call such a thing by the name of self-government.

And yet self-government lies at our very door, waiting for us. No one has tried, nor is it possible for any one even if he does try, to deprive us of it. We can do everything we like for our villages—for their education, their sanitation, the improvement of their communications,—if only we make up our minds to set to work, if only we can act in unison. For this work we do not need the sanction of a government badge. . . . But what if we cannot make up our minds? What if we will not be united? Then are there not ropes and stones enough for us to go and drown ourselves?

I repeat that our education is the thing which we should first of all take into our own hands. The doubter will ask, what if we do—who will then provide us with lucrative posts? That, also, we shall do ourselves. If the work of the country be in our own hands, where is the difficulty in remunerating those who do it? He who provides the employment is bound to be the master,—it cannot be otherwise. And in assessing our wages the foreign master will naturally not be neglectful of his own pocket. All the more reason, therefore, why the whole field of work, including education as an essential part, should be under our own control. We complain of the want of opportunity for acquiring technical knowledge. But we know to our cost that, if the master be an outsider, he will take particular care not to allow us any real opportunity.

I know my critics will say that the matter now begins to sound difficult. I do not hesitate to admit it. If it had not been difficult, it would not have been worth doing. If someone wants to go a-voyaging on a petition-paper boat in quest of the golden fleece, a certain class of patriots may be attracted by this fairy-tale proposition, but I would not recommend anyone to risk real national Capital in the venture. It is difficult to build a dike, and easy to get up a constitutional agitation asking the waters to recede,— but the latter is not a way out of the difficulty. To get something ultra cheap makes one feel extra clever, and when the cheap thing collapses under the strain of work, it is comforting to put the blame on some one else; but in spite of all these consolations the fact remains that the work fails to get done.

To consider all responsibilities as being light in one's own case and heavy in the case of others, is not a good moral code. When sitting in judgment on the behaviour of the British towards ourselves, it is well to take note of the difficulties in their way and their human weaknesses. But when searching out our own lapses, there must be no invention of excuses or palliations, no lowering of the standard on grounds of expediency. And so I say, the rousing of indignation against the British Government may be an easy political method, but it will not serve to lead us to our goal. Rather, the cheap pleasure of giving tit for tat, of dealing shrewd blows, will detract from the efficient pursuit of our own path

of duty. When a litigant is worked up into a state of frenzy, he thinks nothing of staking and losing his all. If anger be the basis of our political activities, the excitement itself tends to become the end in view, rather than the object to be achieved. Side issues assume an exaggerated importance, and all gravity of thought and action is lost. Such excitement is not an exercise of strength, but a display of weakness.

We must give up all such pettiness and found our political work on the broad basis of love of country,— not on dislike of, or dependence upon others. This dislike and this dependence may seem to be opposite states of mind, but they are really twin branches of the same tree of impotence. Because we decided that our salvation lay in making demands, dislike was born of our disappointment. We then jumped to the conclusion that this feeling of ours was Patriotism,— gaining at one stroke profound consolation and an elevating pride!

Just think for a moment of the mother from whom the care of her child is taken away and entrusted to another. Why is she inconsolable? Because of her exceeding love. The same anxiety to do our best for our country by our own efforts may alone be called Patriotism,— not the cleverness of shifting that duty on to the foreigner, which is not true cleverness either, for the duty does not get done.

Free Translation by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

A GLIMPSE OF SCHOOL LIFE IN CHINA

IT is opening day at Liu Mei School, the school which prepares Chinese boys for study in Europe and America. In the entrance hall of the Teachers' Court, the doors at the north have been closed to form a background, and on a table placed against them, a red tablet to Confucius

has been set up, with a bronze incense jar filled with incense sticks before it, and two red candles on either side.

At about eight o'clock in the morning, the bell ringer, whose duty it is to usher in and bring to a close the classes by pacing up and down the various courts

and passages of the compound, begins to ring his bell for the assembling. He begins in the garden—any boys in the playground beyond can be summoned from there—then down the long passage leading from the first and second dormitories, then through the arched doorway into the courts where the class rooms are located, then up the long passage lined with offices on either side, and bringing up finally with a last vigorous gesture in the Teachers' Court.

Obedient to the summons, the boys come singly and in groups, the narrow passage is filled with them in their white school uniforms. They come, big and little, fat and lean, tall and short and arrange themselves before the entrance hall, teachers and proctors are there in their long white gowns, and in the center, the tall young principal with his sensitive profile and becomingly long black hair.

An officer of the school oversees the lighting of the candles and at a word from the principal, the assembly bows once, twice, thrice before the illuminated tablet, no doubt to invoke the spirit of China's great Teacher upon this day when so many young hopefuls are setting out in the Land of Scholars upon the eternal adventure of learning.

Liu Mei Shwey Sheow, or Liu Mei, as the students familiarly call it, is a government school of the province of Honan, and is located at Kaifeng, the present capital of the province, and once long centuries ago, the center of Chinese culture in her most glorious age during the Sung Dynasty. The school was founded immediately after the establishment of the Republic, so that it is now almost a decade old. Its founder and present principal, Mr. H. L. Chang, was a member of the first provincial Legislature, and at its first session introduced the bill which created the school. Mr. Chang is a "returned" student from America, and a charming young man of culture and refinement. He is a progressive educator and a devoted principal, and his school has already won a high reputation through the representatives it has sent to America. They have proved to be exceptional stu-

dents, industrious and conscientious and endowed with the qualities of leadership.

The school is situated outside of the city proper on the public lands just within the city walls. It occupies the site of the old government examination halls, to the east of the legislative buildings. In a sense, it is the old examination halls, for most of its class rooms and its large new building are constructed of the bricks salvaged from the old examination stalls. The walls of the passage-ways are so constructed, and surprise one by showing here and there an inscribed tablet, while in some places the entire wall is broken by little recesses, regularly placed, which were formerly the book niches of the students.

The school compound is spacious and inviting and is entirely enclosed by a brick wall about twenty-five feet high. It consists of a series of one story buildings connected or separated by courts and passages. One of the first groups is the Teachers' Court, where three attractive dwellings for resident teachers close in the three sides of the willow-shaded court, the fourth side being occupied by an entrance hall with the school dining rooms on either side. Out of the court which opens from the dining halls, a walled-in passage-way, broken by many arches and lined on both sides by flower gardens leads to the Principal's Office, the General Office, the Student Supply, and other office rooms.

The first passage to the right conducts to the large courtyard where stands the new building, now nearing completion. It is built in four stories, the highest building in Kaifeng, the boys proudly inform us. It resembles very much a western school building except that the roof shows the curved lines and the procession of animal figures along the gables that one sees on all pretentious Chinese buildings. "Our new building wears a Chinese hat," drolly remarked one of the school boys.

Beyond the new building one comes upon the dormitories, long, one-storied buildings, suggesting the Mediaeval cloister. A portico runs along the entire

front, broken by arches. Each arch marks a room and each room furnishes quarters for four boys. Two beds and a wash stand occupy the two sides, two tables the center of the room, and a window fills the space on the side opposite the door.

The school garden, which boasts a small lotus pond, opens off from the first dormitory. It is surrounded by a high wall, and is entered through the picturesque round Chinese gates. At present most of the vegetables have been gathered, but the garden billows with some wonderful huge, dome-shaped Chinese plants of vivid green, and zinnias and marigolds give touches of rich color with a tangle of morning glories at sunrise. There are young willows and cedar trees, showing that the garden is as new as the school. A summer-house stands in a quiet corner and here the school boys come with their flutes between supper and study bell, and the plaintive music sounds very sweet and attractive coming from the twilight of the flowers.

A library and numerous class room buildings complete the school. They are all plain buildings of dingy brick, with rude wooden floors within, and equipped with high desks and stools and wooden blackboards. But they become quite attractive when the school boys in their uniforms of white coats and trousers fill the seats, their black heads showing all the darker above the white coats. When the teacher enters, the boys rise respectfully and remain standing until he has mounted the creaking platform behind an old desk, evidently a legacy from a defunct institution of learning.

The walls both within and without are whitewashed, and pillar and window and door frames are painted an indigo blue; plain and unpretentious, it is true, but furnishing an unobtrusive background to the oblong flower gardens which occupy the spaces between the class rooms. Here are pomegranate and cedar trees, promising green in the gray winter time, and zinnias again and gay marigolds.

On this first morning of the school year

the compound presents a very busy scene, even if we could shut out the sounds and sights around the new building where masons and carpenters and coolies are early at work. Up and down the passages teachers and proctors are passing with an air of bustle and importance, their long white gowns contributing an academical quality to one familiar with the academical dress of the western scholar. Rickshaws drawn by bare-backed coolies sweating under the August sun pull up at the entrance and bare-headed school boys in white uniforms jump down with their bundles and boxes of baggage, drop their noisy coppers into the palm of the rickshaw coolie, and are met by the old dark-skinned porters, who keep eternal watch at the outer doors.

Monday, classes will begin. Monday, all the dormitories will be filled with happy, studious school boys, for Liu Mei is very strict and every boy must appear on the opening day or show very good reason. Three times a day the school ration is being prepared on the huge brick stoves in the kitchens just beyond the dining halls, and three times a day the boys will gather to eat their portions of thick vegetable soup and bread. The old bell ringer who goes up and down the courts and passages announcing waking time and bed time and meal time, and calling and dismissing classes, will be out with his noisy bell, and some two hundred Chinese lads will be setting out again on the road of learning.

Liu Mei is a unique school. It has two groups of students; one, the English group, is preparing for future study in England and America and practically all their work is done through the medium of the English language. The fortunate members of the second group will study later in France, and to this end are being instructed in French. At present there are two groups in English; an advanced group of eighty boys who have one more year of study at the school, and a group of fifty-five who are now in their second year and will study for three years more. The French group consists of sixty three

boys with three and one half years of study still before them.

Classes begin at eight in the morning and dismiss at four in the afternoon. If one visits the big playground immediately after four, he will witness a lively scene. Three or four groups of boys out on the open field are playing soccer football. In the farther corner a lively bunch is busy with a basket ball, two games of tennis are being played on the courts to the south, and on the swings and exercise bars other boys are keeping in motion.

In spite of their cloth shoes the boys are good kickers and the ball soars high above and sometimes over the brick wall which surrounds the playground. Beyond

the compound, a flat bare plain stretches away on the north to the city wall. Looking towards the wall beyond the lively playground, one sees one of the memorable sights of Kaifeng, the great Pagoda, three hundred feet high, a lovely structure of glazed tile, built fourteen centuries ago and still keeping watch over the ways of men. A giant figure, a beautiful, watchful presence, a hovering spirit of a glorious past, after its long centuries of alliance with the enduring sun and the returning winds, it seems to brood and wait; perhaps some of these happy, handsome, studious school boys will some time tell us what it is waiting for.

MAYCE F. SEYMOUR,

PURPOSE OF ORGANISATION

THEORETICALLY, all human organizations are alike. The human mind reacts to every stimuli in a definite manner. Its way of receiving an appeal, of arriving at conclusions and its way of putting its objectives into results are similar in all spheres of human activities. If a study is made of various social, political, industrial, religious and other organizations, it will be found that there are certain fundamental principles which are common to all.

Broadly speaking, organizations may be said to have four component parts:—purpose, plans, personnel and publicity. There are certain general principles which govern each of these. Of course, their application varies according to circumstances. Writing on Strategy, Marshal Von Molke says :

“What is necessary is, in the midst of particular cases, to discover the situation, such as it is, in spite of being surrounded by the fog of the unknown; then to appreciate soundly what is seen, to guess what is not seen, to make a decision quickly; finally, to act with vigour without hesitation.”

So with principles. They must be

applied in accordance with the changing circumstances.

Principles consist of rules of conduct which are formulated by scientific study and taken from experience and traditional knowledge. They are the result of thought, of good judgment, of common-sense. Through their application, an organization achieves the highest possible efficiency in the use of its men, materials, machines and methods to achieve its object. By careful analysis and planning, they make the way for automatic, precise and accurate action. They define the individual functions of each worker, instruct him and fit him to his task, create incentives for him and by using methods which avoid waste motion, enable him to produce to the utmost of his ability. Thus, they promote his personal effectiveness.

Principles seek to find a scientific way of doing every function. They attempt to secure harmony and avoid discord. They promote co-operation among the workers and by developing each man to his greatest possibilities they increase the

results and achieve the object with the least expenditure of time and energy.

In industrial work, where competition is severe and the cost of labour an important factor in the cost of the product and the final profits, it is necessary to get the workers to perform their functions to the best of their ability. The principles of industrial management as enunciated by Taylor and followed in factories run under scientific management are that

"A large daily task should be given to the men; they should be given standard conditions, so that each task will be possible of performance; there should be high pay for success; and they should lose, if they fail to reach the requirements of the task."

These principles of scientific management apply to all organizations. The executive officer, the leader outlines a specific task, makes some one under him responsible for its performance and then supervises its accomplishment.

The administration system in an organization may be of one of these two kinds—the military and the "staff and line" system. The authority in an army comes from the top to the next in the ladder and so forth and the responsibility also divides itself in a similar way. The commander-in-chief is the most responsible officer and the others are responsible to the one above them. In the "staff and line" system, the organization is divided by functions in two groups of people—the thinkers and the workers, the ones who plan and the ones who execute the plan. The thinkers include experts in each line, financial, legal, publicity and other, and the heads of departments. They are the staff. The experts plan and divide the work, instruct the workers how to do it, provide them with incentives to work whole-heartedly, surround them with conditions favourable to their particular work, and decide the policy towards the public and the people in the organization. The department heads, and their assistants and the workers, then follow the plan as outlined by experts taking their help whenever necessary.

The outstanding object of military organization is to facilitate administration.

It means, in other words, the supply of each man in the army with all he requires to live and move and fight. If an army is badly organized, the process of supply becomes slow, uncertain and incomplete, and its efficiency is correspondingly lessened. It is organized to give the commander-in-chief the means of using each of its members in such a way that their combined and united effort towards a fixed objective may result in success. The first object of an army organization is to facilitate command, to ensure that every man in the force acts promptly at the will of the commander. When there is lack of such concerted action the army immediately experiences difficulty in the directing of its movements as well as in the supplying of its wants.

The fundamental thing, however, in an organization is the reason for its existence, for its coming into being. This reason is called its aims and objects, the platform, programme, ideal or goal of the society, league or whatever name is given to it. The aims should be very clearly defined before any attempt is made to get people to join it. Organizations divide themselves as being political, industrial, social, religious, according as what particular subject they interest themselves in. It is best to make an organization take up only one thing and concentrate its entire energy on it, instead of scattering its efforts in several directions at one time. The objects of an organization, if it is a non-commercial one, should be lofty and its active workers unselfish and sacrificing in order that people may have faith in it, may rally to its support.

An organization is the result of the needs of the times. In the United States, where the government is either "Republican" or "Democratic", where party politics govern all political policies, where public opinion is to a certain extent the dominant factor in the enactment of laws, the political needs of the country are a critical examination of all measures by experts and the education of public opinion on the problems of the day. These are the tasks of a

large number of American political organizations. For example, one of them declares its objects to be :

1. To study what the government is doing.
2. To study the organization of government.
3. To ascertain what methods are being used.
4. To discover what results are obtained.
5. To endeavor to make government more in conformity with the wishes of the public.

The activities of this organization are carried on independently of partisan considerations. Thus the organization differs essentially and radically from official Government agencies. The principle upon which such a policy is based is that "freedom of action can be obtained through independence of position only." The Bureau has not been organized for profit, and having no commercial interests to advance, can proceed unhampered in its plans.

Another similar organization states its work to be :

"Dealing with public questions from a representative standpoint. A national forum with co-operation from social, manufacturing labour, mercantile and economic groups. Objects : 1. To organise the most capable people of the nation in an educational movement for the advancement of industrial and social progress. 2. To aid in the crystallization of the most enlightened public opinion. 3. To promote legislation in accordance therewith."

Within this organization is a women's section, which has been formed to :

"Bring about mutual agreement and understanding of the citizenship representative of the three elements of society—employer, employee, general public. It aims toward a wider understanding, broader tolerance and closer sympathy among groups."

It is interested primarily in the welfare of governmental and industrial employees.

Still another, a Municipal League composed of American women voters has for its purposes to act as :

"A center of information for the average citizen, on problems of her city ; 2. A medium through which the interests of women citizens can be registered ; 3. An organization through

which civic betterment can be accomplished, constructive criticism can be given, co-operation can be extended ; 4. A stimulus for civic conscience."

The central thought upon which the League bases its usefulness in the community is that "a city is what its citizens make it." The League is founded on the principle that the vastness and importance of city problems should be a challenge to women of spirit to work continually, not sporadically, for the realization of the finest civic possibilities.

In labour organizations, it would seem that there is only one principle that should be adhered to, that of solidarity. Yet we find that in their methods of organization different principles are followed. The most powerful body of workers in the United States of America—the American Federation of Labour has formulated its aims as follows :

"The encouragement of the formation of local unions and the closer federation of such societies through central trade and labour unions in every city with the further combination of these bodies into state, territorial and provincial organizations ; to secure legislation in the interests of the working classes ; the establishment of national and international trades' unions based upon strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade and the promotion and advancement of such bodies ; and the aiding and encouragement of the labour press in America."

"Offensive and defensive objects : to promote the rights and defend the interests of the labouring class ; to render assistance to local unions in securing concessions to all just demands : to guard against, and use only as a last resort, the strike and the boycott ; to aid in the adoption of the union label ; and to further by all possible means the settlement of industrial disputes by arbitration."

The preamble to its constitution contains a statement of its purpose, as follows :

"Whereas a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the labourer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

"It, therefore, behoves the representatives of the Trade and Labour unions to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among

the mechanics and labourers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

"We, therefore, declare ourselves in favour of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every trade and labour organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system."

A women's organization in New York, similar to the above, has for its objects :

"Organization of all workers into trade unions ; equal pay for equal work regardless of sex ; the 8-hour day and 44-hour week ; a living wage ; and, full citizenship for women."

Still another American organization, more active than the foregoing two, states :

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes struggle must go on until the toilers come together on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labour, through an economic organization of the working class without any affiliation to any political party. The interests of the working class can be upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on, in any group thereof, thus making an injury to one and injury to all."

A milder, more narrow field is to be found in the following principles, formulated by an American body for labor legislation. Its aims, it declares, are : to improve conditions in industry ; and to obtain uniform labor laws in the interests of the whole community. The objects of the organization are :

"To serve as a bond of union to those who, in different countries, believe in the necessity of protective labour legislation ; to organize an International Labour office, the mission of which shall be to publish in French, German and English a periodical collection of labor laws in all countries, or lend its support to a publication of that kind ; to facilitate the study of labour legislation in different countries and to furnish to members information on laws in force and on their application in different states to promote the study of the problems of unifying different labor codes throughout the countries of the world ; and to call meetings of international congresses of labour legislation."

Educational organizations are even

more varied in their objects and principles. One organization in New York concentrates its energies on the forum question and declares that its central idea is to have a platform from which experts and men of affairs can give their opinion on public questions. The basic thought is that of free discussion. This Forum has been established as a device by which people become articulate. "Any institution that gives voice to the people is an emancipator, for it breaks their worst shackle—silence." The aims of this organization are :

"to afford freest opportunity for the business man and the labouring man to arrive at a better understanding of the vital questions affecting their relationship, through public discussion. 1. The Forum brings to a community the knowledge of experts, thus providing for a sort of people's university. 2. It is a truly democratic method of education, satisfying the demand for expression on the part of the people. 3. It brings subjects into the full light of free discussion."

The purpose of this "Open Forum", as explained by Rev. Percy Stickney Grant is :

"to afford the freest opportunity for the business man and the labouring man to arrive, by open discussion at a better understanding of the vital questions affecting their relationship ; to discover the drift of industrial progress ; to guard against the menace of unjust industrial development ; to forestall, by reasonable and humane ways, the settlement by sterner methods ; to do its part toward the essential end that the arrogance and whip of capital and the distrust and evil weapons of labour may be put aside, so that their hands may be free to join in the grip of a common interest."

"The Open Forum is another undertaking to provide a common meeting place for the rich and the poor, free from traditional impediments, to bring together in a humane atmosphere the extremes of society. It bases its action not upon dogmas, traditions or precedents, but upon the urgent needs of the present and an intelligent view of the future."

"Nietzsche says : 'The important question for you is not where did you come from, but where are you going ?' Walter Lippman condenses this into his maxim : 'substitute purpose for tradition.' The new psychology tells us that 'a philosophical study of living beings shows that they may be graded according to the amount of purpose they manifest.' But where are we going ? What should be our purpose ? Is it not safe to say (if we pay attention to the lessons of industrial evolution) that the world is moving toward a greater demo

cracy, toward the spread of freedom, opportunity and wealth—in fact, toward the highest development for the largest number of human beings by means of material and spiritual advantages of self-government?"

A slight divergence from the Forum idea is that upon which another educational organization, the Peoples' Institute of New York is founded. The purpose of this Institute is to organize groups in a community, in which people of a district will meet, using public schools for their club houses, for debate, mutual entertainment and mutual education. It works with the masses for better educational, cultural and recreational opportunities through a forum which stands among other things, for enlightened citizenship; sane popular leadership; the formation of intelligent public opinion through non-propagandist education; good-will achieved by means of mutual understanding; and collective thinking. Another educational body, a technical school, was founded to

"help those who work during the day to continue their studies at night, either perfecting themselves in a vocation already chosen, or to learn new trades, and to provide an opportunity for those mechanically inclined to learn a trade, and to aid them to prepare for a trade career. Especially advantageous is the school for those desiring to perfecting themselves in a trade, and thus secure promotion in work."

A unique commercial organization, very different from any of the above, is the "Rice Leaders of the World Association" of New York. It is an organization of manufacturers of goods of very high quality. The reason for the formation of this Association is advertised to be:

"To build sturdy ideals and build wisely, to hold high standards and hold firmly, to deal fairly and to deal broadly, and to stay by truth and to stay stoutly."

This is its way to win public confidence and perpetuate its goodwill. Every member of this organization is supposed to follow the principles of honour, quality, strength and service which are defined as follows:

Honour: A recognized reputation for fair and honourable business dealings. Strength: A responsible and substantial financial standing. Quality: An honest product of quality truthfully represented. Service: A recognized reputation for conducting business in a prompt and efficient manner.

With these principles in mind, from executive officers to workmen at the bench, each and all, are supposed to be loyal to a supreme regard for honest endeavor. The best of materials for the purpose are used skilfully by the best of craftsmen, and the finished product is merchandised by the cleanest, quickest and fairest methods that a due regard for the firm's ideals can devise.

The above are merely some examples of the objects of some American political, industrial, educational and commercial bodies, each of which will some day find their counterpart in India. They have been reproduced at length because of their value as suggestive materials. Whenever there is a common problem facing many people, whenever there is need of reform in the existing conditions in a community, whenever a new idea is born, whenever a new standard has to be raised, thoughtful, energetic people organize themselves. What people cannot achieve singly, they do in groups, in organizations. The people in the group must, however, feel that their object is laudable, based on fairness, equity and justice and worthy of all sacrifices on their part.

RAM KUMAR KHEMKA.

"SNOW BIRDS"*

THIS is a book of 110 rhythmic prose-poems written after the manner of Tagore's "Gitanjali." Its motto from the Rig-Veda, explained in the Appendix, has a bearing on the title of the volume.

* By Sri Ananda Acharya (Macmillan & Co. 7-6 : 1919)

Applied to the series of prose-poems it suggests that they are to be viewed and interpreted as an attempt to record the revelation to the poet, in his inspired and prayerful moments of illumination, of the interdependence and unity of the Absolute Self and the Relative Self as realised by sages in India—and, subordinately, also of the mutual dependence between

thought and language. We may in this connection refer in particular to "My Faith" (No. xcix).—

"Though atoms, forces, lives, fates, graces, tunes each from the other differs, each fighting for supremacy—this is my faith: all are travelling, under the cloud of Unknowingness, to the All-Soul's temple of rest." (p. 205.)

Divorced from its context the extract reads too much like the enunciation of a doctrine.

"The Witness" (No. cviii) is equally to the point and has, besides, a distinct mystic note.

The dedicatory piece "In Memoriam," represents (again in a mystic way) the poet's realisation of the tie of *love*, between him and his "Guru," now "gone to his new home" yet seen in "the dreams of night," in which too appear "like two beads on the thread of Infinity" this world where "the living sing" and the other world where "the dead *live*." (Italics ours.)

The first thing that strikes the reader in these beautiful pieces in the volume is their profound spiritual note—occasionally* mystic full of deep and fervent emotional piety. We can only refer here to Nos. lxx, xcvi to xcix, ci, cv, cvi and cviii with the single remark that the first of this batch of poems specially scales the higher heights and sounds the deeper depths of the Soul.

To us the writer's chief merit seems to lie in the rare power of translating with a poet's spontaneous ease and freshness the life of the spirit into lucid yet suggestive and charmingly concrete images. In the majority of the pieces before us we catch illuminating glimpses of the suprasensuous world side by side with nature poetry of a high order of excellence which reveals the world of the senses—of mere external appearances full of beauty—in terms of the changeless. To take one concrete instance: "Roudana in Cloud" (No. v) is charming in its pictorial quality—there is, first, the central figure of a speechless village maiden, "still as the silence round about her" (in Keats's language), with her eyes "fixed upon the space beyond seeing the golden vision of coming spring." Then there is the beautiful effect of a restful background of *musical* silence in harmony with her *mood*. The whole thing is suffered with the subdued tone of sweet melody breathed by simple but poetic language, the entire piece being suggestive of a pervasive meditativeness.

This is art of a really high order. The next piece "A Tear" is also soul-entrancing with its simple, quiet yet exquisitely delicious air of a new romance.

Such work is born of a deep and penetrating spiritual vision not dissociated from the power of loving and minute observation of the world around us. He is right when he says (p. 45) "I have brought in thy throat a song from the children."

The poet's imagination is wonderfully at home in the natural scenery, legends and myths of many lands. "I have built," he justly says (No. cix, p. 234), "a perfumed rainbow arch of love, whose one foot rests in Glittertind and one on Gaurisankar's peace-illuminated height!" (cf. also No. xxiii p. 44). This is certainly true of such pieces as Nos. ii, vi, xxiii, xxxix.

In a "foreign medium" he commands an easy, elegant and mellifluous style suitable as a vehicle of spontaneous outpourings of a sensitive heart pulsating with love, oftener than not, spiritually exalted. Poetry

of this order ever tends to the uplift of the reader's soul (cf. xxiii, xxxiii and xxxvi).

Our poet, however, is remarkable more for emotional depth than intensity and best succeeds in creating a sweet atmosphere of mystic repose in which his songs of spiritual Love (e.g. lvi) blossom with Nature's quiet activity—"without rest yet without haste"—like lilies that "sow not, nor spin." We may here mention Nos. lxxxv—"Life's Web" (esp. p. 171) read with lxii—"Silence" c—"Cloud Over the Valley" (esp. p. 207), ciii—"Hymn to Work" (p. 214), and cvi—"O My Soul" (p. 221).

In this respect these prose-poems in their workmanship offer a contrast to the exuberance of the 19th century Romantic poets of the West. Here the beauty of form is born of perfect simplicity and though full of exquisitely delicate touches the imagery is entirely free from efforts at elaboration (cf. nos. v, vi, vii, xvii, xxviii, xxix, lxi, lxiv, lxvi). The net result is a unique classic grace, neither austere nor bare, yet full of reserve and chastened in tone. Among contemporary English poets Edward Thomas in his "Poems" (1917)—a small collection of 64 short pieces reaches this level of excellence (cf. "Early One Morning," "The Glory," "Hay-making" and "October").

It is this pervasive tone (cf. esp. lxxxix) more than anything else—so sweet, delicate, suggestive, soothing or elevating, quiet and subdued with unstudied restraint—that lends a charming freshness to these original productions irresistible in their poetic appeal to our imagination.

This simplicity of Nature delineation (not rugged or bare) at first sight may lead one to confound it with the realism of the "Naturalistic" School which it seems so closely to resemble. In reality our poet moves and has his being in a different world—a new world of romance, the romance of ideal beauty, spiritual yearnings, and of life's fruition resulting from love that is its own fulfilment and redemption (cf. "Aurora Borealis" No. xii, "The Song of the Gods" No. iii, "Greeting" No. viii, "Hymn to Work" No. ciii, p. 214) "O My Soul" cvi, p. 221 and "The Witness" No. cviii (p. 225).

His quasi-naturalistic but really romantic Nature description of a new type will be clear from "Coming Snow" (No. ii, p. 3), "Death in Twilight" (No. iv, p. 7), "The Blue Ghost" (No. vii, p. 13), "The Bells" (x, p. 18), "With the Muses" (xiv, p. 25), "Remembered Faces" (xviii, p. 32), "On the River Sands" (xxx, p. 57), "Pyrola" (xl, p. 77), "To The Forest" (lxix, p. 131), "The Psalm of Night" (lxxi, p. 133), "O Man" (lxxxiii, p. 162), "To An Ancient Birch-Tree" (lxxxvii, p. 178), "To A Nameless Winter Book" (lxxxix, p. 179) and "Hail Norway" (cix, pp. 228-229 and 232).

The poetry of Nature in "Roudana" (No. i), in the "Song of the Gods" (No. iii) and in "To The Forest" (lxix), has something of the Wordsworthian tone just as "Morning Faces" (No. xi), "The Chariot of Smoke" (No. xiii), and "New Grapes" (No. lxv) contain passages very closely resembling Shelley's poetry. The Shelleyan note is detected in other pieces too in detached passages.

Genuine poets of different ages and climes always have an affinity and Sri Ananda's symbolic treatment of Nature in "To An Ancient Birch-Tree" (No. 88) is reminiscent of Wordsworth's "Yew-Trees" just as "The Bells" (No. 10) is of Keats's "Nature Magic."

* xxix p. 56. Cf. lxxvi or lxxxii for example.

Similarly in "The Saints in White" (No. 9) the lines—

"The ferns stand before the sun in their winter robes of white
As in heaven the spirits of pure-hearted Saints stand in the presence of God.
The noonday blaze floods the heavens with a joyous glow of light,
And the snow-haired mountains stand like ancient sages rapt in thought"—

remind one at once of Keats's *Hyperion*, ll. 72-75

"As when, upon a tranced summer-night,
Those green-robed senators of mighty woods,
Tall oaks, branch-charmed by the earnest stars,
Dream * * *

"Buds and Blossoms" (No. 38) with its "Ah, then let me die away in the silence of my soul's wordless, infinite song!" in wistfulness touches the fervent yearning of Keatsian lyricism.

"My Faith" (99), viz., "though the mountains stand mute and the birds sing merrily, this is my faith: the mountains sing the song of silence in their heart"—is distinctly Wordsworthian in its conception of nature. Is not the piece called "Thought" (No. 105), judged as poetry of doctrine, as good as Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey"?

While on this point one may note this poet's "Raven" (No. 75)—somewhat symbolically treated—which in its departure from the traditional association of a "fatal" and "hoarsely croaking" bird adds 'strangeness to beauty' by transferring, to the raven ideas and images connected by Wordsworth with the mysterious voice of the "Cuckoo"—the poet's childhood's companion—"Still looked for never seen" and possessing the power to bring unto him "a tale of visionary hours." With our poet the Raven is "the sage of Eternity," "the witness of my childhood's ways" that was "the first to hear my baby songs in the village meadows" and, later on, "the friend of my way and faithful companion of my life" who "called me to Life's wondrous awakening from dim certitude to the full daylight of resplendent Truth." Indeed, Sri Ananda has the right to aver (with a new force and significance)—"birds and beasts and fish and worms are good and beautiful" (lxxix, p. 151). He rightly claims—"And I forgot my old world, and the old weary life of the senses died within me" (lxxxii, p. 154), for, verily, this new poet "heard a new song" in the heaven and "saw a new face" in all things on earth the beauty of which his original poetry unfolds to our admiring gaze.

The "Queen of the Stars" spake to him in the accents of Wordsworth's "Skylark" and the blending in it of the ideal with the real shows that he too like Wordsworth is "true to the kindred points of heaven and home" (No. xxxv.)

Again some of his modern ballads—especially Nos. xx, xlix, etc. appear to us to be of this type—(No. 4) "Little Foo," for instance, challenge comparison with the samples of Chinese poetry in Arthur Waley's translations [1st series] so remarkable for directness, simplicity, truth to nature, freedom from convention and delicacy of touch.

There is no question of borrowing or even of direct influence, for, as our poet knows, "from soul to soul passeth a message and a yearning." (p. 144.)

Further notable parallelisms are "Thou Canst Be All This" (xcvi) so thoroughly imbued with the devotional

temper of Kabir as represented in the Hundred Poems (Rabindranath's Translation), "To the Forest" (lxi) which breathes the spirit of Rabindranath's "Message of the Forest" and "On The River Sands" (xxx), "The Nest" (lvii), "O Love" (lxxii) bearing unmistakably the greatest living Bengali poet's stamp on them.

Lastly, "Pyrola" (No. xl) strongly reminds one of Alda's song in Act iii of Gabriele D'Annunzio's "Francesca Da Rimini"—

"Fresh fresh, in the calends of March,
O swallows, coming home
Fresh from the quiet lands beyond the sea;
First to bring back the great good messages
Of joy * * *

It must not be inferred that Sri Ananda Acharja's is simply the poetry of Nature and of spirituality (e.g. Nos. xxv, ix, xxxiii and xxxvi)—varieties in which Indian poets from very early times have been extraordinarily rich, though he is (in his poet's way) a Vedantin in (No. xcvi) "The Original Consciousness" and admits his allegiance to Truth [in (Nos. civ and cvi) "Realisation" and in "O My Soul"] as a devoted adorer of Infinite Light in "Thought" (No. cv., p. 219) which is based on the Upanishad text नाद्ये सत्त्वसिद्धिर्भूमेवदुर्लभा.

These are rich in intuitions of the Absolute Self. In others the Absolute is conceived as Love viewed from the stand-point of a mystic, such as, "Wilt thou not come" (No. 53), "Eternal Remembrance" (No. 54), "Under the Rainbow-Arch of Tears" (No. 56).

The mystic note is dominant in several other pieces like Nos. lix, xci (where the symbolism too is mystic) and xcvi, but he pre-eminently succeeds in "touching the strings" of his lyre "into mystery" in Nos. xxix, liii to lv, lxii, lxiii and lxxii. We will quote, however, simply from "Last Words" (xcvii) a suggestive passage—

"And if a man be slow of mind and fail to find the Truth, O Master, shall he live and die in vain? I asked, while tears rolled down my cheeks.

"Let him live a beautiful life, my son," He said and His voice trembled with motherly tenderness while His eyes, like transparent doors of heaven, gazed into mine" (pp 200-201) (cf. p. 114, No. 59).

To him this Infinite Light is identical with Love Infinite रसो वै सः—विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म। In "Love-Offerings" (No. 60) we find the idea of merging into the Infinite Love through LOVING SERVICE. The life of contemplation is thus connected with the life of action.

We next turn to the decidedly modern side of his poetry, the poetry of Humanity, for, as he avers, he is equally a poet who "heard the message of mighty and wondrous blessings coming to gladden the sad heart of Humanity" (p. 155, No. 81). His "Bodhi-Tree" (No. 23) is quite explicit on the point, for, he heard not only "the sound of water-falls pouring from Gangotri's ancient ice" but also "the festal song of free nations ringing through the streets of their proud cities" (p. 44 No. 23). Both kinds of "glories did I see and hear," says the poet. Nay, this is only a prelude to things nobler in this particular line (cf. ciii "Hymn to Work").

His exhortations to the powerful on earth to "sound the bugle calling all nations to the Feast of Friendship" as "messengers of Unity" (No. xcv, p. 197), his earnest adjuration to strike out all unkind

words (Nos. lxxxiii and cvii)—like "enemy," "savage," "barbarian," "heathen," "foreigner," "nigger"—his advocacy of "each man's right," held as sacred as each woman's right (No. cii); his recognition of the "peasant-folk as Nature's noblemen and noblewomen" (out-rivalling Burns) in No. cix dedicated to "Norway, land of strong men and free women"—"of women equal in rights to men, land whose sons behold the vision of Universal Peace" (p. 232); and lastly, his equally strong denunciation, with an Old Testament Prophet's directness and vigour, in No. ci, of "a harrying, ruthless civilisation" and his soul-entrancing dream of the royal proclamation (in No. ix)—"Let all the races of the earth be one, all tongues be one, and all religions one" followed by the voice of the youthful prophet—he with "gentle, dreamy eyes"—offering to carry out the monarch's will by going to "each man's door and bid him search his heart and find the one"—all these puissant utterances witness an essentially broad and modern outlook on life and its problems thoroughly imbued with whatever is highest and best in the democratic spirit of the West.

The great hope is his that—"Even the dust will come to be as glorious as a God" (No. ci.) which, by the way, reminds us of Shelley's "It (love) makes the reptile equal to the God" (Prometheus Unbound, Act II., Sc. V., Asiatic Panthea). His faith in the glorious future of humanity makes him fling his imagination forward to the day when after "the downfall of an earth-hungering, ego-minded nation," Norway's "sons may follow the path of wisdom through the green avenue of greedlessness, sublime forbearance, and science nobly utilised, to a new age of equal honour for all nations" (No. cix).

This is Shelley over again. How inspiring in these days of a new "storm and stress"!

"The Bengali Captain's" (No. xxvii) dying wish on the field of Mons and his prayer to Mother Humanity are in the same strain. In (xcii) "O Friends", which is his appeal for a "righteous commonwealth of nations," he solemnly hopes on behalf of "thought-burdened Humanity" for the day when "the budding sense of nationhood" will "flower into the full-blown rose of Divine Humanity" if only "nations rival, as the saints do, each other in goodness and soulfulness." Then can the league of all nations—each honouring "the divinity within the humanity of other nations"—"serve posterity for the foundation stones of the future edifice of Love." This piece is a modern application (if not extension) of the ancient teaching of Gautama Buddha. Conceived in the same spirit is his "A New Star" (No. lxxix) embodying the ideal of "Love-born Harmony".

We have an unpleasant duty to do as honest critics and propose to dismiss with a bare statement certain

elements that seem to take away from the merit of this excellent book.

(1) The Parable-like pieces such as, xli to xliii, lxxiv, lxxviii, have little poetry in them. Such is the case too with the "problem" poems (eg. lxxxiv, lxxxv) full of deep searchings of the spirit rather *intellectually* presented. No. lxxviii is redeemed by its last few lines. In No. lxxx too the atmosphere of the Norseland is re-created.

(2) "Local colouring" in the higher sense of the expression is absent from several pieces rich in local place names and even associations (cf. Nos. ii to viii and No. xvii). This is, however, not the case with others, such as, Nos. i, x to xii, xiv and xviii. No. xiv—"With the Muses"—reproduces the very spirit of Salmund's Edda as translated by Thorpe.

(3) Sometimes *doctrinè* is allowed to tyrannically dominate a piece till the poetic quality is killed outright (e.g. xxxiv).

(4) "Bower and Swain (No. xxx), "heavy quilt of snow" (No. v.) "tremulous stage of heaven"—suggest artificial convention.

Then there are conceits like "thy mountain lakes are tears shed by angels," (cix), "Thou wert created boneless" (said of the tongue) "that thou might'st utter naught but gentle, kindly words" (cvii). We do not want to multiply such instances for even if limited in number they are sure to jar upon the ear.

(5) We must allow a poet his mannerism within certain limits. Frequent repetition of a "trick", however, sickens. We have too often in this volume such negative compounds as "un-alive," "un-sleeping," "un-waving," "un-speaking," "un-winking," "un-breathing," "un-stirring," "un-fleeing," "un-asking," "un-existing," "un-laughing." Their name is legion.

(6) The writer is too fond also of such compound epithets as "self-making" "true-gold", etc.

(7) A sparing use of dainty things like "pansy-tinted," "pearl-crowned," "Aurora-hearted," "silver-sprinkled," "heaven-tinted" may be recommended though in themselves these poetic expressions are exquisite in flavour.

(8) What shall we say of "time, the flammivorous dragon" (p. 191) or "the smithy of hylotheistic culture" (p. 233), not to speak of that proverbial last straw in "the arche-type of eudæmonic eunomocracy?" (p. 233).

Lastly we hope to be pardoned for not being able to relish in the "Snow-Birds" a strange bird of black feathers like the fling, however just and well-deserved, at Germany and German culture in No. cix. The tribute to the reigning English sovereign (p. 231), so loyal and just, seems also to have been smuggled in. Let us not be hastily condemned as captious.

JAYGOPAL BANERJI.

LETTERS FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I

March 2nd, 1921.

YOUR last letter gives wonderful news about our students in Calcutta. I hope that this spirit of sacrifice and willingness to suffer will grow in strength; for to

achieve this is an end in itself. This is the true freedom! Nothing is of higher value,—be it national wealth, or independence,—than disinterested faith in ideals, in the moral greatness of man. The West has its unshakable faith in material strength and

prosperity ; and therefore however loud grows the cry for peace and disarmament, its ferocity growls louder, gnashing its teeth and lashing its tail in impatience. It is like a fish, hurt by the pressure of the flood, planning to fly in the air. Certainly the idea is brilliant, but it is not possible for a fish to realize. We, in India, shall have to show to the world, what is that truth, which not only makes disarmament possible but turns it into strength. That moral force is a higher power than brute force, will be proved by the people who are unarmed. Life, in its higher development, has thrown off its tremendous burden of armour and a prodigious quantity of flesh ; till man has become the conqueror of the brute world. The day is sure to come, when the frail man of spirit, completely unhampered by arms and air fleets, and dreadnoughts, will prove that the meek is to inherit the earth. It is in the fitness of things, that Mahatma Gandhi, frail in body and devoid of all material resources, should call up the immense power of the meek, that has been lying waiting in the heart of the destitute and insulted humanity of India. The destiny of India has chosen for its ally, *Narayan*, and not the *Narāyansena*,—the power of soul and not that of muscle. And she is to raise the history of man, from the muddy level of physical conflict to the higher moral altitude. What is *Swaraj* ! It is *maya*, it is like a mist, that will vanish, leaving no stain on the radiance of the Eternal. However we may delude ourselves with the phrases learnt from the West, *Swaraj* is not our objective. Our fight is a spiritual fight,—it is for Man. We are to emancipate Man from the meshes that he himself has woven round him,—these organisations of National Egoism. The butterfly will have to be persuaded that the freedom of the sky is of higher value than the shelter of the cocoon. If we can defy the strong, the armed, the wealthy,—revealing to the world the power of the immortal spirit,—the whole castle of the Giant Flesh will vanish in the void. And then Man will find his *Swaraj*. We, the famished, ragged ragamuffins of the East, are to win freedom for all Humanity. We have no word for 'Nation' in our language. When we borrow this word from other people, it never fits us. For we are to make our league with *Narayan*, and our victory will not give us anything but victory itself; victory for

God's world. I have seen the West ; I covet not the unholy feast, in which she revels every moment, growing more and more bloated and red and dangerously delirious. Not for us, is this mad orgy of midnight, with lighted torches, but awakenment in the serene light of morning.

II

March 5th, 1921

Lately I have been receiving more and more news and newspaper cuttings from India, giving rise in my mind to a painful struggle that presages a period of suffering which is waiting for me. I am striving with all my power to tune my mood of mind to be in accord with the great feeling of excitement sweeping across my country. But deep in my being why is there this spirit of resistance maintaining its place in spite of my strong desire to remove it? I fail to find a clear answer and through my gloom of dejection breaks out a smile and a voice saying, "Your place is on 'the seashore of worlds', with children; there is your peace, and I am with you there." And this is why lately I have been playing with inventing new metres. These are merest nothings that are content to be borne away by the current of time, dancing in the sun and laughing as they disappear. But while I play, the whole creation is amused, for are not flowers and leaves never-ending experiments in metre, is not my God an eternal waster of time? He flings stars and planets in the whirlwind of changes, he floats paper-boats of ages, filled with his fancies, on the rushing stream of appearance. When I tease him and beg him to allow me to remain his little follower and accept a few trifles of mine as the cargo of his play-boat, he smiles and I trot behind him catching the hem of his robe. But where am I among the crowd, pushed from behind, pressed from all sides? And what is this noise about me? If it is a song, then my own *sitar* can catch the tune and I join in the chorus, for I am a singer. But if it is a shout, then my voice is wrecked and I am lost in bewilderment. (I have been trying all these days to find in it a melody, straining my ear, but the idea of non-co-operation with its mighty volume of sound does not sing to me, its congregated menace of negation

shouts. And I say to myself, "If you cannot keep step with your countrymen at this great crisis of their history, never say that you are right and the rest of them wrong; only give up your role as a soldier, go back to your corner as a poet, be ready to accept popular derision and disgrace."

R, in support of the present movement, has often said to me that passion for rejection is a stronger power in the beginning than the acceptance of an ideal. Though I know it to be a fact, I cannot take it as a truth. We must choose our allies once for all, for they stick to us even when we would be glad to be rid of them. If we once claim strength from intoxication, then in the time of reaction our normal strength is bankrupt, and we go back again and again to the demon who lends us resources in a vessel whose bottom it takes away.

Brahma-vidya (the cult of Brahma, the Infinite Being) in India has for its object *mukti*, emancipation, while Buddhism has *nirvana*, extinction. It may be argued that both have the same idea in different names. But names represent attitudes of mind, emphasise particular aspects of truth. *Mukti* draws our attention to the positive, and *nirvana* to the negative side of truth. Buddha kept silence all through his teachings about the truth of the *Om*, the *everlasting yes*, his implication being that by the negative path of destroying the self we naturally reach that truth. Therefore he emphasised the fact of *duhkha* (misery) which had to be avoided and the *Brahma-vidya* emphasised the fact of *Ananda*, Joy, which had to be attained. The latter cult also needs for its fulfilment the discipline of self-abnegation, but it holds before its view the idea of Brahma, not only at the end but all through the process of realisation. Therefore the idea of life's training was different in the Vedic period from that of the Buddhistic. In the former it was the purification of life's joy, in the latter it was the eradication of it. The abnormal type of asceticism to which Buddhism gave rise in India revelled in celibacy and mutilation of life in all different forms. But the forest life of the *Brahmana* was not antagonistic to the social life of man, but harmonious with it. It was like our musical instrument *tambura* whose duty is to supply the fundamental notes to the music to save it from straying into discordance. It believed in *anandam*,

the music of the soul, and its own simplicity was not to kill it but to guide it.

The idea of non-co-operation is political asceticism. Our students are bringing their offering of sacrifices to what? Not to a fuller education but to non-education. It has at its back a fierce joy of annihilation which at its best is asceticism, and at its worst is that orgy of frightfulness in which the human nature, losing faith in the basic reality of normal life, finds a disinterested delight in an unmeaning devastation, as has been shown in the late war and on other occasions which came nearer to us. *No* in its passive moral form is asceticism and in its active moral form is violence. The desert is as much a form of *himsa* (malignance) as is the raging sea in storm; they both are against life.

I remember the day, during the *swadeshi* movement in Bengal, when a crowd of young students came to see me in the first floor hall of our Vichitra house. They said to me that if I would order them to leave their schools and colleges they would instantly obey. I was emphatic in my refusal to do so, and they went away angry, doubting the sincerity of my love for my motherland. And yet long before this popular ebullition of excitement I myself had given a thousand rupees, when I had not five rupees to call my own, to open a *swadeshi* store and courted banter and bankruptcy. The reason of my refusing to advise those students to leave their schools, was because the anarchy of a mere emptiness never tempts me, even when it is resorted to as a temporary measure. I am frightened of an abstraction which is ready to ignore living reality. These students were no mere phantoms to me, their life was a great fact to them and to the All. I could not lightly take upon myself the tremendous responsibility of a mere negative programme for them which would uproot their life from its soil, however thin and poor that soil might be. The great injury and injustice which had been done to those boys who were tempted away from their career before any real provision was made, could never be made good to them. Of course that is nothing from the point of view of an abstraction which can ignore the infinite value even of the smallest fraction of reality. I wish I were the little creature Jack whose one mission is to kill the giant abstraction which is claiming the sacrifice of individuals all over

the world under highly painted masks of delusion.

I say again and again that I am a poet, that I am not a fighter by nature. I would give everything to be one with my surroundings. I love my fellow-beings and I prize their love. Yet I have been chosen by destiny to ply my boat there where the current is against me. What irony of fate is this that I should be preaching co-operation of cultures between East and West on this side of the sea just at the moment when the doctrine of non-co-operation is preached on the other side? You know that I do not believe in the material civilisation of the West just as I do not believe in the physical body to be the highest truth in man. But I still less believe in the destruction of the physical body, and the ignoring of the material necessities of life. What is needed is establishment of harmony between the physical and spiritual nature of man, maintaining of balance between the foundation and superstructure. I believe in the true meeting of the East and the West. Love is the ultimate truth of soul. We should do all we can, not to outrage that truth, to carry its banner against all opposition. The idea of non-co-operation unnecessarily hurts that truth. It is not our hearth fire, but the fire that burns out our hearth and home.

III

March 13th, 1921.

Things that are stationary have no responsibility and need no law. For death, even the tombstone is a useless luxury. But for a world, which is an ever-moving multitude advancing toward an idea, all its laws must have one principle of harmony. This is the law of creation.

Man became great when he found out this law for himself, the law of co-operation. It helped him to move together, to utilise the rhythm and impetus of the world march. He at once felt that this moving together was not mechanical, not an external regulation for the sake of some convenience. It was what the metre is in poetry, which is not a mere system of enclosure for keeping ideas from running away in disorder, but for vitalising them, making them indivisible in a unity of creation.

So far this idea of co-operation has developed itself into individual communities

within the boundaries of which peace has been maintained and varied wealth of life produced. But outside these boundaries the law of co-operation has not been realised. Consequently the great world of man is suffering from ceaseless discordance. We are beginning to discover that our problem is world-wide, and no one people of the Earth can work out its salvation by detaching itself from the others. Either we shall be saved together, or drawn together into destruction.

This truth has ever been recognised by all the great personalities of the world. They had in themselves the perfect consciousness of the undivided spirit of man. Their teachings were against tribal exclusiveness, and thus we find that Buddha's India transcended geographical India, and Christ's religion broke through the bonds of Judaism.

Today, at this critical moment of the world's history, cannot India rise above her limitations and offer the great ideal to the world that will work towards harmony and co-operation between the different peoples of the earth? Men of feeble faith will say that India requires to be strong and rich before she can raise her voice for the sake of the whole world. But I refuse to believe it. That the measure of man's greatness is in his material resources is a gigantic illusion casting its shadow over the present-day world,—it is an insult to man. It lies in the power of the materially weak to save the world from this illusion, and India, in spite of her penury and humiliation, can afford to come to the rescue of humanity.

The freedom of unrestrained egoism in the individual is license and not true freedom. For his truth is in that which is universal in him. Individual human races also attain true freedom when they have the freedom of perfect revelation of Man and not that of their aggressive racial egoism. The idea of freedom which prevails in modern civilisation is superficial and materialistic. Our revolution in India will be a true one when its forces will be directed against this crude idea of liberty.

The sunlight of love has the freedom that ripens the wisdom of immortal life, but passion's fire can only forge fetters for ourselves. The Spiritual Man has been struggling for its emergence into perfection,

and all true cry of freedom is for this emancipation. Erecting barricades of fierce separateness in the name of national necessity is offering hindrance to it, therefore in the long run building a prison for the nation itself. For the only path of deliverance for nations is in the ideal humanity.

Creation is an endless activity of God's freedom; it is an end in itself. Freedom is true when it is a revelation of truth. Man's freedom is for the revelation of the truth of Man which is struggling to express itself. We have not yet fully realised it. But those people who have faith in its greatness, who acknowledge its sovereignty, and have the instinctive urging in their heart to break down obstructions, are paving the way for its coming. India ever has nourished faith in the truth of Spiritual Man, for whose realisation she has made innumerable experiments, sacrifices and penance, some verging on the grotesque and the abnormal. But the fact is, she has never ceased in her attempt to find it even though at the tremendous cost of material success. Therefore I feel that the true India is an idea, and not a mere geographical fact. I have come into touch with this idea in far away places of Europe and my loyalty was drawn to it in persons who belonged to different countries from mine. India will be victorious when this idea wins victory,—the idea of "*Purusham mahāntam āditya-varnam tamasah parastāt*," the Infinite Personality whose light reveals itself through the obstruction of darkness. Our fight is against this darkness, our object is the revealment of the light of this Infinite Personality in ourselves. This Infinite Personality of Man is not to be achieved in single individuals, but in one grand harmony of all human races. The darkness of egoism which will have to be destroyed is the egoism of the People. The idea of India is against the intense consciousness of the separateness of one's own people from others, and which inevitably leads to ceaseless conflicts. Therefore my one prayer is, let India stand for the co-operation of all peoples of the world. The spirit of rejection finds its support in the consciousness of separateness, the spirit of acceptance in the consciousness of unity. India has ever declared that Unity is Truth, and separateness is *māyā*. This unity is not a zero, it is that which comprehends all and

therefore can never be reached through the path of negation. Our present struggle to alienate our heart and mind from those of the West is an attempt at spiritual suicide. If in the spirit of national vaingloriousness we shout from our house-tops that the West has produced nothing that has an infinite value for man, then we but create a serious cause of doubt about the worth of any product of the Eastern mind. For it is the mind of Man in the East and West which is ever approaching Truth in her different aspects from different angles of vision; and if it can be true that the standpoint of the West has betrayed it into an utter misdirection, then we can never be sure of the standpoint of the East. Let us be rid of all false pride and rejoice at any lamp being lit at any corner of the world, knowing that it is a part of the common illumination of our house.

The other day I was invited to the house of a distinguished art-critic of America who is a great admirer of old Italian art. I questioned him if he knew anything of our Indian pictures and he brusquely said that most probably he would "*hate* them". I suspected he had seen some of them and hated them. In retaliation I could have said something in the same language about the Western art. But I am proud to say it was not possible for me. For I always try to understand the Western art and never to hate it. Whatever we understand and enjoy in human products instantly become ours wherever they might have their origin. I should feel proud of my humanity when I can acknowledge the poets and artists of other countries as mine own. Let me feel with unalloyed gladness that all the great glories of man are mine. Therefore it hurts me deeply when the cry of rejection rings loud against the West in my country with the clamour that the Western education can only injure us. It cannot be true. What has caused the mischief is the fact that for a long time we have been out of touch with our own culture and therefore the Western culture has not found its perspective in our life, very often found a wrong perspective giving our mental eye a squint. When we have the intellectual capital of our own, the commerce of thought with the outer world becomes natural and fully profitable. But to say that such commerce is inherently wrong,

is to encourage the worst form of provincialism, productive of nothing but intellectual indigence. The West has misunderstood the East which is at the root of the disharmony that prevails between them, but will it mend the matter if the East in her turn tries to misunderstand the West? The present age has powerfully been possessed by the West; it has only become possible because to her is given some great mission

for man. We from the East have to come to her to learn whatever she has to teach us; for by doing so we hasten the fulfilment of this age. We know that the East also has her lessons to give, and she has her own responsibility of not allowing her light to be extinguished, and the time will come when the West will find leisure to realise that she has a home of hers in the East where her food is and her rest.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

India and the World in Ancient Times.

In the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. Shibnath Basu shows, by referring to and quoting from numerous authors, that

India in ancient times was in active intercourse with the whole of the then known world and occupied the position of the Queen of the Ancient World. Her adventurers, colonisers and navigators, not afraid of the dangers of the Mighty Deep built up a greater India beyond the seas, her merchants carried the torch of Indo-Aryan civilisation to the distant quarters of the world, her missionaries carried the Law of Gautama to countries beyond the frontiers of India, her Universities attracted students from countries beyond the deserts of Taklakaman and Gobi; while at home her children laid the foundation stone of a culture system which became the boast and inspiration of the civilised world.

"Journal of Indian Industries and Labour."

In the foreword to the newly started *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour*, Sir Thomas Holland says that the chief Government activities in respect of the development of industries "must necessarily be provincial—the grant of concessions and other forms of assistance necessary to facilitate private enterprise, the development of technical and industrial education, and the research work necessary to establish the value of raw materials.

Decentralisation of authority and responsibility must necessarily tend to give rise to

local variations in policy, apart altogether from those variations that necessarily follow local diversity in natural resources. Thus, there arises at once the necessity for designing some machinery to facilitate voluntary co-operation and mutual understanding; for no province can be entirely self-contained in those matters that affect the development of industries on modern lines. For the essential communications, for accessory raw materials, for markets, for financial aid, and even for unskilled labour, one province must rely on the resources of another. Industries do not flourish singly but in family groups: provinces do not develop singly but in federal associations.

As one step towards provincial co-operation, this *Journal* has been established at the special and unanimous request of the Provincial Directors of Industries who have met in conference on two occasions during the past year.

The reference to the provincial Directors of industries in the last sentence quoted above may make the reader curious to know who these Directors are. We find from the "summary of industrial intelligence for the quarter ending December 31st, 1920," that Assam is fortunate enough to possess Mr. K. L. Barua as its Director of Industries. The name appears to show that he is an Indian. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Central Provinces and Punjab have European Directors; the Madras summary is signed by its European Assistant Director, leaving one in doubt as to the race and domicile of its Director; and there are no summaries for the United Provinces, and the N. W. Frontier Province. Who are the Directors and

the Assistant Directors in these and other Provinces, and what are their industrial qualifications and previous industrial experience? Could not even one Indian be found in any province except Assam qualified to be a Director? India should be industrially developed, to the farthest limit possible and practicable, by Indians, for Indians, with Indian capital, and for the benefit of Indians by race and domicile. This object can be attained only by the employment of Directors who possess not only the requisite technological knowledge and experience but also whole-hearted sympathy with this object. What proof have Europeans in general given that they have this sympathy? And, also, let us first know what technological qualifications and experience, general and Indian, the Directors and Assistant Directors possess.

"The Crime of Silence."

There is a Bengali proverb that the baby which does not cry does not get milk even from its mother. *Labour* would seem to support this proverbial notion in the following paragraphs:

Sir Arthur Fanshawe, the Nestor of Post Office administration in India, has praised the Indian employees of the great department in the following glowing terms:—

"No department of Government owes more than the Post Office to Natives of India. They constitute the great body of silent workers in our widespread organisation, and it is on their patient industry, on their willing attention to the public, and, above all, on their honesty, that the real success of the department is based."

The passage has since passed almost into a proverb and, it has now become a part of official etiquette to acknowledge, in season and out of season, the great indebtedness of the department to this "Great body of silent workers."

It is, however, a cruel irony of fate that while these silent workers have been receiving a surfeit of praise from officialdom and from the public and complimentary epithets and adjectives are being piled up before their names, they have all the time been cursing their lot and groaning under the burden of compliments rather too heavy for their emaciated shoulders. Indeed compliments can hardly bring any comfort or solace to an empty stomach or an ill-clad body; food and raiment are badly wanted for the purpose.

How then are we to account for this strange fact? The answer is not far to seek. They have not been rewarded because they have been "silent"—rather too long.

Hindu philosophy teaches us that "*Sound is Brahman*"—it is the creative force; indeed there are many who still cling to the theory that this world has evolved out of sound. A truer theory was, perhaps, never preached on earth. Sound carries over-whelming force, and is in itself a power. Silence being the absence of sound, therefore, implies weakness. There is no wonder, therefore, that the "Great body of silent workers" have had to pay the heavy penalty for their traditional silence.

The Spiritual Mission of France.

According to *The Collegian*,

"France which has always been the cradle and school of ideals for Europe," said Benoy Kumar Sarkar in the course of an address in French before an assembly of authors, journalists, educators and scientists at Musée Guimet, "will yet take her place as guide, philosopher and friend in the spiritual awakening of Asia. I invite the men and women of France to rise to the height of their world-wide responsibility."

France and Indian Graduates.

The same journal tells us:

"Although for some long time France can hardly think of expanding her commercial enterprise to any considerable extent on account of the loss of men sustained during the war," says Professor Seignobos, the great authority on contemporary history, "the French savants will be delighted to have competent Indian graduates of science and philosophy as their assistants in order to train them in the methods of original investigation and discovery. The higher learning of Paris is suited specially for students with previous experience, who desire to finish their intellectual education by acquiring the habit of personal judgment and scientific method."

The resources for the study of zoology at Paris are numerous: the University of Paris, the Museum of Natural History, College de France, all the higher institutions of learning and the various other schools.

The foreign student finds here innumerable courses and numerous laboratories: commencing with elementary and initial studies up to the most advanced work in biology.

The majority of the courses are open to the public. Admission to the laboratories is arranged through the director.

In France, says Professor Caullery, "material equipment of the scientific institutions is not

always such as might be desired." But, urges he, and this is what Young India need ponder over seriously, "it is not necessarily in palaces that the greatest discoveries are made. The history of biology in Paris points to more than one illustrious example of laboratories more mean than modest where work of a pre-eminent order was carried out."

Terminology of Exchange.

It was a good suggestion that some of its readers made to the *New Review* that "explanation in simple and non-technical language of the more important terms in the present discussion with regard to the Exchange position will help lay people to understand the subject better." With that object in view that journal has published the following lines :

The articles that we send from India to other countries are called exports and the articles that we receive from foreign countries are called imports. For exports we receive money from foreign countries and for imports we have to pay money to foreign countries. If our exports are of greater value than the imports, we receive some net amount of money from foreign countries and if the value of the imports exceeds the value of the exports we have to send some net amount of money to foreign countries. This relation between the exports and the imports is called the balance of trade. Now it is always possible that money may be sent from one country to another for items not included in the balance of trade. India, for example, has to remit to England a very large amount on account of what are called Home Charges which include the interest, the pensions, and such items. The relation between the total amount of money sent from and received in a country, therefore, is not necessarily given by its balance of trade. It obviously contains many more items than imports and exports. It is, therefore, called the balance of accounts. When the balance of accounts is in favour of India foreign money flows into India. This money is sent by Bank Drafts. The Secretary of State for India used to send such Drafts not to any Bank in India but to the Government of India which is after all a very great Bank. These particular Drafts are called Councils or Council Bills. X has to send money to Y who is in India. X who is in London goes to the India Office and pays the money plus some charge for sending the money like the Money Order charge, and purchases a Council Bill. This he sends to Y who goes to Government of India and cashes it, just as he may cash a cheque or draft in a bank. Now when this process is reversed and

Government of India give cheques upon the Secretary of State these are naturally called Reverse Councils. When net money is to be sent out of India the Reverse Councils facilitate the process of exchange just as when net money had to be sent to India from foreign countries the Council Bills facilitated exchange. Whenever Balance of Accounts is in our favour we receive more money from abroad. That means that in foreign countries there is more demand for Bills upon India. Under these circumstances Indian money by the operation of the law of demand and supply rises in value and so exchange is in favour of the rupee. In the same way when there is a larger demand on foreign money in India that money rises in value and we have to pay more to get it, that is to say, rupee depreciates in terms of foreign money. During the war the exports of India grew phenomenally. Apart from other causes, that appreciated the rupee. After the Armistice, and owing to the appreciation, imports were ordered into India on a very large scale. During the war import trade was naturally restricted and in regard to certain countries it had disappeared. As soon as imports began to revive the balance of accounts was bound to be affected. It was very much affected for two reasons. Exporters, in order to wait till they got a more favourable exchange rate, stored the exports as far as they could. On the other hand every Jack and Harry began to import. This double process naturally resulted in sending large amounts of money to foreign countries and the exchange began to go against us. The process still continues and unless exports are released in large quantities it will continue.

Training in Citizenship.

Mr. F. H. Skrine writes thus in *East and West* on the teaching of "Civics" and "Political Economy."

The first concerns itself with the individual's status and duties as a member of organised Society; the second with methods of producing and distributing wealth. History, is the bed-rock on which Civics should be built. Rightly regarded, it is the biography of a growing organism. It traces the phases through which a nation's life has passed.

Very different is the standpoint taken up by most compilers of School Histories. Their work bristles with dates of Kings and Queens, and catalogues the horrors inflicted on mankind by senseless ambition. Fifty years of free and compulsory education [in England] have failed to give the masses a just idea of the relations which should prevail between the State and the citizen. Many millions of our fellow subjects ignore the patent fact that every right for which they clamour implies a corresponding duty to the land of their birth. It is reckoned a

trivial offence to smuggle and evade taxation. Thus it has come to pass that a land where once on a time "freedom slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent" is threatened with a cataclysm which will destroy the precious heritage of an ancient civilization.

Citizenship implies a due regard for the rights and interests of our fellow creatures. The masses have a very vague notion of human solidarity. They do not realise that exorbitant demands inflict widespread injury on others, that a worker who obtains more remuneration than his labour is worth deprives his fellows of opportunity; in plain language he robs them. Anti-social crimes have increased enormously of late. The columns of every newspaper teem with stories of shameless profiteering robbery, mean pilfering and criminal breach of trust.

We are in sympathy with the writer when he writes:

An old Greek philosopher divided mankind into three classes—those who think for themselves, who think as others, and who never think at all. Progress is generated by a handful who stand in the first category, and their number will be swelled by recruits from below when puericulture shall have been placed on a sound basis.

Mr. Skrine does not, we think, over-rate the capacity of boys and girls in the following sentences:—

It may be urged against my thesis that Civics and Political Economy are beyond the comprehension of pupils attending Elementary Schools. I cannot but think that we under-rate the capacity possessed by minds in the plastic stage of assimilating abstruse ideas. A great Jesuit said: "Give me a boy up to ten and I care not what happens to him in after life."

I do not pretend that the mysteries of credit and bills of exchange can be drilled into young heads; but I affirm that sound instruction as to the duties of citizenship and the real nature of wealth can be absorbed by the average child of twelve to fourteen. And no one can doubt the permanency of impressions given during the school-going age.

A People's Mind and Literature.

Mr. Eric Hammond writes in *East and West*:

Tell me, said a wise person of wide experience and observant mind, "Tell me a people's songs, and I will tell you what the people are like." This sagacious speaker had found a fine point on which to hang his thought. There is, however, another and a stronger peg whereon may be suspended an opinion of considerably wider embrace. We can remark, without hesitancy and with certainty of justice, "Give us an

acquaintance with the general literature of a nation and, through that acquaintance, we shall arrive at least at some degree of intimacy with the temperament of the nationality that produced it; the nationality that it discloses and expresses."

Right Words and Wrong Words.

The Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World observes:

An important pronouncement was made by the Blessed One when He used words which mean that men are guided by the words that they hear, which when uttered by thoughtful people makes the people to think and adopt the right path, and the sound when made by vicious people mislead the people and lead them into the path of error. The gullible people are led by the noise, and he who makes the loudest noise gets a hearing. What is the remedy? We have to-day the experiencing of the fact in the advertisements of the different manufacturing firms of patent medicines.

Referring to the religious toleration which generally, though not perhaps universally and always, prevailed in ancient India, the same journal writes:

The people of India in the ancient days had their religious Summer schools in wooded parks, where people came to listen to the religious demagogues, and each preacher denounced the other, which had the effect of making the people sceptical. In festive seasons the kings of India proclaimed that religious tournaments will be held and called upon the preachers all to come and present their respective articles of belief. Religions were tolerated, and never did India witness such scenes as the Massacre of Huguenots or the Smithfield fires where religious leaders were burned to death. In the time of the Buddha, the Queen of Kosala had presented a Park with Halls for the use of the religious ascetics of different sects, which was called the "Ekasala." In the Appannaka Sutta Commentary the description of a Summer school is given in which the different sectarian teachers took part day after day. On the closing day the Buddha came and the people all assembled to hear the Blessed One, and He preached not a new belief, but advised the people to analyse the utterances of each preacher and accept that which is in harmony with reason and the law of Cause and Effect. That which does not give pain, and does not injure anybody, and causes no disturbance, and brings forth good fruit, that may be accepted, and the opposite rejected.

Our Buddhist contemporary holds that the world is in greater need of science than Biblical myths.

The scientific associations of America and Europe have a right to popularise their pronouncements. If the Science associations would advertise their goods prominently as the sectarian theologians do, the world would gain much and be benefitted greatly. Science is materialistic, and has not the tricks of the magician to hoodwink the public by spiritual-camouflage.

Provincialisation of Railways.

Sir M. Visweswarayya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, submitted a memorandum to the Indian Railway Committee, from which *Commerce and Industries* has made some extracts, one of which is printed below :

The railway system of the country is its greatest asset. The outstanding railway borrowings amount to nearly Rs. 366 crores or 65 per cent. of the total public debt. The gross railway receipts amount to Rs. 90 crores or nearly one-half of the total revenues of the country. In view of the recent pronouncements of Government in favour of industrial development, fiscal autonomy, separation of provincial finance, etc., it seems desirable that the handling of this large sum should be controlled by the State. Such control cannot fail to increase money power and credit and materially aid in the internal development of the country.

As between State working and Company working (both forms of operation obtain abroad), State working has undoubted advantages in the present circumstances of India. When the Provinces become autonomous, as they will in due course under the Reforms Scheme, the public would like to see their railways controlled and operated by themselves. Provincial autonomy would lose much of its importance if the railways of the Province which form its chief asset should continue to be administered from outside. In view of the declared policy of the British Cabinet to prepare the country for responsible Government it would be in the fitness of things to transfer the railways, as speedily as circumstances permit, to the control of Provincial Administrations.

The Path to Increased Production.

Sir Kingsley Wood, M. P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Health, writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal* :

To acquire the industrial efficiency that our modern world demands, much more attention must undoubtedly be paid to the health of the workers.

Even the question of wages is often secondary to the insistent demand on the worker's part to be recognized as a man and not a machine. To perpetuate any system which makes workers merely producing machines spells an unhealthy trade and enfeebled workers. It fosters discontent, class hatred, and in the end—an inevitable result—a greatly diminished output. If we are quickly to emerge out of much of the present industrial strife, it is certain that we shall have to pay still greater attention to the mental and physical well-being of the workers and show them that they are a living part of industry, as such indispensable, working as individuals, understanding the process and object of their labours, their brains working with their hands. This changed frame of mind, if we can achieve it, will do more to increase output and ensure health to all classes of workers than any number of Acts of Parliament which, after all, will never get rid of the fundamental trouble...the great need to still farther humanise industry, and establish a true co-operation between Capital and Labour.

The rhythm of Work is thus explained :

It has been proved that continuous work, that is in the sense of continuous muscular energy, is impossible, except for a short period of time. This brings us to the desirability of properly organizing our work, instituting proper shifts, thus giving ample time both for work and rest. These repeated spells of work and rest are termed by the Industrial Research Board as 'rhythm'. The universal adoption of this system would mean a still greater step forward.

Commonsense supports the author's contention that output can be increased by relieving monotony.

Too little attention in the past has been paid to the subject of fatigue. Short output is due to many causes, in certain cases of malice aforethought, but it is also due to indifferent health, and often to the fact that no attention whatever is paid to the conditions of Labour and the alleviation of fatigue. Now fatigue falls under three classes, and if we want to be technical, they are termed subjective, objective and static, all of which have to be studied in relation to the general health of the worker. For instance, in "subjective" fatigue the actual wear and tear of the body begins to play a defensive role and gives ample warning of the coming of physical depletion. "Objective" fatigue is more easily discernible, and usually manifests at the end of a monotonous day. "Static" fatigue is due to the prolonged fixation and immobility of certain groups of muscles, such as prolonged standing or sitting, or even stooping. All these three forms of fatigue can be remedied by paying due attention to rhythm in work, and by so organizing the daily task as

to create contrasts in work and action, as will give relief to the monotonous duties and bring into use the other muscles or organs of the body, and, as often as possible, the mind.

Continuity of employment and its relation to health and output should also be considered.

A worker who is in constant fear of losing his or her job is obviously incapable of doing his best work and giving it undivided attention. There is a great temptation to *slow down* and delay the coming discharge. Not only does this state of affairs create an unhealthy worker, mentally and physically, but it is a heavy blow at industrial output. Unemployment insurance, and the consequent knowledge that there is at any rate some provision for bad times, will do much to alleviate, if not to cure, this disease.

Every factory or workshop should have its welfare committee.

It pays to guarantee the worker decent meals, comfortable housing, and even a measure of amusement during the working day.

We want to re-establish the "personal touch" wherever possible between employers and employed.

The character of the Foreman or Manager, and the way that he exercises his authority is, of course of the utmost importance to the efficiency and subsequent output of any factory, and reacts generally upon the whole well-being of the workers under his charge.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

Prof. P. Seshadri contributes to *Everyman's Review* some interesting personal reminiscences of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Says he :

One of the most striking aspects of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, is undoubtedly her brilliant gift of conversation. She is full of reminiscence and anecdote and with a singularly fine memory for men and incidents, she can talk on for hours with untiring vivacity. She has a very gentle and at the same time stimulating sense of humour and her presence is always sure to cheer up any drawing-room.

Of the poetess as a public speaker, Mr. Seshadri writes—

I have watched with admiration the development of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as a public speaker. The first time I heard her was in 1908, when as a shy young lady first facing that lime-light of publicity she spoke on platforms in Madras—the speeches were very short though sweet, and she did not seem prepared for any elaborate flights of oratory. But now she is among the best

speakers in the land and does not mind at all being asked to make long speeches, with sustained and elaborated arguments rising in places to great heights of eloquence, her sing-song voice and swaying gesture adding a touch of attractive picturesqueness to her manner of speech.

In Mr. Seshadri's opinion, what the platform has gained, the Muse of Poetry is likely to lose.

My appreciation of Mrs. Sarojini's powers as a speaker would not prevent me from giving expression to the regret of all lovers of poetry and literature that she should now be so much absorbed in politics as almost to jeopardise her success in song in the future.

While nobody can deny that Indian politics have gained a very powerful ally in her, it must be confessed that some anxiety is irresistible in the minds of discerning students of art and literature, with regard to the further development of her poetic genius.

The writer thinks highly of Mrs. Naidu as a writer of letters.

No sketch of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu can be complete without reference to her great talents in epistolary literature. It is a pity that letter-writing should not have been practised very much as a distinct department of literature by itself in India, but Mrs. Sarojini is probably among the very few persons in the country now whose letters will some day be worth printing in permanent form deserving of a place in the libraries of at least Indian students of literature.

One may wonder in this connection why she does not care to exercise herself more often in prose-composition also. She is as consummate a mistress of prose as she is of verse and as she is always full of interesting impressions worthy of communication to others, she should easily be the author of a number of prose-books of considerable interest.

India's Debt to European Scholars.

Writing in the *Indian Review* on "India's Debt to European Scholars", Prof. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, gives brief accounts of the work done by Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, Samuel Davis, Francis Wilford, Henry Colebrooke, Buchanan Hamilton, H. H. Wilson, Colonel Colin Mackenzie, James Prinsep, Markham, Kittoe, Edward Thomas, Alexander Cunningham, Sir Walter Elliot, James Fergusson, James Burgess, Prof. George Buhler, Prof. Benfey, Sir Raymond West, Stendzler, Whitney, Roth, John Faithful

Fleet, V. A. Smith, Sir R. C. Temple, &c., and concludes his article by saying ;

It is not possible within the space of a magazine article to review the work done by other disinterested western scholars. The names of Prof. Max Muller and Jacobi, Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Burnell, Prof. Weber and Prof. Keilhorn, Mr. Lewis Rice and Prof. Rhys Davids are household names to those who are in any way interested in Indian research. But enough has been stated to show that we are indebted mainly to Europeans for a knowledge of our own country. Let us be grateful to them and to others who might render a similar service.

Justice in Ancient India.

In the same Review Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri observes that the following remarks of Dr. Robertson on Manu may well be applied to the entire ancient Hindu Law and specially to the ancient Hindu judicature :

"With respect to the number and variety of points the Hindu Code considers it will bear a comparison with the celebrated Digest of Justinian, or with the systems of jurisprudence in nations most highly civilised. The articles of which the Hindu Code is composed are arranged in natural and luminous order. They are numerous and comprehensive, and investigated with that minute attention and discernment which are natural to a people distinguished for acuteness and subtlety of understanding, who have been long accustomed to the accuracy of judicial proceedings, and acquainted with all the refinements of legal practice. The decisions concerning every point are founded upon the great and immutable principles of justice which the human mind acknowledges and respects in every age and in all parts of the earth. Whoever examines the whole work cannot entertain a doubt of its containing the jurisprudence of an enlightened and commercial people. Whoever looks into any particular title will be surprised with a minuteness of detail and nicety of distinction which, in many instances, seem to go beyond the attention of European legislation, and it is remarkable that some of the regulations which indicate the greatest degree of refinement were established in periods of the most remote antiquity."

Mr. Sastri thinks that it is not too much to claim that ancient Hindu law should be studied in our colleges, and that it is at least as valuable as Roman Law and is certainly nearer to our minds and hearts.

The Humanity of Buddha.

Mr. K. J. Saunders's article on "The Humanity of Buddha" in the *Young Men of India* is very interesting and informing. Says he :

The visitor to Buddhist lands is at once impressed by the vast number of images of the founder of Buddhism. They are still being made by the thousand, most of them conventional in form and expression, the face calm and without animation, except occasionally for the glimmer of a smile. As he contemplates that endless array of images he cannot fail to have his imagination kindled and his heart deeply stirred. Here was a man who, without setting up any elaborate organization, despising wealth, and trusting only to the contagion of great ideas, exerted an influence which is still potent in the hearts of half the human race, and is so far from being spent that Buddhism is reviving itself in almost all lands, and is beginning to carry out an active propaganda in Europe and America. He was, indeed, as a Japanese disciple has said, "a king of the spiritual in the mask of beggary," and as an Indian disciple exclaims, "to meet him is to be penetrated by his love, and to know him is to love him for ever."

Men saw in Gautama one who was sublimely confident that he had found the truth, joyous with a quiet joy in this knowledge, and compassionate to all who were blinded and in ignorance.

Mr. Saunders attempts "briefly to set him forth as a very human and very winsome figure—not without humour, and abounding in compassion, with a sincerity and a skilful touch upon men's minds and hearts, which justify the title given to him by the great commentator Buddhaghosa, 'physician and surgeon of souls.'" Some of the traits noted by the writer are given below.

Another title by which he was well-known in later days, if not during his lifetime, is *Jetttho Settho Lokassa*, "Honoured elder brother of the world" ; and, indeed, at first sight he may well strike modern readers as being something of the "heavy uncle." Yet, though he has often been called pompous, and though the dialogues reveal a somewhat stereotyped and stiff figure, yet there shines through them at times a gentle humour, and a humanity which the school-men have not been able wholly to obscure. Such glimpses are familiar in that very beautiful book, *The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, the account of his last days. The *Majjhima Nikāya*, perhaps, more than any of the other books, bears out the impression made by the record of his last days, and shows us a very human figure, at once

austere and tender, practical and intellectual, beloved by the disciples and yet aloof from them.

In the very early days after his enlightenment, we find the two young Brahman converts, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, seated, in meditation; one of them begins to doze, and is gently reminded that "torpor is not the same thing as Aryan silence." At other times we find them and their fellow disciples being gently cross-examined, rather as Socrates quizzed his adolescent pupils, and, as we have seen, an occasional statue of Gautama suggests that he was not always as solemn as the books suggest.

According to Burmese tradition, it was a stout nun who stood fanning him when, at the age of more than 80, he lay dying, and when he rather rudely waved her aside, he said to Ananda, "This large nun comes between the teacher and countless deities who wish to have a look at him." Can he have said it without a chuckle?

Not that Gautama Buddha was not at times severe.

In dealing with rival teachers Gautama was severe enough, yet even here his comments are not lacking in a grim humour; they were like fish, he said, caught in the net, plunging this way and that way, and only getting more entangled; and of those who taught any form of determinism, such as the Ajivikas, he said that they were like fisher folk, who caught their disciples in order to destroy them, and that the doctrine of their leader was like the hair-shirt which he wore, rough to touch and unpleasant to smell! We cannot wonder then that these unfortunate antagonists are occasionally described as leaving him after a bout of argument, with the sweat pouring from them, and that one cried out, "Better had one meet with an infuriated bull than with the teacher Gautama."

"Yet many learned to kiss the hand which wielded the knife; and we find in his dealings with them an extraordinary adaptation of method to suit each case."

To kings and other simple folk he would use analogies rather than arguments. Thus, when Agnidatta of Kosala asked him of the law of decay and death which he thought was universal, he replied, "Look at your own royal chariot. Even it is beginning to show signs of wear and tear." Like other Eastern teachers he made great use of parables and similes. Now it would be some folk-tale that he would adopt and adapt. Now it would be some simile from the jungle—the spoor of elephants, the ways of woodsmen, the life of trees—or from the village: herdsman, farmer, fletcher—all these provided him with images. Inanimate nature, too, the brilliant Indian moon, the sun in his splendour, the majestic rivers, all supplied a wealth of

imagery. Amongst his parables there is none more remarkable than the one he gave to a Brahman farmer, who rudely asked him why he did not work for his living, and to whom he replied:—

"A Farmer I, good sir, indeed,
Right views my very fruitful seed;
The rain that waters it is Discipline,
Wisdom herself my yoke and plough,
(Brahman, do'st take my meaning, now?)
The pole is maiden Modesty,
And Mindfulness the axle-tree;
Alertness is my goad and ploughshare keen!
Guarded in thought and act and speech
With Truthfulness I weed the ground;
In gentle Kindliness is found
The Way of Salvation I preach.
My ox is Endeavour,
Which beareth me ever,
Where Grief cometh never,
To Nirvana, the Goal I shall reach.
Such, good Brahman, is my farming,
And it bears ambrosial crops:
Whoso follows out my Teaching
Straight for him all sorrow stops."

And the farmer was converted straightway!

To those who came to him in sorrow he was kind, yet remorselessly frank: "Death is universal" he said in effect, "why should you claim exemption?" and though the words sound cold, bereaved mothers found consolation in them, or shall we not rather suppose, drew from his own calm serenity some balm for their grief.

Mr. Saunders is a Christian and sums up his impressions thus:

Calm in authority, tender in sympathy, majestic in his disregard of caste and birth. Such was this greatest of all the sons of India, the greatest perhaps of all religious teachers save One. We see in him one who was serene under all circumstances, one who was always master of himself; never angry except with the blind leaders of the blind, never resentful of personal attacks upon himself, though some were insidious and spiteful enough, but always confident in the power of goodness to overcome evil and of light to dispel darkness. And the amazing history of Buddhism has, in spite of many perversions, justified his belief.

"A Defence of Indian Culture."

Aurobindo Ghose's Defence of Indian Culture is continued in *Arya*. This very thoughtful profound production suffers by piecemeal publication and should, when complete, be published separately in book-form. In the instalment published in the January number, the following

charge against Indian culture has been considered:

There is another side of politics on which it may be said that the Indian political mind has registered nothing but failure. The organisation it developed may have been admirable for stability and effective administration and the securing of communal order and liberties and the well-being of the people under ancient conditions, but even if its many peoples were each of them separately self-governed, well governed and prosperous and the country at large assured in the steady functioning of a highly developed civilisation and culture, yet that organisation failed to serve for the national and political unification of India and failed in the end to secure it against foreign invasion, the disruption of its institutions and an age-long servitude.

It is not possible to summarise the writer's defence. We will only quote his apposite remarks on the Mussalman conquest of the greater part of India:

The vast mass of the Mussulmans in the country were and are Indians by race, only a very small admixture of Pathan, Turkish and Mogul blood took place, and even the foreign kings and nobles became almost immediately wholly Indian in mind, life and interest. If the race had really like certain European countries remained for many centuries passive, acquiescent and impotent under an alien sway, that would indeed have been a proof of great inherent weakness; but the British is the first really continuous foreign rule that has dominated India. The ancient civilisation underwent indeed an eclipse and decline under the weight of a Central Asiatic religion and culture with which it failed to coalesce, but it survived its pressure, put its impact on it in many directions and remained to our own day alive even in decadence and capable of recovery, thus giving a proof of strength and soundness rare in the history of human cultures. And in the political field it never ceased to throw up great rulers, statesmen, soldiers, administrators. Its political genius was not in the decadence sufficient, not coherent enough or swift in vision and action, to withstand the Pathan, Mogul and European, but it was strong to survive and await every opportunity of revival, made a bid for empire under Ranaunga, created the great kingdom of Vijayanagar, held its own for centuries against Islam in the hills of Rajputana, and in its worst days still built and maintained against the whole power of the ablest of the Moguls the kingdom of Shivaji, formed the Marhatta confederacy and the Shikh Khalsa, undermined the great Mogul structure and again made a last attempt at empire. On the brink of the final and almost fatal collapse in the midst of unspeakable darkness, disunion and confusion it could still

produce Ranjit Singh and Nana Fadnavis and oppose the inevitable march of England's destiny. These facts do not diminish the weight of the charge that can be made of an incapacity to see and solve the central problem and answer the one persistent question of Fate, but considered as the phenomena of a decadence they make a sufficiently remarkable record not easily paralleled under similar circumstances and certainly put a different complexion on the total question than the crude statement that India has been always subject and politically incapable.

"The one persistent question of Fate" referred to above, is—why did the organisation developed by the Indian political mind "fail to serve for the national and political unification of India and fail in the end to secure it against foreign invasion, the disruption of its institutions and an age-long servitude?" No fine-spun speculation, however true, can reconcile us to servitude, and, still less, make us free, which is what we want to be.

In spite of our desire to economise space we must quote the writer's characterisation of the Mahratta and the Sikh revivals.

Two remarkable creations embodied in the period of disintegration the last effort of the Indian political mind to form the foundations of a new life under the old conditions, but neither proved to be of a kind that could solve the problem. The Mahratta revival, inspired by Ramdas's conception of the Maharashtra Dharma and cast into shape by Shivaji, was an attempt to restore what could still be understood or remembered of the ancient form and spirit, but it failed, as all attempts to revive the past must fail, in spite of the spiritual impetus and the democratic forces that assisted its inception. The Peshwas for all their genius lacked the vision of the founder and could only establish a military and political confederacy. And their endeavour to found an empire could not succeed because it was inspired by a regional patriotism that failed to enlarge itself beyond its own limits and awaken to the living ideal of a united India. The Shikh Khalsa on the other hand was an astonishingly original and novel creation and its face was turned not to the past but the future. Apart and singular in its theocratic head and democratic soul and structure, its profound spiritual beginning, its first attempt to combine the deepest elements of Islam and Vedanta, it was a premature drive towards an entrance into the third or spiritual stage of human society, but it could not create between the spirit and the external life the transmitting medium of a rich creative thought

and culture. And thus hampered and deficient it began and ended within narrow local limits, achieved intensity but no power of expansion. The conditions were not then in existence that could have made possible a successful endeavour.

We note that in the writer's opinion "all attempts to revive the past must fail." Coming to modern times Aurobindo observes :

Afterwards came the night and a temporary end of all political initiative and creation. The lifeless attempt of the last generation to imitate and reproduce with a servile fidelity the ideals and forms of the West has been no true indication of the political mind and genius of the Indian people. But again amid much mist of confusion there comes now a new twilight, not of an evening but a morning Yuga-sandhya. India of the ages is not dead nor has she spoken her last creative word; she lives and has still something to do for herself and the human peoples. And that which is seeking now to awake is not an Anglicised oriental people, docile pupil of the West and doomed to repeat the cycle of the occident's success and failure, but still the ancient immemorable Shakti recovering her deepest self, lifting her head higher towards the supreme source of light and strength and turning to discover the complete meaning and a vaster form of her Dharma.

"National Education."

What does Aurobindo Ghose understand by a true education ?

There are three things which have to be taken into account in a true and living education, the man, the individual in his commonness and in his uniqueness, the nation or people and universal humanity. It follows that that alone will be true and living education which helps to bring out to full advantage, makes ready for the full purpose and scope of human life all that is in the individual man, and which at the same time helps him to enter into his right relation with the life, mind and soul of the people to which he belongs and with that great total life, mind and soul of humanity of which he himself is a unit and his people or nation a living, a separate and yet inseparable member.

Coming to the consideration of what should constitute a truly national education in India the writer says :—

India has seen always in man the individual a soul, a portion of the Divinity enwrapped in mind and body, a conscious manifestation in Nature of the universal self and spirit. Always

she has distinguished and cultivated in him a mental, an intellectual, an ethical, dynamic and practical, an aesthetic and hedonistic, a vital and physical being, but all these have been seen as powers of a soul that manifests through them and grows with their growth, and yet they are not all the soul, because at the summit of its ascent it arises to something greater than them all, into a spiritual being, and it is in this that she has found the supreme manifestation of the soul of man and his ultimate divine manhood, his *paramārtha* and highest *purushārtha*. And similarly India has not understood by the nation or people an organised State or an armed and efficient community well prepared for the struggle of life and putting all at the service of the national ego,—that is only the disguise of iron armour which masks and encumbers the national Purusha,—but a great communal soul and life that has appeared in the whole and has manifested a nature of its own and a law of that nature, a Swabhava, and Swadharma, and embodied it in its intellectual, aesthetic, ethical, dynamic, social and political forms and culture. And equally then our cultural conception of humanity must be in accordance with her ancient vision of the universal manifesting in the human race, evolving through life and mind but with a high ultimate spiritual aim. The only true education will be that which will be an instrument for this real working of the spirit in the mind and body of the individual and the nation.

Does the above paragraph take into consideration, in an adequate manner, the Islamic strand in the Web of Indian civilisation and culture ?

Vivekananda's Message of Self-help and Self-reliance.

The editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* draws from the life and teachings of Swami Vivekananda the message of self-help and self-reliance, which he expounds as follows :—

As in individual life and progress, it is a trait of primary importance, which strengthens all the other qualities of the personality, so in the communal soul, it is the first manifestation of healthy vigorous activity. It is this spirit of self-help which has become half obscured and which has to be recovered and possessed again.

To regain this spirit of self-reliance, we must first regain our self-consciousness and build a free centre of activity in the soul. This centre of activity has disintegrated, causing dissipation of all our energies. There is no cultural synthesis, no harmonious view of inner and outer life, the *idea* which our civilisation

stands for and the peculiar turn given to the way of the realisation of the idea. This want of unity of cultural idea has created the immobility, uncreativity and helplessness of our outer life. And this inner centre has been overlaid with such a mass of undigested material, as to choke its expression and hamper its free movement.

It is idle for us to recover freedom of outer action, without first building the freedom of the soul within, without first recovering our cultural selves. And when this will be established a centre of activity will be created which will accept materials from every side and deal victoriously with them and transform them into moulds of self-expression. It will not be intolerant to outside influences, but will be avid of surrounding materials to put on them the stamp of its triumphant performance. It will utilise its own resources, construct out of its own strength, create in its own mastery.

When such a spirit of self-help possesses us, we will then no longer hide our own ourselves by blame cast on others, nor of our past glorified by singing the praises of our past, however glorious, nor seek to bring back the dead past without creating in and sorrows in everything, in our suffering, take the responsibility on us, and depend on our resources, on our own power of self-effort. Then shall our progress be continuous, our struggle a self-enlargement, and our work will not be dependent on the frenzied excitement of the hour, nor our strength, the borrowed light of a rare and high personality.

The Health of School Children.

Sir Michael Sadler writes in *Indian Education*—

The School Medical Service has now been at work in England and Wales for thirteen years. Its fundamental purpose is preventive. The country suffers from somewhat widespread physical inefficiency. It is certain that a considerable part of this is due to a disability from which many citizens suffer, disability from neglect and inattention to hygiene in childhood. Prevention rather than cure is the guiding principle of school medical inspection. The latter, therefore, is systematic inspection, in treatment in what is called "following up" work.

Medical inspection is on a great scale. There are conducted on a million children in average more than five elementary schools. Of these at public 1,800,000 were medically inspected in the year 1919. This great work was in the year 1919. 1630 medical officers and dentists, 2,000 school nurses. Among the specialists were ophthalmic surgeons, aural surgeons, and dentists

and ex-ray operators. As many as 670 of the school medical officers devoted the whole of their time to this service.

The expenditure of Local Education Authorities on the work of medical inspection and medical treatment during the year 1918-19 was £597,000. The cost of the service has steadily increased since the inauguration of the system. It is now twice as costly as it was in 1912.

Adult Education

here illiteracy In countries like India and literacy is the prevailing illiteracy cannot be reduced the exception of period unless, along with within for the free and universal education of children, adequate provision is made for adult education. In Sir Michael Sadler's article in *Indian Education*, many, where there is no appalling illiteracy adult education is receiving a larger amount of public attention and is becoming rapidly a more important branch of the educational system of the State. Let our Provincial Education Ministers take note of this fact. "All the English universities are actively engaged in the furtherance of the work. And now the Workers' Educational Association have published recommendations for the development of adult classes."

Programme for Anthropological Investigation.

In the new quarterly, *Man in India*, edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., which deserves to be supported both by professed anthropologists and the general public, being sure to be interesting and useful to both. Dr. W. Crooke suggests a programme for anthropological investigation in India. Says he:—

Although much good work in this direction has been done by Englishmen and Indians, much remains to be done. Scholars in Europe are in possession of more precise information regarding the native tribes of America, Africa and Australia than of the races of India. Early works, like those of W. Ward and the Abbe Dubois, valuable as they undoubtedly are, suffer from the natural prejudices of the writers. Treatises on the Tribes and Castes which have

been compiled in various Provinces of India do not fully supply the materials which students in Europe and elsewhere demand. The time has come for more minute and intensive studies of the smaller groups, and for investigation of special problems connected with religion and ethnology, rather than for accounts of the history of a Province or even of a single District.

Therefore, suggests that Indian enquirer, before, suggests that Indian comprehensive account compile full, comprehensive domestic ceremony Hindu and Mussalman marriage and death, birth, initiation,

Secondly, foreign scholars. Hindu temple ritual, to which very little of not enjoy access. We need fuller means do the ritual at holy places, like Jagannath of Puri, Benares, or Kaniakhya; still more of god or goddess devoted to the cult of some special

Thirdly, we desire of the organisation of the wider knowledge and Mussalman; the classes from which Hindu are recruited; the ritual of initiation, the internal structure, discipline and regulations of each Order.

Fourthly, the history, beliefs and teaching of the great Saints, Hindu and Mussalman, deserve attention.

Fifthly, our knowledge of Magic in its various forms is very imperfect. The questions of spirit possession, exorcism, healing at holy places or by suggestion deserve enquiry.

Sixthly, if Tribes and Castes are to be studied, it must be in detail.

It would not be difficult to suggest additional lines of investigation, as, for example, folk-tales and folklore.

Anthropological Research in India.

Writing on anthropological research in India, the editor of *Man in India*, who is a devoted enquirer in this field, laments that

In reviewing the past history of anthropological research in India, the student strikes the Indian student and makes him hang down his head in shame is that up till the present, almost all that has been accomplished has been the work of European investigators whereas we Indians have culpably neglected to take our proper share in the work.

This is true. The prospect seems slightly brighter now.

In noticing magazine articles on the subject, the editor has omitted all mention of the *National Magazine*, the *Hindustan Review*, and *Modern Review*, all of which have published anthropological articles from time to time.

"Rupam."

In No. 4 of *Rupam*, the Journal of Oriental Art, chiefly Indian, there are eight interesting articles, numerous beautiful illustrations in colours and black and white and reviews and notes. In the first article, the editor notes that of all the paraphernalia of Hindu temple-worship, none has inspired the Indian metal craftsman with such infinite variety of design as the lamps used for worship of images in temples. The pictures of some of these lamps have led us to think that some of them may very well be adapted for electric illumination.

The emperor Jahangir sent a friendly mission to the court of Shah Abbas of Persia. This mission is recorded in a series of portrait groups (two of which are reproduced in *Rupam*) taken by the artist who accompanied the ambassador to the Persian court. The artist who painted these groups was a Hindu named Bishan Das.

"India Academy of Art."

This is an interesting quarterly devoted to art in India, and contains many interesting reproductions of works of art in black and white, and in colour, hereupon and on other subjects. It serves public support. Some of the articles are instructive and interesting. For example, to mention only one, that "Art in Ancient India" by Dr. Ram



MINISTER'S DEMAND

"Give me my 64,000!"

By courtesy of the artist, Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Book Output Statistics.

The Living Age summarises statistics published by *L'Opinion* showing the decrease in the number of books published in various countries during and since the war.

In a comparison of the five-year periods ending respectively with 1913 and with 1918, Germany leads the list by a large margin in both instances. The total number of books published in that country exceeded 165,000 in the earlier period and 104,000 in the later period. Before the war, France came next to Germany with 60,000 books a year, while the United States stood third with nearly 59,000. Following the war, the United States ranked next to Germany with 51,000, Great Britain followed with 47,000, Italy ranked fourth, and France fifth, its publications for the five years during the war period falling to less than 28,000 per annum. In all these countries, the greatest decrease was in text books and scientific publications. Works upon the war were very popular for two years, but since then have declined steadily in favor. Exclusive of war works, books upon history have also declined. The only two classes of books of which the publication has markedly increased, are works upon religion and collections of poems. This applies to both Catholic and Protestant works. The increased demand for poetry began to manifest itself in 1915 in Europe, and one year later in the United States. A larger number of medical books has been published of late in all the belligerent countries.

It would have been interesting to obtain similar statistics for the whole of India. In what Government publication are they to be found?

The Average Man and Poetry.

Mr. W. J. Randall prophesies in *The Poetry Review* that

It will be a red-letter day in the history of literature when people realize that the medium of an art's expression is not the art itself. This confusion of means and end is to be seen at its height in literature; in fact, exactly the same error is never committed with regard to the sister arts of painting and music. Paint and canvas are the means of painting's expression; but even inartistic persons do not suppose that a quantity of paint upon a piece of canvas constitutes a picture. Sound is the medium of music's expression; but even persons without an ear do not suppose that any sound is music. But let anybody produce a few sentences in metrical form, let anybody write a few lines which rhyme and scan, and there are

hundreds who will regard the production as poetry and the author as a poet. They will think that because the materials of the art have been used the result is a work of art. They are mistaken.

He explains how the mistake arises.

Unfortunately, many people have grown to regard poetry as a certain arrangement of words. 'Poetry,' says Mr. Edmund Gosse, 'is that one of the fine arts, which employs rhythmical language as the medium of its expression.' Yes, language is the medium; but the medium is not the art. The writer of mere rhythmical language is no more a poet than a house-painter is a Herkimer, or everybody who happens to whistle, a Kubelik. Poetry is not a certain arrangement of words and sentences: it only includes that condition. If disinterested people would realize this, they would begin to enjoy poetry, because they would look for the poetic substance instead of looking for a metrical arrangement and an alternate rhyme; they would have an eye for the essential before the incidental. That is the test—the poetic substance: the Divine fire pulsating beneath the written word, the power that compels one to forget the printed page, and drink in the wondrous stream of thought which is as a nectar of enchantment.

Such masters as Ruskin, Gissing, Dickens, Froude, and of later days Mr. A. C. Benson, have written pages and pages of poetic substance, albeit they wrote in prose form. This idea was evidently in the mind of George Henry Lewes when he said of Buchanan's *Idylls and Legends of Inverburn*, I think, that if they were reduced to prose form they would still remain poems. On the other hand, such writers as Occleve, Davenant, and Waller produced a quantity of metrical language into which the light of true poetry scarcely peeps.

It has been our misfortune to come across persons holding high academic degrees and distinguished in other walks of life who have shown utter incapacity to appreciate works of art and yet all the while firmly believing that they were competent to pronounce an opinion on such works, though they have never had any education in art, or art criticism and appreciation. Similar is the case of many who cannot appreciate high class poetry. To all such persons, the following observations are commended for their sound sense:—

The average man must be educated if he is to appreciate poetic substance. Do not mistake me! I have no intention of being a snob, even if that sounds like it. For a person may be a magnate in finance, a prince in social status, or a Bentley in erudition, and yet be very sparsely educated as far as poetry is concerned. Conversely, one may be a true poet and possess a mere tittle of education in the commonly

accepted sense. Of course, the two may be blended, as they were in Gray: all the better when they are. The point is, that when we have lost the power of naturally appreciating the poetic, we must be educated back to the pristine frame of mind. Just as it is quite wrong to suppose that ordinary education unfailingly brings poetic appreciation, it is purely fallacious to imagine that a man of genius is uneducated because he is not educated in an academic or in a commercial sense. If a person wishes to become a violinist, it is not much use for him to grind at shorthand. He must set about educating himself in the right way.

Just as singing was natural to Burns, to many it is natural to appreciate without being able to demonstrate. But where appreciation does not come naturally, may it not be acquired? The reason why I should say that it *can* be acquired—remember I am speaking of the average man—is that frequently non-appreciation is the result of failure to understand the particular art, and consequently will disappear as the aim and appeal of the art is comprehended and the standpoint of the artist considered. Hidden springs of thought will be discovered, entrancing vistas will be opened to the imagination, the prophetic inspiration of the poet will be realized as an actuality; and even if it is not fully understood and partaken of, at least all objections will be dispelled, swept away like a black, sullen cloud driven by the wind from the face of the sun.

Making Germany Pay.

Current Opinion holds that

Of all the war-worn countries in continental Europe, Germany is suffering least. Russia, Austria, Serbia, France, Italy, Belgium and the rest are worse off than she. Yet her responsibility for bringing on the war was the greatest and she is the defeated party. Her taxes are far less than those in France or England. The fares on her railroads (less than 1½ cents a mile for first class) are much smaller. Her territory was not invaded. She, the defeated party and the most criminal party, is yet suffering less than any of her neighbours whom she forced into war and she is squealing the loudest.

According to the same journal, France is "entitled to two things—security for the future and reparation for the past. She is getting neither."

Her military leaders have told her that her only military security lies in the Rhine as her frontier. She waived that at the Peace Conference in lieu of a treaty with Great Britain and the United States guaranteeing aid against another attack. That treaty, like the Versailles treaty, has been held up in the United States Senate for two years.

As for reparation, France can never get, because Germany can never pay, enough to repair her losses. She is not asking for anything more than a repair fund—not for indemnity for the cost of the war. In the Franco-Prussian war Germany, tho' not invaded, demanded thrice as much in indemnity as the war cost her. France is not asking for any indemnity of that

sort. She wants reparation, and she is entitled to every cent Germany can pay, subject only to the similar claims of Belgium and her other Allies. Every dollar of the burden that is lifted from the back of Germany is placed on the back of France.

What Germany planned to do, if she had won the war, we know. In 1917 the Kaiser, before an enthusiastic Reichstag, declared that Germany's foes would have to pay an indemnity of 500 billion gold marks (120 billion dollars). In 1918 the German secretary of the treasury declared that the Allies would have to pay every penny of the cost of the war, adding: "We will compel them to drag the chain for a hundred years."

Last month the Reparations Commission fixed the amount of reparation for Germany to pay. In the Peace Treaty, the sum of the damage which she wrought was fixed at 400 billion gold marks. At the Boulogne conference the sum to be required of Germany—not for France alone but for all the Allies, including the United States—was placed at 226 billion gold marks (64½ billion dollars) payable over a period of 30 years. The cash value of such a sum would be 24 billion dollars. Last month, after listening to Germany's protests and making an extended investigation of what Germany can pay now and a careful computation of her future ability, the amount was fixed at 226 billion gold marks (54 billion dollars), running over a period of 42 years. The cash value of this sum would be a little over 20 billion dollars. That is to say, 20 billion dollars at five per cent interest would amount to 54 billion dollars in 42 years.

What Germany is asked to pay, therefore, is 20 billion dollars, with interest at 5 per cent in 84 semi-annual payments. This amount is only 5 billions more than the Allies borrowed from the United States alone!

This is the demand in response to which Germany has filled the world with her ignoble clamor.

What the League of Nations is.

Current Opinion has obtained from the United States Secretariat the following list of the members of the League of Nations corrected to January 20, 1921, together with other information bearing upon the membership:

"ORIGINAL MEMBERS"

| | Date of Accession |
|--|-------------------|
| Belgium | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Bolivia | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Brazil | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| China (By ratification of Austrian Treaty) | July 16, 1920 |
| Cuba | Mar. 8, 1920 |
| France | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Great Britain | |
| Canada | |
| Australia | |
| South Africa | |
| New Zealand | |
| India | |
| Greece | Mar. 30, 1920 |

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Guatemala | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Haiti | June 30, 1920 |
| Hedjaz (formal notification still lacking) | |
| Italy | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Japan | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Liberia | June 30, 1920 |
| Panama (same status as Hedjaz) | |
| Peru | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Poland | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Portugal | Apr. 8, 1920 |
| Roumania | Sept. 14, 1920 |
| Serbs, Croats Slovenes (Jugo-Slavia) | Feb. 10, 1920 |
| Siam | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Czecho-Slovakia | Jan. 10, 1920 |
| Uruguay | Jan. 10, 1920 |

"INVITED MEMBERS"

| | Date of Accession |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Argentine Republic | July 18, 1920 |
| Chile | Nov. 4, 1919 |
| Colombia | Feb. 16, 1920 |
| Denmark | Mar. 8, 1920 |
| Netherlands | Mar. 9, 1920 |
| Norway | Mar. 5, 1920 |
| Paraguay | Dec. 26, 1919 |
| Persia | Nov. 21, 1919 |
| Salvador | Mar. 10, 1920 |
| Spain | Jan. 20, 1920 |
| Sweden | Mar. 9, 1920 |
| Switzerland | Mar. 8, 1920 |
| Venezuela | Mar. 3, 1920 |

MORE RECENT MEMBERS

| | Date Admitted |
|------------|---------------|
| Albania | Dec. 18, 1920 |
| Austria | Dec. 15, 1920 |
| Bulgaria | Dec. 16, 1920 |
| Costa Rica | Dec. 16, 1920 |
| Finland | Dec. 16, 1920 |
| Luxemburg | Dec. 16, 1920 |

REQUESTS FOR ADMISSION

| | Date of Request |
|---------------|-----------------|
| Armenia | May 13, 1920 |
| Azerbaijan | Nov. 1920 |
| Estonia | Apr. 10, 1920 |
| Georgia | May 21, 1920 |
| Iceland | July 2, 1919 |
| Latvia | May 14, 1920 |
| Liechtenstein | July 15, 1920 |
| Lithuania | Nov. 1920 |
| Monaco | May 3, 1920 |
| Montenegro | Nov. 23, 1920 |
| San Marino | Apr. 23, 1920 |
| Ukraine | Feb. 25, 1920 |

The United States, Ecuador, Honduras and Nicaragua, altho signatories to the treaty of Versailles, have not deposited ratifications of the League of Nations.

From this list it will be seen that there were forty-seven nations members of the League on January 20, 1921. There are twelve nations that have requested admission but have not yet been admitted. The conspicuous nations outstanding which have not yet entered the League are the United States, Germany, Russia and Mexico.

The League of Nations is one year old. Its membership now comprises, it is estimated, 1,260,000,000,

people, or three-fourths of the world's population of 1,605,000,000. Additional states, with a total population of 44,000,000, have formally applied for admission. Germany, with 60,000,000 people, wants to join as soon as she is given a chance.

The First Year of Prohibition in U. S. A.

It has been asserted in a provincial council that prohibition has not been much of a success in U. S. A. That is not true, as the extracts entitled "Success and Failure of Prohibition in U. S. A." in our last issue, page 521, would show. *Current Opinion* for March holds that

The first year of prohibition, which was up in January, 1921, was about as successful as could be expected.

The open saloon is gone. That is the principal gain. The saloon was an unmixed evil, a pus center of the very worst poison of society.

Of course people still drink. And will for a while.

To some it is an added attraction that they must sneak it. But on the whole the custom of consuming alcohol as a part of festivity has begun to disappear.

Rarely are drinks served at public dinners.

No more alcoholic beverages are being manufactured commercially. Home brew amounts to little, and will gradually grow less and disappear. It is too much trouble.

Little by little the irreconcilables will fall into line or die off.

A generation of boys and girls are growing up that will never see a saloon or a drunken man unless they go abroad.

An official of the American Anti-Saloon League states that "there has been no bankruptcy of the Federal Government" owing to prohibition. So why should there be bankruptcy of Government in India if there be prohibition? The official of the Anti-Saloon League says further:

"It will take a long time to make Prohibition fully effective, but the American people will never again legalize the liquor traffic, because Prohibition has already prohibited far better than regulation ever regulated."

The English Language in Japan and China.

Dr. S. H. Wainright states in the *International Review of Missions*:

The demand of the Asiatic peoples has had greater weight than the favourable opinion of Europeans in determining the place the English language should

have in the schools. In Japan, for example, with greater zeal even than in India, the officials have promoted the study of the English language and of European learning in the national schools. An astonishing phase of this movement in Japan is the hearty support accorded to the teaching of English by the local tax-payers who for more than thirty years have favoured English instruction, though teachers of the English language have had to be paid the highest salaries in the schools. In China every effort was put forth to make the Chinese vernacular the medium for transmitting the western learning which indeed was taught in all the schools. But with the breaking down of the traditional education of China and the adoption of European learning by the Government for the national schools, there arose a great demand for teachers of English and for textbooks in the English language. It may be said therefore that this chapter of history is closed.

As regards the change produced by the teaching of English in Japan, the writer observes :—

The change produced in the Japanese language through the wide study of the English language in Japanese schools, has been remarkable. Much time has been given to English translation in the courses of study. The two languages are thus brought together and their terms, idioms and constructions are made the constant subject of contrast and comparison. Outside the schools those who have mastered English give evidence of the influence of this language in their use of Japanese both in writing and in public speech. Under this process, the Japanese sentences have become shorter, honorifics have been dropped, syntax has been modified, and new idioms, metaphors and terms have been incorporated. In these changes there has been a gradual approach to the English language. In no respect has this been more marked than in the directness with which the Japanese of the present express themselves. The change which has taken place in the Japanese language has been similar to the change in the life of the people. The former style of writing and speaking was similar to the mannered and monotonous movement of a feudal procession, while the use of Japanese now resembles the nervous and concentrated energy with which the busy throngs move up and down the Ginza. The Japanese language is now a supple and capacious medium for reflecting European ideas.

This change applies not only to the Japanese language: evidences of it may be observed in the increased facility with which western books can be translated into Japanese. For instance, a book written in English can be translated with almost as little modification and adaptation as would be required in translating a French writing into English. Among the first translations of European writings into Japanese was the rendering of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* into the Japanese vernacular. The adaptation necessary was so great that the good bishop in the original turned out to be a Buddhist priest in the translation. In contrast to this, one will find in General Mori's rendering of Goethe's *Faust*, in Japanese, five or six years ago, a literal following of the original, including angels and Satan and all other features of the language and plot. In truth, the process of which

we are speaking has a deeper aspect still. Western ideas have been domesticated in Japan to a degree scarcely imagined by superficial observers of events in that country.

Some Aspects of the Philippine Educational System.

Professor D. J. Fleming describes some aspects of the Philippine Educational System in the *International Review of Missions*. He dwells in the first place on the threefold aim.

So explicitly threefold is the aim of the Bureau of Education that they sometimes speak of their 'three-phase system'. They set out to help each student academically, industrially and physically. Having once taken this as their aim, they arrange for specialization to take place amongst teachers and supervisors along these three lines.

This threefold aim is illustrated in connexion with the primary schools.

The majority of the pupils never get beyond the fourth grade or standard and so it is felt that something toward each of these aims must be done for each pupil. Academically, the aim is to give the great mass of the population elementary instruction in reading and writing English, in home and world geography, and in sufficient arithmetic for simple business transactions and to avoid imposition by exploiters. Industrially, they aim in the primary to instil a respect for labour. In particular they want to help the Filipino boy to cultivate a home garden, and to do simple carpentry for the home, to weave hats, mats, slippers and baskets from local materials, and to handle simple business affairs. They aim to help the Filipino girl to prepare a wholesome meal, to make her own clothes, to weave hats, mats, etc. Physically, they aim to impart the rudiments of home and village sanitation, to improve the quality and variety of food through developing gardens, to abolish poor and unsanitary cooking through classes in domestic science, and to correct physical under-development by inaugurating group games and athletics. There is, it is true, a very definite moral aim worked out in the course on 'Good Manners and Right Conduct,' in which an effort is made to instil habits of rectitude and courtesy and a knowledge of the rights and duties of citizens. Specialization, however, has not developed in the pursuit of this aim.

The dominating idea back of this education is the training of the masses for citizenship rather than the education of a few to govern the masses. Hence the Bureau of Education has regarded the maintenance and extension of the system of primary schools as of first importance.

A very important factor in the after-care of teachers is the system of summer teacher training institutes.

Beginning about 1905, a Vacation Assembly has been held annually for Filipino teachers at Manila. Still more appreciated is the Vacation Assembly at

the mountain resort of Baguio. These assemblies are held for five weeks. Each province sends certain of its leading teachers; others go at their own expense. The combined attendance at these two assemblies averages 1700 persons. They value the complete change of environment, the advantages of study along special lines, and the opportunity of mingling with others engaged in the same profession but under different conditions. Noted lecturers give courses on educational and other subjects, and conferences are held for supervising teachers, for industrial teachers and for high school teachers and principals.

Still another plan for developing teachers is the arrangement for them to visit widewake, progressive fellow-teachers. Professional libraries for supervisors and for teachers have also been started in most divisions as a part of the office of the divisional superintendent or as a part of the high school libraries. A reading course designed for all instructors in intermediate schools has stimulated professional reading among teachers. The Bureau of Education issues as suggestions for teachers a large number of bulletins and circulars, covering such subjects as domestic science, drawing, manners and right conduct, school buildings and grounds, embroidery and athletics. The great importance of the school library is recognized and a beginning has been made in training teachers in library management.

As regards physical training, Professor Fleming states:

Physical Training. The Service Manual says that students of all grades and courses should be required to participate in organized games and athletics for from thirty to forty-five minutes daily. It is noteworthy that the system aims to provide physical training for all, rather than that a selected few should go through games for the entertainment of the many.

Great attention is paid to industrial and vocational work.

Industrial work. After the centralized system of control and the elaborate system of supervision and aftercare, the most distinctive feature of Philippine education is its emphasis on industrial work. Of all children in the schools 91 per cent are doing some form of industrial work every school day in the year. At first there was great objection to manual labour. In many regions the people were prejudiced against industrial work because they thought it was a plan by which the teachers meant to supplement their salaries through selling the products of the school. Parents protested that they sent their children to school not to learn how to work but how not to work. It is noteworthy that it was by the introduction of industrial activities into all types of schools and practically into every grade of each school that the old prejudice against manual labour was broken down.

Vocational work in the Intermediate. In the intermediate there is distinct specialization along vocational lines. The following six courses have been organized, although any one school may not arrange for all: general, teach-

ing, trade, farming, housekeeping and household arts.

Some other features may be noted.

A school bank is managed by the students. Careful accounts are kept of advances to students for running expenses, and credits are given for extra work. The students are expected to give four hours' work (or its equivalent in cash) per day for subsistence. Space forbids a description of the garden day celebrations started in 1912, the preparation and distribution of planting calendars, the maintenance of nurseries, the popularization of the new receipts for vegetables, the carrying on of food campaigns and the introduction of new and better kinds of crops.

The whole system of education in the Philippines deserves to be carefully studied by those who wish to remodel our system of education from the bottom.

A New Ideal for Europe.

The Spanish journal *La Ilustracion Espanola y Americana* has an article on the withdrawal of the Argentine delegation from the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva. It asks:

What does the withdrawal of this delegation signify, if not the beginning of a policy upon which the whole world must take sides? The voluntary withdrawal of Argentine, followed by that of Chile, cannot be passed over in silence. These acts, which thus ally those countries with the great North American Republic in their attitude toward the League, signify that America is not following a path parallel with that of Europe, but proposes to steer an independent course, remoter from the rocks and reefs of war.

As enemies of whatever spells destruction and strife between nations, we regard this act with emotion and approval. No. Let us have an end of war and imperialism. America ought not to follow the steps of Europe, and embog itself in bloody alliances, likely to blast its own continent with the sterility of hatred, of military rancor, and endless preparation for new conflicts.

We look to America for something better. Let discordant Europe fight and die if it will; but let America be a harmonious whole, supreme only in the arts of civilization, imperialist only in the conquest of industry, pacifist in every attitude and act; a competitor in all that is noble and righteous. America, should, indeed, keep aloof from us, that the tares of discord may not be sown in its own field. From the north to the south, its people are one. May they remain immune from that virus of war with which European chancelleries are so busily infecting the world.

As industrially conquered peoples are made miserable thereby, industrial imperialism also is a wicked ambition.

The Italian Labor Bill.

We read in the *Living Age* :

In each of the ten main industries, one of which is agriculture, the workmen are to elect a committee of nine members, consisting of six workers and three experts, and the employers are to elect a similar committee. The workers' committee is empowered to obtain full information as to the cost of production, the methods of management, the wages paid, and the capital invested. It is authorized to supervise the enforcement of labor laws, and to suggest improvement in production. Workers are guaranteed against dismissal on account of their political opinions. On the other hand, employers shall have the right to send two members to all meetings of the workmen's committee.

Psychological Examinations.

On the basis of psychological examinations, the *Scientific American Monthly* states :—

There is one fundamental fact underlying all psychological examinations, namely, that people differ in their mental capacities or powers just as they do in their physical characteristics, and that they should be treated according to their capacity. The popular notion, however, seems to be quite the opposite. The Constitution of the United States says that all people are born free and equal, and this is much more often interpreted to mean equal mentally than it is to mean equal physically. The notion of mental equality has been crystallized in our public school system. Only recently and in the most progressive communities have mental differences been officially recognized in school work and some provision made for the instruction of the mentally deficient and those who are unusually bright.

The verdict of the psychological laboratory is that men are by nature very different in every respect in which they have been measured; that these native differences are in part responsible for differences in achievement, how much cannot yet be determined; and furthermore that these native capacities determine the limit of achievement possible to every man. Mental capacity or what may be more popularly called "brain power" is distributed among the population very much as the physical characteristics of weight, height, etc., are distributed.

The Influence of Islam.

The *Islamic Review* writes :—

Christian missionaries have written so much against the influence of Islam, but Christian writers of unbiassed mind have invariably admitted the wonderful part which Islam has played in forming the character of its followers. Those who have read the annals of the Rise, Decline and Fall of the Khilafat by Muir must be impressed with one idea: that Islam raised the wild children of the desert from the abyss of degradation to the zenith of civilization. As for more recent times, the following remarks of

Captain C. W. J. Orr will be read with great interest, which we quote from the *Moslem World* :—

"The religion of Islam, wherever it prevails, whether at the courts of Constantinople, Delhi or Morocco, or in the less ostentatious governments of West Africa, is uniform, both in its practice and in its influences on the minds of men. The "dead hand of Islam" is sometimes spoken of, as if the religion were a blight which withered all progress amongst the nations who profess it, though the Arabs in Spain held aloft the torch of civilization at a time when the rest of Europe was wrapped in darkness. But even if it be true that Islam lays a dead hand on a people who have reached a certain standard of civilization, it is impossible to deny its quickening influence on African races in a backward state of evolution. Amongst the pagan tribes of Northern Nigeria it is making its converts every day, sweeping away drunkenness, cannibalism, and fetishism; mosques and markets spring into existence, and the pagan loses his exclusiveness, and learns to mingle with his fellowmen. To the Negro, Islam is not sterile or lifeless. The dead hand is not for him."

Position of Slaves Under Islam.

Khawaja Nazir Ahmad writes in the *Islamic Review* on the position of slaves under Islam :—

It is clear that it is a gross misrepresentation to associate slavery with Islam as a permanent institution. Islam only tolerated it as a temporary measure, and eventually laid down explicit laws for its ultimate abolition. The opponent of Islam cannot point out any moral code in regard to the treatment of slaves, laying stress only upon the duties of the slave to the master; but on the contrary it has directed masters to be kind to their slaves. Whereas the Christian Bible fails to say anything in favour of kind treatment to slaves, the Holy Qur-an enjoins it in forcible words.

Islam attaches the same importance to the worship of God as to considerate treatment of slaves. For we find in the Holy Qur-an: "And serve Allah and do not associate anything with Him, and be good to the parents and to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the neighbour of (your) kin and the alien neighbour, and the companion in a journey and the wayfarer and those whom your right hands possess; surely Allah does not love him who is proud and boastful." Thus by linking together in one sentence the worship of God and good treatment to His creatures, among whom slaves are particularly mentioned, the importance of being good to bondmen has been made manifest.

In the *Bukharee* we are told that the Prophet (may the blessings of Allah be upon him) said:

"Verily your slaves are your brethren ; God has placed them under you ; whoever then has his brother under him, he should feed him with food of which he eats, and clothe him with such clothing as he wears. And do not impose upon them a duty which it is beyond their power to perform, or if you command them to do what they are unable to do, then assist them in that affair." By such commandments the Holy Prophet put the universal brotherhood into actual practice. Slaves were even to wear the same clothes and eat the same food as their masters.

The following reports of the Holy Prophet, which throw a flood of light on the position of slaves in Islam, have been quoted by Lane (*Arabian Nights*) and Hughes (*Dictionary of Islam*) :—

"He who beats his slave without fault or slaps him on the face, his atonement for this is freeing him."

"A man who behaves ill to his slave will not enter paradise."

"Whoever is the cause of separation between mother and child, by selling or giving, God will separate him from his friends on the day of resurrection."

When questioned as to the number of times a master should forgive his slave, the Holy Prophet is reported to have said : "Forgive thy slave seventy times every day if thou desirest to be rewarded with a good reward for what thou forgivest." His gentle heart did not even bear the slave to be called by that degrading appellation. He, therefore, for affection he had for his brethren in bondage, said : "Let none of you say *abdi* (my man-slave), *amti* (my maid-servant), but let him say *ftai* (my young man), *ftati* (my young maid), and *ghulami* (my young man or my young boy)." The latter three words are applied to slaves as well as free men, while the former two are applicable to slaves only.

Zaid, "the freedman of the Prophet," was often entrusted with the command of troops, and the noblest captains served under him without demur.

In Islam, slaves, male or female, were treated as members of the family.

Slavery as tolerated by Islam had nothing in common with the slavery known to the West.

"To Prepare Students to Meet the Unexpected."

The following extract from the address delivered by Mr. Hemendra K. Rakshit as retiring president of the Hindustan Association of America is taken from *The Hindustanee Student* :—

Today America, among the nations, is pro-

gressively working to harmonize spiritualism and materialism to an ideal degree. Her position fits her to so progress. For, she looks both ways—to Europe and to Asia. To this land our students come. Education means a radically different thing today. "We have," says a noted writer, "to prepare students to meet the unexpected, for their problems will not be the same as their fathers." To prepare them for the unexpected means to train them in the method instead of filling them with facts and rules. They will have to find their own facts and make their own rules. We notice this view of education present in this country, and it fits in with India's requirements.

Barbour Scholarships for Oriental Women.

We read in the same journal :—

In June, 1917, the Hon. Levi L. Barbour of Detroit, gave to the University of Michigan the sum of \$100,000 for the establishment of scholarships for women students coming from Oriental countries. In January, 1920, Mr. Barbour made a further gift of \$250,000 to this fund. The holders of this fund up to the end of last year were only Chinese and Japanese students, but this year two of the Hindu girls have also applied and received the scholarship.

Students have to be at least matriculates in order to get this scholarship, but preference is given to the graduate applicants.

Formerly this scholarship was open only for the students of medicine, but now it is open for any subject. Yet it is desirable that students taking medical course should apply according to the wish of the donor.

The sum of \$700.00 is given to each candidate for the tuition, boarding lodging expenses for the academic year. Besides this sum no other expense for passage to and from, or expenses for books or vacations, etc., are given.

Students are, however, helped in getting room in the college dormitories for women, by the Dean of Women.

No age limit is laid down for the applicants. The scholarship is given for one year only, but it can be continued for consecutive years on application.

Miss A. Haldar, M.A., and Miss Das Gupta, M.A., both of Calcutta University, are the first recipients of the Barbour Scholarship declared by the University of Michigan. They are now candidates for the degree of Ph.D. in Philosophy and Applied Psychology, respectively.

What is Claimed for Yoga.

In a lucid article on Yoga in the *Message of the East*, it is stated :

The conception of Yoga is a very ancient one in India. It was the natural product of the searching minds of the sages. Its special province is to make spiritual things as real to us as material things are now. It also offers us certain methods by which we may improve both our physical and our mental being and awaken our spiritual consciousness. It teaches us how to make a body, now unfit for higher attainment, more fit, more balanced and healthy. It shows us how we may bring a mind which is unsteady and unruly, under absolute subjugation. It covers the whole field of human activity. Through it we learned how to gain mastery over all the forces which are working within and without.

The spiritual life is not a visionary dream. The science of Yoga as given in India from beginning to end deals with the practical side of living. As in chemistry they combine certain elements and certain results are produced; so the Yogis teach us that if we will combine certain practices in breathing, concentration and meditation, with proper action, definite results will be produced in our physical, mental and moral being.

Africa for Africans.

We read in *Current Opinion* :—

Inasmuch as the Englishman claims England as his native habitat, the Frenchman claims France as his home and Americans claim the United States as their land, the time has come, in the opinion of Marcus Garvey and his extensive following, for the Negroes to claim Africa as their native land and to establish a United States of Africa, with him as its Provisional President. The extent of his following, which already numbers, we are told, several million negroes in this country and elsewhere, invests this ambitious project and personality of its author with unique and even serious interest. Already Garvey, in addition to being provisional president of the projected African commonwealth, an office to which he was elected last August by a majority of the three thousand delegates in probably the most remarkable race convention that New York City and America ever witnessed, is president-general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League of the World, president of the Black Star Line of ocean-going steamships, president of the Negro Factories Corporation and editor and publisher of the *Negro World*, the most influential negro newspaper on record; and he is acclaimed by millions of his color as the Black Moses destined, as one fervent biographer says, "to rank in history alongside Nador, Alaric, Attila, Genghis Khan, Cromwell, Napoleon, Bismarck and Washington."

But who is this Marcus Garvey?

Shortly after America entered the war there arrived in New York from the island of Jamaica a coal-

black negro of the purest African type, whose head was fairly bursting with an idea as great and heavy as it was intangible. 'Thirty years old, but pretty well educated, a traveller and a student in many countries, a journalist, an orator and a human encyclopedia of the affairs of his own race, he came with his vision and has had an up-hill row to hoe. In other words, he has had to work hard for a hearing and his progress has been vigorously disputed by such race leaders as Robert Moton, head of Tuskegee Institute, and W. E. B. Du Bois, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. American negroes, he was told at the outset, would take no stock in his dream of a dark republic, would not be willing to trade their half-bad status for one which gave scant promise of being anything but something worse. Discomfited, he returned to Jamaica, but presently came back to "the richest negro city in the world" convinced that only in New York could he launch his ship of a negro State and arouse sufficient whirlwind of material support to fill its sails.

Garvey's paper, the *Negro World*, is devoted solely to the interests of the Negro race and pledged to secure complete and lasting emancipation of the entire black race of the world.

Freedom of the sort the white and yellow races enjoy should be the goal as well of the black race, he asserted, and by easy calculation he showed the negro in his total strength of 400,000,000 to be a master of the world, if numbers counted for anything.

The Military Awakening of the Negro.

Deutsche Politik asserts that

In all seriousness the natives throughout the whole length and breadth of the Dark Continent already look forward impatiently to the day when they can rise up and throw off the white man's yoke. Many Englishmen know this perfectly well; but France, the principal cause of this new unrest, seems absolutely blind to the effect of its present policies.

Most districts of the Dark Continent, especially its tropical and subtropical territories, have a very small white minority, who owe their control over the uncivilized natives mainly to the respect and reverence they inspire, as 'big medicine men.' This nimbus has been largely destroyed by the war, and France is doing its best to complete that work.

How is France doing this?

E. D. Morel's tireless researches have shown that France employed 695,000 colored soldiers in the front line during the war, and 238,000 behind the front. More than 180,000 of the men on the battle line were West African and Congo negroes. Tunis supplied 95,000 men altogether.

France is going still farther. On July 30, 1919, or long after the war, universal military

service was introduced in West and Central Africa, over a territory nearly as large as Europe, containing some twenty million inhabitants. On December 12, 1919, compulsory service was further extended to Madagascar, which has three million inhabitants. These soldiers must serve three years, two of them in Europe. French military specialists estimate that after 1922 their country will have a standing army of 200,000 Africans, mostly negroes. Half of these belong to the most primitive races. These do not include the troops from Algeria, Tunis, or Morocco. The English Brigadier-General, C. B. Thomson, thus comments upon this suicidal policy: 'I know the West Coast of Africa intimately and I can only confirm the facts. The colored troops are taught to use arms and are systematically trained to despise European nations.'

The very fact that black men are being taught, trained, and ordered to kill white men,—men whom they have previously considered it their unquestioned duty to obey, has opened their eyes and convinced them that the reverence and respect for white men which they previously cherished, was merely 'bad magic.' They have seen their masters defeated. They saw the treatment given to German prisoners in the colonies and elsewhere. They were allowed to keep the barbarous trophies which their savage customs taught them to take from their slaughtered enemies. Their respect for white women was destroyed. In the occupied territories of Germany the black troops have learned to feel that they, the Africans, are the conquerors. They insensibly adopt the attitude and manner of their white masters toward the native white population, and extend this attitude to every white man.

In 1922, I have said, France will have a standing army of 200,000 full blooded African soldiers, not counting those from Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. Every year some 70,000 new recruits will return to their jungle huts, fully trained soldiers, in possession of weapons with which they are perfectly familiar. In ten years they will constitute a force of 700,000 men.

We are informed that in America the black men who fought in the war are lifting their heads higher than before. Is it not likely that before long many educated negroes from America will be returning to the continent from which their ancestors were brought as slaves, in order to preach to their blood brethren liberation from their chains?

When we take all these facts into considera-

tion, the resolutions of the so-called 'Negro World Congress' are not such a funny matter. Of course a Pan-African Negro Republic is a very remote and fanciful thing; but the blind policy which France is now pursuing toward the people of that continent is paving the way to such a possibility.

African Troops on the Rhine.

The New Republic does not think that the Negro troops employed by France in the occupied districts of Germany behaved worse than white troops do in such areas.

Atrocities have been committed by colored troops; more atrocities are alleged; but through it all runs the implication that the horror of them is greatly deepened by the fact of color. As if ever in history the colored races had been guilty of greater barbarities than the white races in the late war.

The New Republic sees a grave danger in the raising of huge armies from subject populations. It says:

There is a check, however inadequate, upon the military employment of citizen levies. Every government, even the most autocratic, must hold the loyalty of its citizens, and that may be difficult in a war of naked aggression in which they are asked to stake their possessions and their lives. The citizen cannot be expected to be awake to the need of averting war, when the vital losses of war are to fall upon subjects holding an inferior status with respect to the state.

If France sets out to raise armies of unfree conscripts, England in the end might be forced to follow suit, and Japan might likewise be forced to occupy increasing sections of the Asiatic mainland from which to draw man power for war.

As an institution, conscription of subject races is capable of inaugurating a new race in armaments, to end, perhaps, in another world war, more terrific and merciless than the last. It is an institution which the European nations will have to curb, unless they are prepared to risk the extinction of European civilization. Now self-governing domains may properly be expected to raise forces sufficient to defend themselves. Anything beyond that tends inevitably toward a kind of imperialism that ends with the wreck of an era of civilization.

GLEANINGS

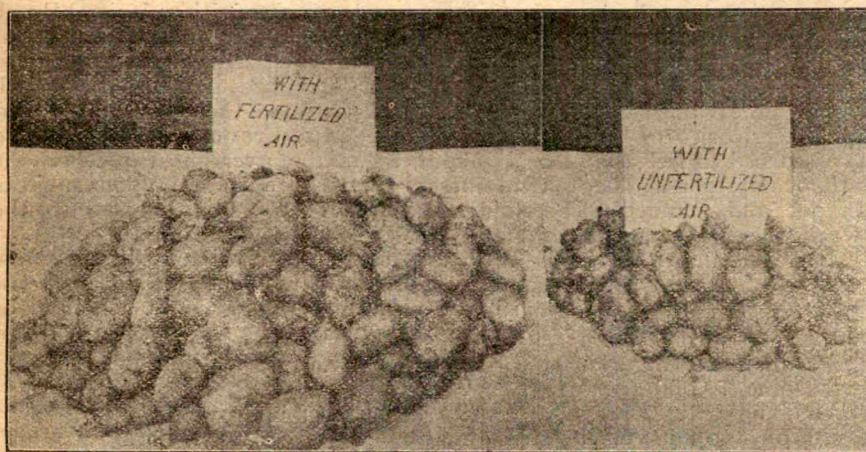
Fertilizing the Air.

Dr. Gradenwitz has recently discovered that the addition of carbonic-acid gas to the air around it is better than fertilizing the soil in which a plant grows. One of the principal constituent of a plant is carbon, derived from atmospheric carbonic acid. This gas is absorbed by the chlorophyll or green matter of the leaves and decomposed into carbon and oxygen. The former, in conjunction with the root sap and atmospheric moisture, is worked into organic compounds.

Whereas atmospheric air at present is relatively poor in carbonic acid, of which it contains only about '03 per cent., at an early period in the development of our planet, when this was covered with the luxuriant forests our coal deposits are derived from, it comprised in-

were obtained and which was put to practical tests on a large scale. Three green houses were at first erected, one of which served as testing-room, while the two others were used for checking purposes. The testing-room was supplied with purified and burnt blast-furnace exhaust gases through a line of punctured piping traversing the whole greenhouse in a forward and backward direction. Even a few days after starting the test, there could be observed in the testing-room a more luxuriant vegetation than in the checking-houses. With the tomatoes planted in another part of the greenhouse the weight of the same number of fruits in the testing-room was 175 per cent. more. Experiments in the open air were made simultaneously with these greenhouse tests, a square plot of ground being encircled by punctured cement pipes from which a continuous supply of exhaust gases

was escaping. The wind, mostly striking the ground at an angle, would drive the carbonic acid in a variable direction toward the plants, thus allowing extensive areas to be supplied with the fertilizing gas. On the opposite side of the greenhouse plant there was provided for checking purposes a plot of the same size submitted to no carbonic-acid gas, the soil in the two plots being of the same quality. Samples were



Potato crops with fertilized air and with unfertilized air.

comparably greater quantities of this gas. This fact suggested the idea of heightening the fertility of the soil by increasing its carbonic-acid content and thus producing conditions resembling those of antediluvian ages. In order to enable such a process to be carried out on anything like a commercial line, a cheap source of carbonic acid had, of course, to be provided.

This was found by Dr. Fr. Riedel, of Essex-on-Ruhr, in the combustion gases escaping from all factories, but most abundantly from blast furnaces, and which so far had been allowed to flow out into the atmosphere without serving any useful purpose. He accordingly set to work designing a process for which patents

derived from the best portions of the checking field, but from the centre of the field submitted to the action of carbonic acid gas, the increase in yield in the case of spinach was found to be 150 per cent., with potatoes 180 per cent., with lupines (a legume) 174 per cent., and with barley 100 per cent. The potatoes in the field submitted to the action of carbonic acid gas were found to ripen much more quickly than in the checking-plot.

According to Dr. Reidel's calculations an iron works dealing in its blast-furnaces with about 4000 tons of coke per day will daily produce as much as 35,000,000 cubic meters of combustion gases, containing 20 per cent. carbonic



Cawliflower plants grown with the help of fertilized air and without it.

acid gas. This is such an enormous amount that even in the case of a partial utilization most extensive plots of ground can be supplied with the precious air-fertilizer. Dr. Riedel therefore believes that carbonic-acid works for supplying agriculture will before long be quite as common a feature as electricity and gas works, the large industrial centers at the same time becoming centers of increasing agricultural production.

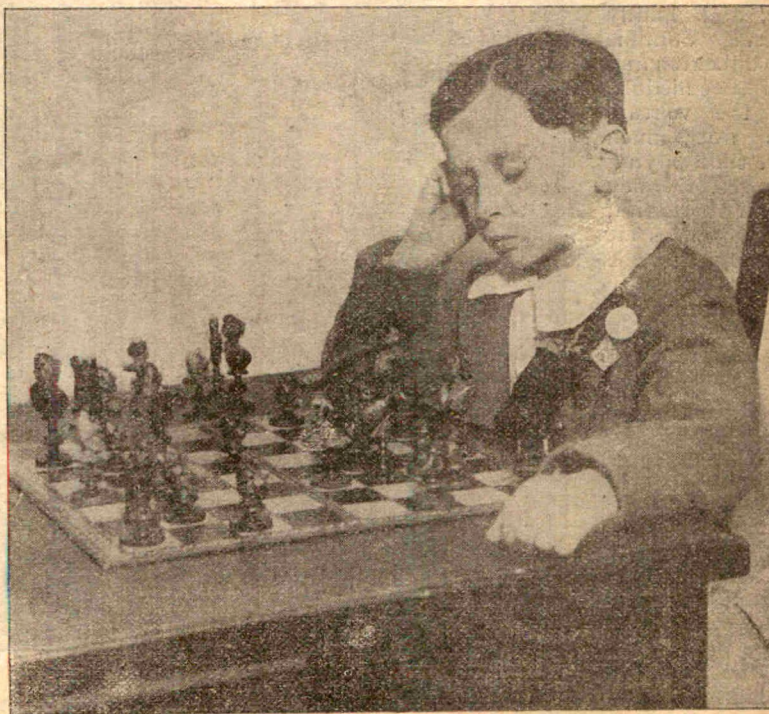
A Boy Prodigy.

Samuel Rzezewski, a nine-year-old Polish boy, has recently created a sensation in the chess-playing world by his wonderful play of the game. His father was a linen-merchant at Lodz in Poland. During the recent war the senior Rzezewski's business ceased and he spent much of the ensuing leisure time playing chess with his cronies. Sammie watched his parent, and in the summer of 1917, when the boy had attained the mellowed maturity that goes with five years he asked to be allowed to play a game. Within a week he was able to beat his father and in six months he had challenged and beaten the champion chess-player of

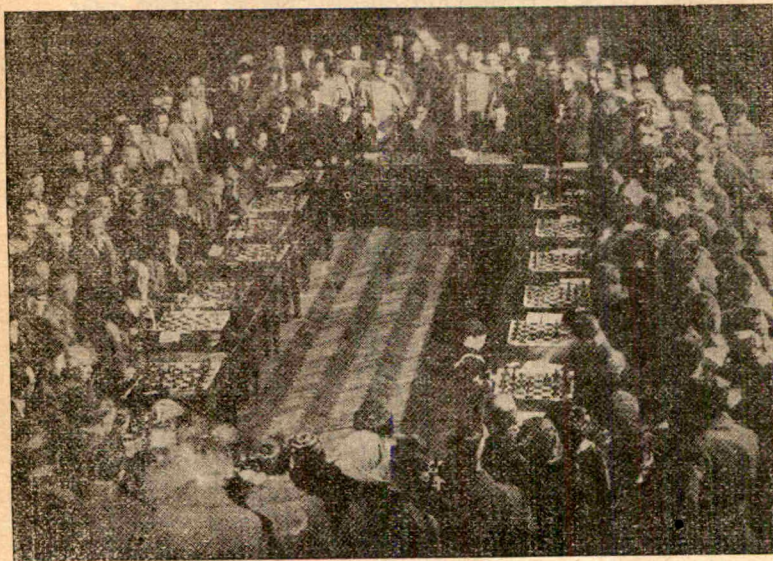
Poland. When the Armistice was signed, it occurred to Father Rzezewski that, as he could not resume his linen business for some time, it would not be a bad scheme to travel around with Sam-



Samuel Rzezewsky.



Samuel Rzezewsky, the child champion chess player.



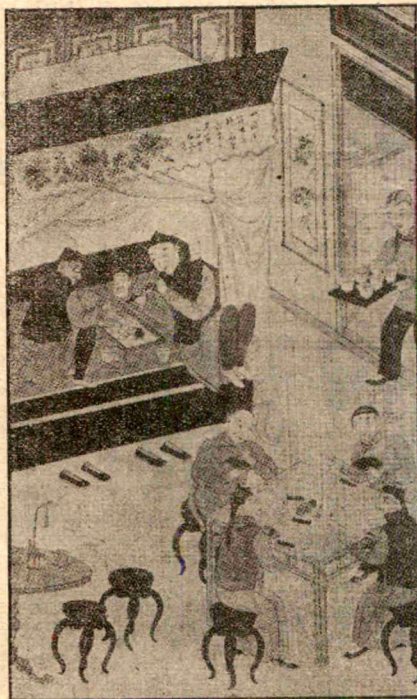
Samuel Rzezewsky playing twenty simultaneous games of chess.

mie the boy wonder, and exhibit him as a chess champion. So Sammie and his father and mother toured Europe, the boy meeting all comers in chess in Bulgaria, Roumania, Vienna, Berlin, Constantinople, and finally Paris. Sammie was unbeaten and won nine medals, but the venture was not much more than paying expenses. Money wasn't as plentiful in Europe as it once was, and the Rzezewskis finally decided to go to America, which they did a short time ago. The boy champion's chess experience in Europe have thus far been repeated in America. In a number of tournaments, where Sammie has usually played twenty games simultaneously, he has defeated all opponents with only three or four exceptions. At West

Point Military Academy he won nineteen out of twenty simultaneous games, the twentieth resulting in a draw. Beyond his phenomenal ability as a chess player there seems to be nothing extraordinary about this eight-year-old youngster. He is much like any other boy of his age.

Bible stories told in Chinese art.

As Christianity spread from Syria into Europe and Africa and Asia, hearers of the Bible stories in these far lands naturally thought of them in terms of their own landscapes and flora and fauna. In China, Chinese converts have imagined Biblical heroes in Chinese garb, surrounded by Chinese scenes. The Chinese vision of the Bible has been put on canvas by a



"And took his journey into a far country and there wasted his substance with riotous living."



"And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat."

Chinese painter, some of whose work is here reproduced.

This artist "had never heard of Palestine." To him "Noah was Chinese and the Lost Sheep belonged to a farmer of his province and the Prodigal Son might well have been a dissolute youth of his own village." Therefore, as a writer in *Asia* describes the paintings, "the landscape that forms the background for the pictures of the Flood is typical of the country along the upper stretches of the Min River in North Fukien." "Noah's Ark is very much like the house-boats that are seen on the Min river unto this day." And the animals, entering two by two, are those familiar to this part of China: "the sacred phoenix soaring above them all; tigers and lions, very typical of the stone images that guard the entrance to Chinese temples; buffalo cows, and, of course, pigs; and bringing up the rear are the deer, held in high esteem in China because they came out of their cave to show one of the wise men the plant of everlasting life." We are reminded that the Flood is very real and terrible to the Chinese artist, "for every year the overflowing rivers claim countless victims. It is not difficult for him to image the torrents tearing down the mountain slopes, the houses uprooted from their foundations, and the terrified inhabitants scrambling for safety to the high places."

Similarly, since there are no sheep in South China, "the little Lost Sheep of the parable becomes a goat," and the goatherd wears the dress of a Fukien coolie. Also, the Prodigal Son of the parable wears a pigtail and smokes opium. Three of the four Prodigal-Son pictures are here reproduced, and we quote as follows the description of the whole series as given in *Asia*:

"The Prodigal Son has asked for his inheritance. He can no longer endure the dull routine of the little provincial town in which he had been born; he wants to try his wings in the great city within whose walls are gilded tea-houses and singing girls. The father and his two sons have come together in the great reception-room. The walls are hung with paintings on silk by famous artists of long ago and with panels decorated with the *Lanwha*, or orchid, which is the plant of everlasting life. The Prodigal Son is wearing his red ceremonial coat for this is a great occasion for him, and he toys with his fan to conceal his agitation. Behind the father stands the elder son, looking scornfully at his idle brother. In boxes and trays the servants are carrying in the inheritance. This is in the form of shoes of silver, each one of which is supposed to weigh fifty-two taels. The Prodigal Son is haughtily superintending the weighing of the shoes. The father strokes his beard doubtfully, but he is a philosopher, and feels that youth must not be held to the shrines of the ancestors against its will.



"Bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat and be merry."

"The shoes of silver are fast disappearing in riotous living. The Prodigal Son is seated behind the red silken curtains on the wide bed of a gambling den. There is no doubt of this, for an inscription in Chinese above the curtain explains the iniquitous purpose of the establishment. The crafty proprietor himself is rolling the balls of opium for the pipe of the Prodigal Son, who is being received with princely welcome in the silken halls of vice as long as his inheritance lasts. The servant at the door is bringing bowls of lotus-seeds—a most epicurean dish, worthy to set before kings. At the table in the center of the room four men are much absorbed in *fantan*, a favorite gambling game among the Chinese, who are fond of many curious games of chance. At the little table are bowls of tea and hot water which they will enjoy in a brief moment of relaxation, for they will play through the night. And the Prodigal Son will soon curl up on the luxurious bed and, soothed into a narcotic slumber, he will dream the soul-destroying dreams of the opium-smoker.

"The Prodigal Son has fallen upon evil days and his opium dreams are over. In pitiful rags that do not even half cover his body he sits shivering on the trunk of a camphor-tree amid the swine and recalls that other day when, drest in rich red satin, he sat in state in a teak-wood chair and demanded every shoe of his

inheritance. In that snug little cluster of white houses with the sloping, tiled roofs, there is not a bowl of rice for a foolish youth who has wasted his goodly inheritance. The pigs are still sleek and well fed, but the pigs are more useful than the Prodigal Son. Pigs, which constitute the principal live stock and property of the farmer, are as characteristic of the rural landscape in Fukien as are the waterfalls. There is always a hole cut at the side of the door, even of the better houses, for the pigs' private entrances. One by one the pigs will have to be sacrificed to keep the famine from creeping in to the village. No wonder the Prodigal Son in his deepest dejection thinks of his father's substantial household where there are many servants and rice for all.

"The Prodigal Son has returned. As the first official act of welcome, his hair is combed and then his cap and ceremonial red coat are given back to him. It is an important day in the household. The Prodigal Son has returned to the shrines of his ancestors and to his filial duties. Did not Confucius say, 'Filial duty is the constant doctrine of Heaven, the natural righteousness of earth, and the practical duty of man?' To celebrate the return of his son, the father has prepared a great feast. The musicians have come with drums and flutes. The servant is carrying the *piece de resistance*, the fatted calf, which is a chicken, the honorable dish for honored guests in this province. The table groans with pyramids of steamed bread, watermelon-seeds, cubes of bean paste, and other delicacies. The father, who is the head of the household, is also the most conspicuous figure in the picture, in accordance with Chinese ideas of etiquette, if not with Western ideas of perspective. 'Let us eat and be merry' is a command willingly complied with by the Chinese, celebrated for their feasts."

Which Side of Your Face is more Intelligent.

"God has given you one face," said Hamlet—but he did not mention the fact that the two halves of it are often startlingly different. Per-



The subject of this article as he actually looks. His face seems normal and symmetrical, yet the right and left sides are decidedly different.

This photograph is made up of two left sides, printed next to each other. Notice the high brow, the well developed features, the intelligent expression.

Two right sides of the man's face are represented in this photograph. The features are immature, the brow low, the expression uninteresting.

haps he, like most of us, did not know it. Yet photography has proved that one side of the face is usually more intelligent than the other.

Take, for example, the three photographs shown on this page. One represents a man's head as it actually appears. Another is made up of two left sides; this was done by printing the left half of the film on both its front and back sides. The third photograph represents two right sides. Yet see how different all three are!

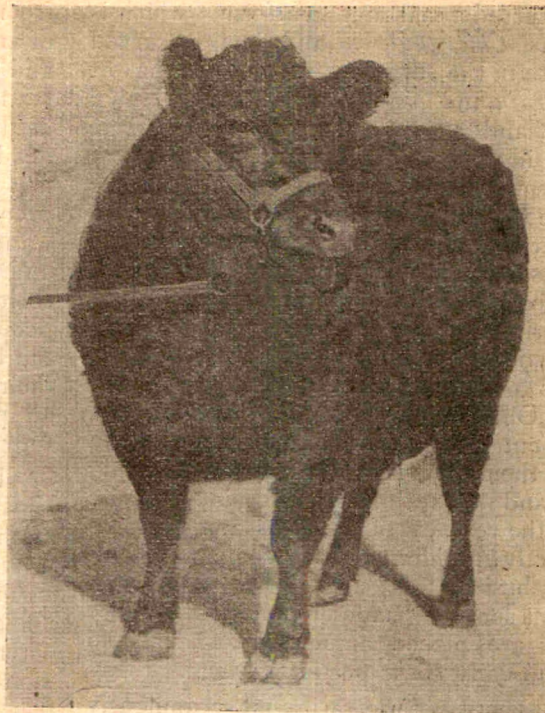
Notice the high forehead, the intelligent expression and the well developed features in the photograph of the left side of his head; compare this with the uninteresting right side photograph. Yet when you look at the actual photograph of the man's head, you do not realize that there is so much difference between the sides.

This man is righthanded, yet the left side of his face is more developed than the right side. This is due to the mutual crossing of the nerves that control the two halves of the body. The nerves controlling the right half of the body are centered in the left half of the brain. Our man uses his right hand more than his left hand and thus the left half of his brain receives more nervous impulses than the right; his face is similarly affected. Had our man been lefthanded, the right side of his face would have shown greater development. Mrs. Alice Matzdorff, a Berlin photographer, made the photographs.

Clothing from Cows.

There is a certain breed of cattle, known as the Galloway, which is quite different from the usual breed. The animals have thick curly hair that can be used as wool.

The Galloways grew up in southwest Scotland, where a good overcoat is needed to keep the warmth in and the damp weather out. They have no horns, and it is thought that through the ages their original horns gradually disappeared, due to the fact that the country is too rugged for enemies to venture into.



Cow with thick curly hair.

SERPENT WORSHIP IN MALABAR

SERPENT worship plays an important part in the life of the indigenous Hindu population of Malabar, of which the Namburi Brahmans and the Nayars form the most prominent and influential sections. It is almost as common among them as the worship of tutelary deities among the Hindus throughout India. Live serpents however are not held sacred and worshipped in the way that cows are by the generality of Hindus. It is the genus serpent that is worshipped, and that too symbolically. But the life of the serpent is held sacrosanct, and it is considered a heinous sin to kill one.

The serpent shrine, or *Nagathan Kavu* as it is called, is a prominent feature of Malabar homesteads, especially those of the Namburis and Nayars. These people invariably live in detached houses standing in their own premises, about half an acre to three acres in extent. A shady nook of the

compound, generally at the back of the house is dedicated to the worship of serpents, and is enclosed by a mud or masonry dwarf wall.



A Serpent Shrine.

The extent of the enclosure, which is square or oblong, is ordinarily between one and two hundred square yards. In the centre of

this is erected a masonry platform, which is known as *Chitrakutam*, and images carved in granite of the serpent king and his consort—*Nagaraja* and *Naga-Yakshi*—are planted thereon, and are consecrated in the same way as idols are consecrated in ordinary Hindu temples. A light is placed at the entrance to the shrine every evening, and a *Puja* performed by a Brahman once a month or at least once a year. The ninth asterism is the most auspicious day for the *Puja*, and the offerings made on such occasions are chiefly cooked rice, parched rice, rice and turmeric powders, black sugar, milk and water. Old shady trees are found in almost all serpent groves, and large ant-hills in some of them. As serpents like cool, shady places and as anthills are their favourite haunts, the removal of the trees and ant-hills is strictly prohibited. In some Namburi families, besides this usual form of worship, images of serpents made of bell-metal, silver or gold are placed among the household gods, and daily *Puja* performed before them.

The sanctity of the shrine is scrupulously preserved. If it is polluted by the contact of low caste or non-caste people or of caste Hindus under death pollution or women's special pollution, or if the dead body of an animal is found within the enclosure, purificatory ceremonies are performed to remove the pollution. Such a ceremony is also annually performed to remove any pollution that might have been unconsciously caused during the year. Neglect in the performance of any of the ceremonies is believed to excite the wrath of the serpents, as does also the removal of any tree or plant or ant-hill from the consecrated ground. Certain diseases and family misfortunes, such as leprosy, blindness and sterility, are attributed to their wrath. Their propitiation, on the other hand, by the proper observance of the prescribed ceremonies is calculated to promote the welfare and happiness of the family.

All the ordinary ceremonies connected with serpent worship can be performed by any Brahman, but the ceremony of first consecration can be performed only by the members of a particular Namburi family, known as the Pambumekat family, in the Cochin State. Besides this, they alone can undertake to remove a serpent shrine from one compound to another or from one part of a compound to another. The felling of trees

from the consecrated ground and the removal of ant-hills from it also require their sanction and countenance. The members of this family are said to be immune from the effects of snake poison, and the bite of the most deadly serpent is believed to be innocuous, if it takes place in their presence or in their premises. Snakes of all kinds are said to wander about undisturbed in their premises, and take repose in the large ant-hills in which their compound abounds. The faith of the people in the exclusive power possessed by the Pambumekat Namburis is so implicit that their services are in constant requisition from all parts of Malabar, and in consequence they enjoy a very handsome income.

The origin of this worship is involved in the mist of antiquity. According to local tradition, the first Aryan colonists of Malabar, who were led by Parasurama, found the country quite uninhabitable, and returned to their old homes after a time. Some years later, they made another attempt at colonisation, when they found the country occupied in the meantime by Nagas or Serpent Gods from the nether world or *Pathala*. The Aryans began to wage war against the intruders, when Parasurama acting as arbitrator decided that the former as the first colonists should have the land, but that they should set apart a corner of every compound for the undisturbed occupation of the Nagas. Some modern writers are inclined to think that there is a substratum of historical truth in this tradition. The people who ousted the first batch of Aryan colonists and waged war against the second were probably the Nagas or Takshaks, a branch of the Scythian race, who entered India in large hordes in the sixth century B. C. and set up kingdoms in several parts of the continent and in Ceylon. The Nagas are well known to have been serpent worshippers, and the worship now in vogue in Malabar may have had its origin from them. From the similarity of the names, the common practice of serpent worship and polyandry and other circumstances, it is further surmised that the Nayars were descended from the Nagas, the *r* of Nagars being the plural suffix in the local vernacular. It is also worthy of note that, of all Sanskrit synonyms for serpents, the word *Naga* is the one generally used in connection with their worship.

Snakes of various kinds still abound in all

parts of Malabar, except on the seaboard, where they cannot make holes in the sand for their accommodation and where the sand heated by the summer sun is almost fatal to them. About sixty species are represented in the country, but of those found in the low country, only three are said to be fatally poisonous, namely, the cobra, whose hood proclaims its deadly identity, the Russel's viper, whose body is thick and head broad, covered with little scales and a chain pattern down the centre of its back, and the Krait, bluish black above, with narrow transverse white streaks or spots. On the hills and at their foot are found a few more poisonous varieties, of which the chief is the hamadryad,

which is hooded like the cobra, but is of much larger dimensions. As might be expected from what has been said, Vishavaidyas or poison doctors are to be found all over Malabar. Whatever European doctors may say about their treatment, people have learnt from experience to place implicit faith on its efficacy. Many of them effect marvellous cures, while some of them are quite able to cure hydrophobia. In their treatment for snake bite, they make use of incantations as well as medicines. The object of the former is probably to work on the faith of the patients.

C. ACHYUTA MENON.

IMAGES OF REVANTA

BY NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI, M.A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

REVANTA is a comparatively little known deity. Indeed, his exact identification was unknown until Pandit B. B. Vidyabinoda in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1909, pp. 391, identified these images as those of Revanta by a close study of the images of this class (all from Behar) in the Indian Museum. No image of Revanta from Bengal is known* except the one now in the Dacca Museum. This one was discovered from a tank at Bad Kamta in the Tippera district. This tank, with some other tanks and old ruins, is enclosed within a dried up moat,—evidently the site of an old royal settlement. Elsewhere (J. A. S. B., 1914, A Forgotten Kingdom of East Bengal) I have identified Bad Kamta as the capital of the Khadga line of kings, rulers of the kingdom of Samatata. The find-place of the image shows that it may have been installed by a king of Samatata. Unfortunately, the image was discovered in a sadly mutilated state and many of the details are lost together with any inscription that the pedestal may have contained.

The story of the origin of Revanta will be found in the Bhavishya and other Puranas

* The image catalogued as Revanta in the catalogue of the Rajshahi Museum appears, from the description given, to be an image of Vatuka Bhairava.

that give the story of the Sun-god and his wives. Revanta was begotten by the Sun-god on Saranyu, his wife, while she was wandering in the North Polar regions in the shape of a mare. The Sun-god approached her in the shape of a horse and begot the divine twin physicians, the Aswins and at the end Revanta (रितसो अन्तः).

Pandit Vidyabinoda had to base his identification of Revanta on only a single line of Brhat Samhita of Varahamihira (circa 5th century A. D.) viz. :—Revanto-aswārūdhah mṛgayākṛidādi parivārah (Vangavasi Ed. 58-56), i. e., Revanta should be represented on horseback accompanied by a hunting party. But there are several other Sanskrit texts that throw much light on Revanta.

The following passage of Markandeya Puranam quoted in the Sanskrit Encyclopædia Sabda-kalpa-druma, 2nd Ed. pp. 5555, under the word Suryya, gives some interesting details about Revanta and his functions.

Translation :—

"From the end of the solar energy sprang Revanta, riding a horse, his body protected by armour, with a sword and a bow in his hands and provided with arrows and quiver. He was given the overlordship of the Guhyakas. Then the lord on whom the people meditate (the sun-god), addressing Revanta said, 'My son, you will win the worship of innumerable multitudes. At the time of natural calamities like

forest fires and big blazes or apprehended invasion by enemy or loot by freebooters, those mortals that invoke thy aid shall be free from great dangers. When worshipped and propitiated thou shalt give to your worshippers welfare, riches, happiness, kingdom, health, fame and advancement."

The Agnipuranam calls Revanta a 'horseman', but the most elaborate details about his worship are to be found in the Kalika Puranam, Ch. 85 (Vangavashi Ed.). The worship of Revanta described there appears to be the concluding worship in the rite of *Nirajana*, the performance of which is incumbent on every king. The Nirajana rite was performed after the worship of the goddess Durga in autumn and lasted for seven days. It was a kind of military and religious ceremony performed by kings or generals of armies in the month of Aswin, preparatory to a campaign. It was a general purification of the king's priests, his ministers and all the various component parts of an army together with the arms and implements of war by means of sacred *mantras*. It was also accompanied by a kind of triumphal march, parade and mock-fight.

Revanta was worshipped on the 7th day after the worship of several other gods had

gone on during the preceding six days accompanied by *Yajnas* or sacrifices. An image of Revanta was installed outside the city gate. Revanta is here described as having two strong arms and his body shining with armour. He should have his hairs restrained or covered by an apparel (meaning probably the *puggree*). He should have a whip in his left hand and a sword in the right, and he should be placed on a white horse and worshipped with the same rites as used in the worship of the sun-god.

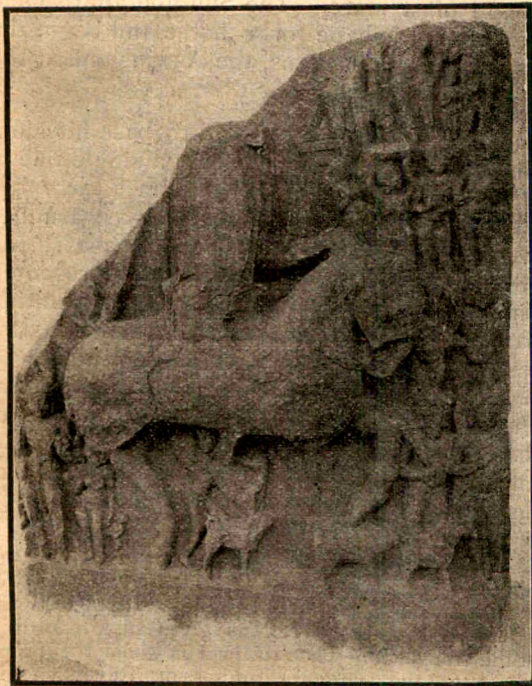
After the worship of Revanta, the purification of the army followed and then came the mock-fight consisting in the destruction of the earthen representations of the enemies' forces.* Finally came the triumphal march up to a distance of two miles, after which the king, accompanied by his followers returned to the capital.

The Sabdakalpadruma, under the word *Tithyadi-tattvam* quotes a text (पूजा: सायैश्च रिवन्तो यथा विभव विस्तरः) which shows that the worship of Revanta was also enjoined to those who had enough of riches as well as to those who possessed horses.

The image described on page 448 of the excellent work 'Orissa and Her Remains' by Mr. M. Ganguly, as an image of the sun-god on horseback is an image of Revanta as is evident from the description given. Another image of Revanta is illustrated on plate XVI of Martin's 'Eastern India', Vol. I, as No. 7 and described thus on page 99 :—

"On the outside of the door is a very curious sculpture which is called Bhairab but seems to me to represent a prince riding out to hunt the antelope. He is accompanied by archers, musicians, targeteers, women, dogs, etc. The animal on which he rides is by the natives called a sheep, but I presume, was intended to represent a horse."

The image of Revanta in the Dacca Museum is in black chlorite stone and is about four feet in height. He is represented as a young hunter in top boots riding out on a horse. He is carved as he would appear when viewed from the right side. The horse has an artistic cover placed on his back on which is placed a high-backed and high-pommelled saddle. Revanta keeps his seat on the saddle in a graceful pose. He holds the reins of the horse in his left hand. The



Revanta.

* This directly reminds one of the Ramlila festival observed in North-India and in some of the Native States.

right hand, along with the right half of the body seems to have been hammered away by some iconoclastic hand. The horse, a cantering spirited animal, has also lost its two legs on the right side and suffered other damages. A row of tinklers is found strung round the remaining foreleg of the horse.

On the back of Revanta is seen a mutilated male attendant, holding an umbrella over the head of the god. Below him, a man is represented with a sword in his right hand. To his left stands a lady, perhaps his wife, with a frolicsome child at her feet. To the left of Revanta (seen underneath

the belly of the horse), an archer has shot an arrow which has wounded a flying boar to the front. Another, a smaller boar, is depicted in front of the wounded one, while a dog stands by the archer. The front leg of the horse is raised in a canter and appears as if it would come down on the wounded boar.

In the front panel, seven ladies are seen bearing flowers and fruits and water in a pitcher. Below them, four male attendants are depicted. Two of them have swords in their hands, the third has a club and the fourth a hawk.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Calcutta University Affairs.

In the editorial "Notes" in the April issue of *The Modern Review* you honour me by referring to me by name in two of your notes. I shall feel very grateful if you kindly give publicity to the following observations of mine in the columns of your esteemed Review:

(a) On page 573 you write:—

"But even if there had been an adequate supply of information and even if there had been a vigilant public opinion, Sir Asutosh Mukerji would have been able, as at present, to do what he pleased. For, as stated by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, a Post-graduate teacher of the University, in an article contributed by him to the *Phalgun* number of the 'Manasi O Marmabani,' Sir Asutosh holds the majority of votes in all university bodies in the hollow of his hands. The passage is quoted in part below in the original." (Then follows the Bengali original and free translation.)

(a) In the passage in question I endeavour to meet half-way the *purvapakshi*, the opponent in argument, by admitting, for the sake of argument, some of the allegations made. But as you quote my statement as authoritative for *all university bodies* I am constrained to confess that I know next to nothing of the two most important bodies, the Syndicate and the Senate. In connection with the latter body I am told that 80 Fellows are nominated by H. E. the Chancellor (hitherto the Viceroy), 10 Fellows are elected by the different faculties, and 10 by the registered graduates. Since Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ceased to be the Vice-Chancellor in 1914 he could have nothing to do with the nomination of Fellows, and as regards election of Fellows by Faculties, it was not possible for him to influence those Faculties, such as the Faculties of Science, Medicine and Engineering, of which he was not a member. I cannot even pretend to speak with authority about bodies like the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts and bodies subordinate thereto with

which I am personally connected, because I know too few of the members intimately to be able to say with authority whether Sir Asutosh really holds the majority of votes in the hollow of his hands. But I can speak with authority about one person, my humble self, and I can also state the reason why I am ready to place my vote in the hollow of Sir Asutosh's hand. It often happens that I enter the meeting of the Board of Studies with which I am connected or the informal meetings in connection with the works of those Boards with a view to oppose Sir Asutosh and to try to oppose him. But I find him so very quick in grasping my view-point and convincing me that he was moving along the same line, that I am easily led to surrender myself before I can realise that he does not go far enough for my purpose. As an humble and devoted *chela*, I am now studying this art of persuasion at his feet and hope at no distant period to be able to oppose him more effectively.

(b) I further beg leave to state that in fairness to the passage in question should be read with reference to the context of the article from which it is an extract. I shall quote and translate the just preceding lines in my article:—

"সার্ব আশুতোষের মত লোকের কাজের বিচার করিতে হইবে তাঁহার লক্ষ্যের হিসাবে। লক্ষ্য যদি উদার হয়, তবে সেই লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছবার জন্ত যে-সকল উপায় অবলম্বন করিতে হয় তাঁহার বোধগুণ বিচারে সময় সামগ্রী এবং লক্ষ্যের কথাটা স্মরণ রাখা কর্তব্য। অবশ্যই লক্ষ্য উদার বলিয়াই যে তজ্জন্ত অবলম্বিত যে-কোন উপায়কে সহুপায় বলিতে হইবে এমন কথা বলিতেছি না; কিন্তু তজ্জন্ত অবলম্বিত উপায়কে একেবারে অসহুপায় বলিয়া বোধগণ করার আগে ভাবিয়া দেখা উচিত, লক্ষ্য সাধনের জন্ত সেটি প্রয়োজনীয় কি না। ইংরেজী ভাষায় বলিতে গেলে বলা যায়, 'The end may not justify the means, but it may explain the means।' যাহা প্রয়োজনীয় তাহা খুব সাধু না হইলেও অনেক সময় অনেকের মতে অপরিহার্য। সমালোচক যদি এই কথা মনে রাখিয়া বিচার করেন, তাহা হইলে সেই সমালোচনায় কাজের দৃষ্টি হয় না।"

Translation.

"The action of a man like Sir Asutosh should be judged from the stand-point of the end in his view. If the end is noble, then in criticising the various means adopted for gaining that end the time, the materials, and the end itself should be borne in mind. Of course I do not mean to say that if the end is noble, any means adopted to gain that end should also be declared fair without discrimination. But before declaring any means adopted for that purpose, absolutely unfair it should be considered whether that means was necessary for the purpose. If one chooses to use the English language, he may say, 'The end may not justify the means, but it may explain the means.' What is necessary may not be very fair, but may often be unavoidable in the opinion of many. If the critic does his work with this fact in view, his criticism may do no harm."

(2) On page 554 you write, "on page 70 we are told, 'Mr Ramaprasad Chanda in addition to his (*sic*) giving public lectures [on ethnology] full of original researches often contributed valuable articles on the subject in the Newspaper (*sic*) and monthlies.' Happy India, where articles based on original research of value are offered by newspapers to the public. In benighted England that is the function of the journals of learned societies."

England is really not so benighted as you think her to be. To take only one instance, and that of a great anthropologist, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, his article entitled 'The Religion of Savages' in which he first adumbrated his theory of *animism* appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* of August, 1866, when the *Fortnightly* was still a fortnightly. Tylor's lecture on Musical Tone at the Wellington Literary Institute on February 23, 1872, was published in *Wellington Weekly News*, February 29, 1872. Tylor's controversy with Herbert Spencer on the evolution of religion was carried on in letters published in the *Academy* of May, 1877; and his two lectures on The Philosophy of Language at London Institution, January 22, 29, 1877, appeared in the *Times*, January 23, 30, 1877. I hope more instances are not necessary to show that the condition of England is not really so pitiable.

(3) In the note headed University Finance you write, "It may be argued that eminent scholars and experts cannot be had for such a salary. If that be so, we do not want them. Let us first have village teachers for our illiterate population number 94 per cent., of the whole" (p. 536). I was a village teacher for some time (1902-3) and a school master in Calcutta and at Rajshahi from 1904 to 1917, and as such, I was often engaged in teaching primary classes. During the early years of my career as a school-master the late Sir Alexander Pedler tried the experiment of introducing the Kindergarten system and object lessons in schools. I hope you will agree with me in holding that these systems are better calculated to help the unfolding of the mind and developing the power of observation of the young than cramming contents of books. But why did the experiment fail? Because the majority of the teachers and guardians failed to appreciate the value of the systems and the primary education in Bengal was allowed to revert to the old rut. If you really want to educate the 94 per cent of the population who are illiterate, first educate the illiterate 6 per cent in order that they may supply the

right sort of teachers and leaders of educational movements. And to educate the literate classes we want a large number of scholars and experts, whatever the cost. Even Lenin, I am told, is ready to pay high salaries to scholars and experts and has opened ten new universities in Soviet Russia.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

Editor's Note

(1)

We are sorry Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has occupied so much of our space quite uselessly. His defence of himself is pitiable and funny.

Let us quote again what he had written in *Manasi O Marmabani* :—

বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়-সম্পর্কে মার আশুতোষের প্রধান অপরাধ, তিনি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের বিভিন্ন বিভাগে নিজের আত্মীয় এবং অনুগত লোক ঢুকানোতে একান্ত ব্যস্ত। ইহাতে হয়ত সময়-সময় যোগ্যতম লোকের সেখানে প্রবেশ করা ঘটিয়া উঠে না। হুতরাং আত্মীয় এবং অনুগত জনের একান্ত পক্ষপাত সকল সময় অনুমোদন করা কঠিন। কিন্তু এইপ্রকারপক্ষপাতকে নিতান্ত দোষ বলিয়া ঘোষণা করিবার পূর্বে স্বরণ রাখা কর্তব্য যে, মার আশুতোষের যে-কিছু পদ প্রতিপত্তি তাহা ভোটের উপর নির্ভর করে। এইক্ষেত্রে ভোটদাতাদের মধ্যে যত অধিক লোক মার আশুতোষের আত্মীয় অনুগত এবং নির্ভরযোগ্য হইবেন, ততই তিনি নিরাপদে এবং নিশ্চিত মনে কাজ করিতে সমর্থ হইবেন। অর্থাৎ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে মার আশুতোষের নিজের প্রভাব অক্ষুণ্ণ রাখিতে হইলে আত্মীয় অন্তরঙ্গ ঢুকান প্রয়োজন। যদি একবার এই কথা স্বীকার করা যায়, তবে তাহার অনেক কাজ ততটা নিশ্চিন্ত বলিয়া বিবেচিত হইবে না। মার আশুতোষকে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে কিছু কাজ করিতে হইলে সেখানকার প্রত্যেক সমিতির অধিকাংশ ভোট হাতের মুঠায় রাখিতে হইবে। নতুবা তিনি কিছু করিতে পারিবেন না। নানা উপায়ে এইরূপ করিতে সমর্থ হইয়াছেন বলিয়াই মার আশুতোষ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সর্বস্বত্বাধী, অথবা ইংরেজীতে যাহাকে ডিক্টেটর বলে সেই ডিক্টেটর হইয়াছেন।

Freely translated the passage means :

"The chief offence alleged against Sir Asutosh is that he is extremely eager to get his own kith and kin and dependants into the different departments of the University. Perhaps this occasionally prevents the accession of the fittest men there. Consequently it is difficult on all occasions to approve of the extreme partiality towards relatives and followers. But before declaring partiality of this sort to be a fault it should be remembered that whatever position and authority (or influence) Sir Asutosh has, depends upon votes. Under the circumstances, the larger the number of persons among the voters who are his kith and kin and followers and are "dependable", the more safely and with a mind free from anxiety would he be able to work. That is to say, in order to keep his influence in the University intact it is necessary for him to get his relatives and "intimates" into it. If this be once admitted, then what he does will not be considered so blameworthy. If Sir Asutosh is to do any work in the University, he must be able to keep the majority of votes in each University body in the hollow of his hands; else he will not be able to do anything. It is because he has been able to do this by various means that Sir Asutosh has become all-in-all, or what is called in English a dictator, in the University."

Mr. Chanda and our readers are reminded that *the above was written by Mr. Chanda himself, not by ourselves*. And having made these tactless admissions which have compromised the position of his master, he has now to demolish himself and contradict himself in the process! He now says, "I know next to nothing of the two most important bodies, the syndicate and the senate," "I cannot even pretend to speak with authority about bodies like the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts and bodies subordinate thereto," &c. Why did he then write in *Manasi O Marmabani* that "If Sir Asutosh is to do any work in the University, he must be able to keep the majority of votes in each University body (সেধানকার প্রত্যেক সমিতির অধিকাংশ ভোট) in the hollow of his hands; else he will not be able to do anything. Is it because he has been able to do this by various means that Sir Asutosh has become all-in-all, or what is called in English a dictator, in the University?" We again ask, if Mr. Chanda knows next to nothing of all or most of the university bodies, why did he write in Bengali before that Sir Asutosh had been able to do this (i.e., to keep the majority of votes in all university bodies in his clutches) by various means and thus become a dictator? Who is to be believed? Mr. Chanda the writer of the *Manasi O Marmabani* article, or Mr. Chanda the present critic of the *Modern Review*?

Mr. Chanda now writes that "in the passage in question" (which we have quoted again for convenience of reference), he admitted "for the sake of argument some of the allegations made" against his master. But "in the passage in question" we do not find any such admission for the sake of argument. What he asserts therein is given there as his own view. This plea of admission "for the sake of argument" is evidently an after-thought, necessitated by the exigency of defending his master and himself.

Mr. Chanda now dwells at length upon the manner of election and nomination of members of the Senate, &c., to show that the Fellows, &c., cannot be Sir Asutosh's men. May we ask Mr. Chanda, where was all this knowledge of his when he wrote that his master had been able "by various means" "to get his relatives and intimates into" the University in order "to keep the majority of votes in each university body in the hollow of his hands"? Is Mr. Chanda so simple minded as to require to be told that the "various means" (unknown to us) referred to by him are the methods by which Sir Asutosh has manipulated the University Acts, rules, regulations, bye-laws, &c., to reach the goal of his ambition? Or does Mr. Chanda think that it is not possible for a man to be a university dictator unless the methods and means to be adopted for that purpose are openly and clearly laid down in some part or other of the university calendar?

Mr. Chanda now pays a well-merited tribute to his master's "art of persuasion." But there was not the faintest allusion to it "in the passage in question". On the contrary, it was stated therein that "it should be remembered that whatever position and authority (or influence) Sir Asutosh has, depends upon votes", and that without a majority of votes in his clutches "he will not be able to do anything," the implication being that he owed his power solely or almost solely to manipulation of sorts.

Mr. Chanda has quoted and translated a passage just preceding that which we had quoted. This does

not improve his position. And we may add, that in our Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, we had quoted those sentences also which Mr. Chanda quotes. We had no desire to leave out anything which might be thought to strengthen his position.

(2)

In connection with the publication of original researches in newspapers, Mr. Chanda mentions *The Fortnightly Review*, *Wellington Weekly News*, *The Academy*, and *The Times*. *The Fortnightly Review* was never a newspaper. "It was," according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "intended as a kind of English *Revue des deux mondes*," which is not a newspaper. According to the same authority, *The Academy* was a purely literary review, "dealing generally with literature, science and art." It was never a newspaper. Of *Wellington Weekly News* we know nothing. As regards *The Times*, as the Bengali proverb ridicules the claim of the cockroach to be styled a bird, so every newspaper, particularly in India, is not *The Times* of London. It occupies a position unique in the journalistic world, and no comparison can be fairly made between it and any other newspaper in the world. When Bismarck's Autobiography (English translation by Butler) came out, *The Times* engaged Lord Morley to review it for a fee exceeding a thousand rupees. What newspaper in any part of the world can approach *The Times* in the power to secure expert contributors of the highest standing in the scholarly world? It secured articles from Einstein himself, explaining his theory, and also a series of four papers on the same subject by an eminent mathematician, which were immediately afterwards reprinted in book form. Again, it engaged an eminent economist (Dr. Shadwell) to investigate and report in its columns on the spread of Bolshevism in England. What newspaper in Calcutta does even a hundredth part of such investigation?

In fact, the learned men who occasionally contribute articles based on research to the newspapers of England, have already made their name by contributing articles to the journals of learned societies or publishing books on their special subjects. But Mr. Chanda has not been able to name even such articles contributed to newspapers; for the only article he has named was contributed to the *Fortnightly*, which was never a newspaper, and the other things he has named were lectures and controversies. As for the publication of lectures, even of an original character, if the British Association holds its meetings, say, at Bournemouth, the local daily newspaper will certainly publish the President's address, and possibly some other lectures, too; but learned journals will also reprint the same address. How many learned journals have reprinted Mr. Chanda's "articles full of original research" contributed to the "newspaper" of Calcutta?

The criterion of the value or originality of an article, in the opinion of the English world of scholarship (as distinct from Goldight), is the acceptance of it by some learned journal and not its publication in a newspaper. Newspapers in England may and sometimes do publish articles of a learned character, but written in a popular style; if their authors are already famous men. Mere newspaper publication cannot give them fame or stamp them with the hallmark of originality.

The examples cited by Mr. Chanda, in addition to being not apposite, are "prehistoric", the most recent being almost half-a-century old.

(3)

In his criticism of our Note on University Finance, Mr. Chanda has omitted to quote the following sentence immediately following what he has quoted:—"But as a matter of fact we know good scholars and experts can be had for Rs. 12,000 per annum, if they are sought in the open scholastic market." Let us, however, pass on to consider Mr. Chanda's criticism. There were other causes, besides the incompetency of the teachers, why Mr. Pedler's scheme of primary education failed. But that, as well as Mr. Chanda's experience in trying to extend the kindergarten system, are quite irrelevant to the present discussion. Because, in the first place, the Calcutta and other Indian Universities do not train vernacular teachers for primary schools, nor give them even ordinary education and, in the second place, these Universities have no courses even in higher pedagogy; they do not get out the costly experts to train teachers at all. The "higher studies" and research which are alleged to be promoted by the post-graduate department, where the costly experts exercise their powers, have nothing to do with pedagogics or new theories of education—for which no provision has been made by Sir Asutosh.

We urged this as one of the urgent needs of our University in this Review (August, 1917, p. 185, and July 1918, pp. 12 and 17). We wrote: "Indian recruits of the ordinary branch [of the educational service]... must attend a one-year's course in the science of teaching in a training college in India or the post-graduate pedagogics class of a University. Training colleges of an advanced type should be multiplied in India in the immediate future and a course of advanced pedagogics *subsequent* to the B. A. degree, opened at our three chief Universities."

The Art of a Bengali Sculptor.

To The Editor, The Modern Review :

Sir,

We are all indebted to St. Nihal Singh and to you, sir, for bringing to light the interesting works of a young Bengali sculptor, Mr. Fanindra Bose, who, born in East Bengal, at the call of his devotion to Art, has inflicted on himself a long banishment to a distant country. And the news of his success, and his promising works will no doubt be hailed by all his countrymen with pride and delight. There has been a lot of noise made, in the domain of Modern Indian Painting which, it has been said, has been hallowed by the light of a coming renaissance. One has wistfully awaited, however, the footfalls of some kind of movements in the field of Modern Indian Sculpture. We have our Mhatre and Deval, Karmarkar and Wagh and one or two more of sculptors in our midst but in their works, notable and distinguished as some of them have been, we have not yet had any evidence of a new creative activity nor yet any earnest of the forms and shapes which the future Indian Sculpture is destined to take. There have been,

as we have just said, some talented 'sculptors in India' but hardly yet, any 'Indian sculptor'. For none of the votaries of the chisel appears to have yet realised that India has a rich and distinguished heritage in this branch of art—in some respects, of such refined, subtle and unique character as to constitute a new contribution to the Art of the world. And from this point of view the works of Mr. Fanindra Bose and of his brethren raise a very large question which is of supreme importance to the future of Indian Art, or as many would have it, of the 'Art of India'. This is not the place nor the time to offer any criticism to the works of these rising 'Indian' sculptors, particularly that of Mr. Bose, who is probably not well represented in the casual notice and in the few examples which may not represent his best. But a phase of his works does call for a word of comment from the point of view of the Indian genius in Art. To my old eyes dim with age Mr. Bose's "Hunter" and "The Snake Charmer" appear to be more inspired and "felt" productions than his other works. And his so-called 'Indian' themes are particularly weak and shallow and much less convincing. This is particularly unfortunate, as one expects an Indian artist to be happy and quite at home with Indian subjects. But, alas! it is not so in this case. There is no racial taint, or the pretence of any,—in the "Hunter" and the "Snake-charmer"—and it is difficult to guess from their attitudes and gestures and the types that they represent, that they are the works of an artist hailing from the banks of the Padma. Some carping critics may discover the influences of Greco-Roman art in one and of Leighton in the other. The artist has completely succeeded in subjugating and effacing himself and his own personal or racial individuality. They say, self-surrender is a virtue in Art,—yes, if by surrendering yourself—you can express yourself all the more. But if you subjugate and efface yourself and are too timid to 'expose', express and reveal yourself—and prefer to hide your lights in the swaddling clothes of a borrowed wardrobe, however rich and valuable, art is not your calling. And well may it be said, that Sir William in extending his patronising pat to Mr. Bose's "Hunter" was not responding to the call of India or paying a tribute to the Indian genius in art, but was admiring his own reflexion or possibly that of one of his own race and traditions highly cultured and distinguished as they have been, without doubt. The leading motive of Mr. Bose so far as can be gathered from the examples given, is sentimental rather than descriptive and yet most of the examples hardly rise beyond the purely descriptive level. His works do not always express sculpturesque thought, *viz.*, the rendering of the essential and the abstract aiming at forms of ideal perfection. They seem to suffer from a sense of being circumscribed by narrow and

inconsequent thought. This remark seems to apply particularly to the examples of so-called Indian subjects,—“To the Temple”, “The End of the Day” and “The Sadhu”. It is difficult to discover in these examples any “impulse of Indian tradition”. In the first of the three even the superficial picture of an Indian girl is not reproduced. We do not know if this was modelled at a village near Baroda. Anyway it does not reproduce a typical Indian girl. For, masquerading uncomfortably under the “choli” and the “shari”, we find not the real Indian flesh and bone, but the artist’s, too familiar, “bonnie lassie” with her haughty air and aggressively self-conscious gesture which ill befits an Indian girl with the charm of her awkwardness and modest grace. A “choli” and a “shari” can no more reproduce the essence of Indian Womanhood than a ‘turban’ and a pair of ‘nagra’ suggest the true inwardness of the Indian wage-earner. When you live too long in a foreign country you lose, perhaps, the capacity to see Indian lives and forms in their true essence and character, or with the sympathy of Indian eyes. We are told Mr. Bose remained long enough in Baroda to enable him to study types and to prepare sketch models. The artist must have studied his models with the borrowed spectacles of his Scotch Studio and could not get over the memory of Scotch lassies even in the presence of Indian girls. A typical Indian girl never has a long neck such as given to Mr. Bose’s lady pretending a visit ‘to the temple’. For his Scotch lassie has no manner of affection, much less any reverence, for her utensils, for worship, and the ‘thali’ and the ‘cup’ are not held with any concern or attachment but are, merely, “studio-properties”, flourished with the non-chalance of a juggler about to perform a balancing trick. And despite all this flourish, Mr. Bose’s chisel, in this example, appears to me to fail “to cut life and to carve breath”, to borrow the words of Ruskin,—for I dare not quote Indian canons to those who are scared away by “almond-shaped eyes” and have learned to adore the “necks of cranes”. In the “End of the Day” and the “Sadhu”, the artist undoubtedly succeeds in reproducing Indian models quite accurately but they hardly outstep the limits of the concrete and the particular. In the “End of the day” the intended sense of repose and restfulness is hurt by the unhappy treatment of the drapery—and the introduction of the shoes seems to suggest an artificial posing in the artist’s studio rather than the memory of a real pose in the actuality of the field. It is unfair to compare this piece with the breadth of vision and treatment of similar subjects in the works of Constantin Meunier, but it hardly attains the beauty, the nobility and the dignity of even such admittedly second rate works as “Après le Travail” (After work) by Albert Lefevre. I avoid the citation of Indian

parallels, by preference. Mr. Bose has been also unhappy in the choice of his models for the “Sadhu”, and the treatment of it has been shallow, and vulgarly imitative, betraying no art other than a bare manipulative skill of scarcely higher level than that of the best clay-modellers of Lucknow. In the type of the model of a “Sadhu” transcribed in this example, particularly in the conventional and mechanical gesture of the right hand in the bloated and hollow cheeks,—one easily recognizes the typical *badmash*, addicted to his *bhang* and *ganja*, and masquerading under the cover of his ashes and yellow robe,—an adept at deceptions on our un-sophisticated womanfolk. The figure does not stand for the “highly intellectual and spiritual type” of the Indian religious devotee, as Saint Nihal Singh suggests. Saint Nihal Singh’s memory of a typical Indian Saint must have grown rusty—with his long residence abroad and I wish he were present to share with his brother and father a place on a balcony overlooking the river at Benares in October last, to enable him to refreshen his impression and to pick up a typical Indian Sadhu from amongst the motley crowd assembled on the river bank on that picturesque evening of the lunar eclipse—a crowd that indeed helped to make it more picturesque. Mr. Bose’s “Hunter” offers little that one can find fault with except that it does not stand on a very high level either in sentiment or treatment. Though the subject is Indian there is nothing in it which could not come from the chisel of a non-Indian sculptor. Indeed our grievance is that in Mr. Bose’s works we search in vain for the revelation of the Indian mind of an Indian artist the peculiarity of his point of view and the traditions of his great heritage. We are told that Mr. Bose perfected his training by his travels in France and Italy. We are not told if he ever studied the masterpieces of old Indian sculpture and extracted from them the lessons which no Greek marble or bronze could teach him. That he has not done so and has neglected his racial heritage—is abundantly clear from the works reproduced. And the question larger than the merits of his individual works arises:—What is the value of a long training in a foreign country which disqualifies an artist from recognizing and developing his own national and racial genius? A nation can no more borrow its art from abroad than its literature. It is idle for anybody to pretend that an artist could ever outdo the art of a foreign nation by imitating its manners and methods of expression. A Bose could never rival a Frampton, a Leighton or a Brock. He could certainly take many useful lessons from them, technical or otherwise—but that could not take him very far in the competitive quest for beauty. He can have no natural or organic relations to the traditions of British Art, however successful he

may be in de-nationalising or de-racialising himself. He has not sprung from the soil of the same traditions or the current of the same culture from which have grown the great representatives of British Art. An Indian Artist is destined to tread a path not chosen by artists of other nationalities. As an authority on Indian sculpture I may be out of date—and my connection with the present generation may be very flimsy—being in the shape of a few worm-eaten palm leaves on image-making now rotting in the archives of the Palace Library at Tanjore, but resting as I am in a place of telescopic distance, I have a more correct prospective and a wider and a dispassionate view of things, unattached by temporary values or local considerations. And I may be pardoned if I tell you with eyes brimful of tears, that the blood

of the master-craftsman who made the wax-model for the first Nataraja is still flowing through the veins of many of his descendants. How long—I ask—how long, Oh sons of India! will you continue to ignore the call of your blood and the destiny of your race! Oh you timid one! Go forth and tread the path that is yours by birth right, a path that is untrodden yet by any of your brethren in any part of the world at the present day—and send forth your clarion-cries—"Follow, for there is no other path to follow: 'nanyah pantha vidyate ayanaya...?' And the good wishes and *asirvad* of an old Indian Rishi will hover on your great pilgrimage from a distant speck in the sky which they now call Canopus.

AGASTYA.

RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY AND ENGLISH EDUCATION

THE startling challenge has been made to us all by Mahatma Gandhi that Raja Rammohan Roy is a 'pygmy' compared with Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak and others, and that he would have been greater, if he had not suffered from the 'contagion of English learning.' In 'Young India' of April 13th, we have a quotation, reprinted from the daily newspapers, under the heading of 'An Unmitigated Evil.' It reads as follows:—

In reply to a question put to him in a public meeting at Orissa, 'whether English Education was not a mixed evil, inasmuch as Lokmanya Tilak, Rammohan Roy and Mr. Gandhi were products of English Education,' Mr. Gandhi replied as follows:—

"This is a representative view being expressed by several people. We must conquer the battle of Swaraj by conquering this sort of wilful ignorance and prejudice of our countrymen and of Englishmen. The system of Education is an unmitigated evil....."

"Tilak and Rammohan would have been far greater men, if they had not had the contagion of English learning. (Clapping.) I don't want your verbal approval by clapping, but I want the approval of your intellect and reasoning. I am opposed to make a fetish of English Education. I don't hate English Education. When I want to destroy the Government, I don't want to destroy the English language, but to read English as an Indian Nationalist would do. Ram Mohan and Tilak (leave aside my case) were so many pygmies, who had no hold upon

the people compared with Chaitanya, Sankar, Kabir and Nanak. Ram Mohan and Tilak were pygmies before these giants. What Sankar was able to do, a whole army of English-knowing men can't do....."

"I highly revere Tilak and Ram Mohan. It is my conviction that, if Ram Mohan and Tilak had not received this education, but had had their natural training, they would have done greater things, like Chaitanya."

I have asked Mahatmaji, by letter, to explain more fully in the columns of 'Young India', through one of his luminous articles, what his final opinion is about English Education. For there appear to me certain contradictions in the conversation which I have quoted. That issue may easily wait.

But this issue, which he has raised, about Raja Rammohan Roy may be taken up at once; for here there is no ambiguity whatever about Mahatmaji's words, and no possibility of misunderstanding his meaning. All my own previous ideas about Raja Rammohan are challenged by him. Is the challenge of so compelling a character as to change my view of history? Personally, I think not. Whatever may be our final views about the use or abuse of English Education, I believe that the verdict of history is assured, when it asserts, as it asserts with practical unanimity

to-day, that the name of Raja Rammohan Roy is one of the very greatest names in Indian national life, because he was the pioneer who showed how the East might receive from the West and the West might receive from the East on terms of complete equality ; because he was the first to build a bridge from the East to the West, with strong and true foundations, which each new generation has been able safely to pass over ; because he was the first to break down from the side of the East that spiritual and intellectual isolation which for centuries had cruelly injured mankind. And the miracle of it all was this, that the boy Rammohan was born in the midst of an atmosphere of custom and convention—"heavy as frost and deep as life itself."

It is strangely interesting to me that Mahatmaji has compared him with Kabir, calling Kabir the 'giant' and Rammohan the 'pygmy'. To me, it appears almost certain that history will bracket these two names together. For just as Kabir was great indeed in building the bridge for the foreigner (who came with different ideals of religion and culture from outside India) uniting the Mussalman and the Hindu together, in the greater synthesis of Humanity ; even so Rammohan was great indeed in building the bridge for the foreigner (who came with different ideals of religion and culture from outside India) uniting the Hindu, Mussalman and Christian together in the greater synthesis of Humanity. The greatness in either instance lies in the fact, that India,—Hindu India,—was enabled through them to enter into relations with the outside world, on terms which gave to India her rightful place in Humanity as a Teacher as well as a Learner. Hindu India opened her arms to the outside world : she did not close them.

I wish to make a personal confession, which may serve instead of a prolonged argument. I am a Christian,—and I owe more to Raja Rammohan Roy for breaking down the narrowness and bigotry of my own ideas of Christianity than to any other name in recent history. I am a Christian,—and I owe more to Raja Ram-

mohan Roy for breaking down certain prejudices I had against Hinduism on the one hand, and Islam on the other, and for pointing out to me the path of unity in religion, than to any other name in recent history. It cannot, therefore, but be apparent to me, that Raja Rammohan's greatness has yet to come, in the new age which is now dawning, wherein the separating and dividing barriers of the past will be broken down, and Humanity will be One and Indivisible. I hail Kabir, as one of those great names in India, who welcomed the dawn of this Day of Humanity. I hail Nanak also, who, in his own age, found a unity of faith between Hindu and Mussalman, and saw no barrier intervening between man and man in the light of the perfect Love of God. And I hail Rammohan, who, in his day and generation, welcomed the same Light in the heart of man,—the Light which unites mankind. He was no pygmy, who thus rose out of the narrowest groove of convention to such heights ; he was one of the great ones of human history. For he was the pioneer who first blazed out this ultimate path of unity. He was the pioneer, not only of the East but of the West. He saw Humanity as One and Indivisible, in an age when narrowness and sectarianism were rampant. He fearlessly opened his arms wide to embrace mankind, and nothing short of mankind. When other names of the Nineteenth Century are forgotten, his will be remembered, for his own greatness is dawning. It has yet to be acknowledged in its fulness.

I had intended to explain, in detail, what I have here given as an expression of my own heart's deepest conviction. I had intended to have shown how he gave new life to his own mother tongue,—Bengali ; how he drank deeply of the fountains of Persian and Arabic to become one with the Mussalman ; how again he drank of the fountains of Greek and Hebrew to become one with the Christian ; how he took the whole world of the West as well as the East, into his embrace, and loved and worshipped France for her championship of the freedom of mankind ; how he was

ready to renounce Britain for ever, if she did not follow in the same path of freedom, which France had shown to all the world in the world-shaking French Revolution; how he had sought the ancient lore of Buddhism in Tibet, and eagerly strained his eyes towards the Far East, which was still well-nigh closed for the rest of mankind in Rammohan's age along with all its rich treasures of wisdom and art.

Some day, in the near future, I hope to be able to write a book describing in detail that which I have thus faintly outlined. Only thus, I feel, can I pay the debt of homage which I owe to the one name in all recent Indian History, that I reverence more deeply than any other.

No ! He was no pygmy !

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Orya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH.

"ANCIENT HINDU JUDICATURE" : by Mr. B. Guru Rajah Rao, B.A., B.L. Published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

The book, though small, contains a mine of useful information about the judicial system prevailing in India under the ancient Hindu kings. It gives a keen insight into the elaborate system of judicial administration of the time. The idea of settlement of disputes by Panchayets and Arbitration Courts appointed by the litigants themselves, is not new to India. The administration of law did not mean the administration of the Dharma Sastra alone. Dealing out real and substantial justice to the suitors was considered as the principal duty of the judges. A man thoroughly versed in the Sastras was not necessarily a fit and proper judge. It was for this reason that even in the legally constituted tribunals, merchants and business men who commanded the respect and confidence of the people were invited to sit with the judges learned in the laws of the country, and watch the proceedings. The king gave freely his legal sanction to the decisions of the persons who would be chosen by the litigants to settle their disputes. Mr. Rao has done well in giving prominence to this aspect of the question of judicial administration of the time. With regard to the question of separation of the judiciary and the executive, it is noteworthy that during those ancient days, the whole administrative system was so constituted as not to

leave any scope for the influence of the executive over the judiciary. The cry for the separation of the two departments was therefore unknown and unnecessary. The rules of procedure as to pleadings, joinder of parties and causes of action, suits, appeals and reviews, as enumerated and compiled by Mr. Rao, show clearly the ingenuity and carefulness on the part of the ancient legislators to safeguard abuse of the process of law. Some of the rules, as for example, those relating to the administration of the various kinds of oaths to the witnesses, punishments meted out to the judges in the event of their decisions being found erroneous, punishment to the unsuccessful parties, may appear fantastic and inconsistent with modern ideals and tastes, but in the main, they can hold their own amongst the adjective laws of any other country of the world. The rules about the appreciation of the evidence and the classification of witnesses according to their temperament and demeanour are really beyond the scope of adjective law. It is expected that Mr. Rao instead of remaining satisfied with the little he has given us on the subject will direct his energy and scholarship to its treatment more elaborately elsewhere.

The book has been written in a style worthy of the subject dealt with. The opinions and conclusions in the notes at the end of each chapter indicate a breadth of view and judicial attitude.

In the transliteration of Sanskrit words, the author should have followed the current method.

'LAW'.

ANCIENT INDIA: by U. N. Ball, M.A., published by the Kamala Book Depot, Ltd., Calcutta and Patna. 1921. Price Rs. 2-8.

The object of the author is to provide a suitable compendium of Ancient Indian History for University students embodying recent researches. He has given a fairly satisfactory summary of "the books which are generally recommended as text books, such as Smith's Early History of India, Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature." But we cannot say that he has made use of recent researches. On page 169 he accepts the identification of Devarashtra with Maharashtra and of Erandapalla with Khandesh. But Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil has shown that these identifications are wrong. As a matter of fact the central and western parts of the Deccan, in the time of Samudragupta, were ruled by Prithivisena I. Vakataka over whom Samudragupta does not claim any victory. On page 177 the author says that Skandagupta died in 480 A.D., a view which has been given up by scholars since the discovery of the Sarnath inscriptions of Kumargupta II., and Budhagupta. Budhagupta, who is represented on page 179 as a king of Western Mahoa (Malwa?) in 484, was really the ruler of a wider realm extending from Northern Bengal to Malwa. Our author reiterates the view of Smith that "there is no unity in the history of India from the middle of the seventh century to the end of the twelfth when Mahomedan conquerors established themselves. No king could get himself recognised as the paramount ruler of India." But the Pehoa, Una and Guneriya inscriptions prove that Mahendrapala of the Pratihara dynasty ruled over an empire which rivalled that of Harsha in extent. If India had unity in the age of Harsha, she had it in the time of Mahendrapala (ninth century, A. D.).

There are several inaccurate statements in the work; e.g., on page 147 Strabo is represented as attributing extensive conquests to Apollodotos. Menander is represented by our author as well as Smith, as having his capital at Kabul. But it is distinctly stated in the Milindapanho that the capital of Menander was at Sakala. On page 223 Tailapa II and his successors are called Eastern Chalukyas. But they really belonged to what is known as the Western Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani. The statements that a statue of Ajatasatru has been discovered at Mathura (p. 78), that the Greek invader of Pushyamitra's dominions was Menander (p. 140), that Apollodotos was a son of Eucratides and his murderer (p. 147), and that Satkarni I., came into conflict with Kharavela in 218 B. C. (p. 142), are not accepted by all scholars.

There are a few misprints: Asoka-Avatlana (p. 138), fonnd (p. 148), Venones (p. 152),

Mahoa (p. 179). We need not multiply instances.

In spite of its obvious limitations students will find the book useful.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

A HISTORY OF HINDI LITERATURE: by F. E. Keay, M. A. Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta: Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 116. Price only eight annas. The Heritage of India Series.

The author has been throughout sympathetic, and on the whole he has succeeded well in giving a clear outline of the history of Hindi literature. The author, as he says in the preface, has made no attempt to give a detailed account of more recent literature. This is rather unfortunate. As the prose literature of Hindi is really of recent origin it would have been much better if he had devoted a few pages to the present day literature of Hindi. The author has rightly called the past literature of Hindi as splendid and hopes that it will develop into a great modern literature. He thinks it difficult to forecast the exact lines of its future developments. During recent years Hindi has been indebted to some extent to Bengali and other vernacular literature and there have been very few original works in modern Hindi literature. The number of translations has been very large. This is quite natural and it is a healthy sign of the times. But recently some Hindi authors have shown something of originality and have produced a few works which may be a credit to any language. We quite agree with the author that the vernacular literature has a most important part to play in the future. Hindi, being the chief vernacular of North India, has a great future before it.

He has taken no notice of the village songs and festival songs (e.g., कजरी, पिसनरिया, रोपाणो, बिरहा, होजि, &c.) nor has he mentioned the songs of the बोगीस, भरौस, who sing the songs of गोपीन्दचतौ and मयनाचतौ and of मच्छेन्द्रनाथ and गोरखनाथ. Some of these songs are wonderful and deep. He has taken no notice of popular musical literature which is really the priceless treasure of the Hindi language.

Considering the vast scope of past Hindi literature the author has succeeded admirably well in compressing the whole thing in a brief book of 110 pages.

K. M. S. and B. D.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: by G. Anderson, M. A. Macmillan & Co., London. 1920. 5s. net.

The first chapter contains a brief historical retrospect, and in the subsequent chapters the imperial and provincial administrations are described, followed by chapters on the reformed Legislatures, the Judicature, Police and Jails,

Finance, Land Revenue, Education, Medical Relief and Sanitation, Public Works and Famine Relief. There is a good Index. The chapters are brief, and not too complicated, and the author contrives to convey a mass of information within a small compass and in simple language for the use of students in our colleges and schools.

POL.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA. VOL. 1. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Pp. 109+clxxxi+9. Price Rs. 5.

The Oriental Conference held in November, 1919, in Poona, under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, was the first of its kind in India, and the promoters of the Institute are to be congratulated on its complete success.

The volume contains all about the Conference from its conception, including the speeches and presidential address together with the summaries of the papers read or taken as read therein, which are divided under thirteen headings according to the subjects dealt with. As appears from these summaries, most of the papers are really of high order and are very interesting. The Orientalists or the Indologists will have ample food from these papers.

In connection with the Conference there was arranged an exhibition, among the exhibits of which we notice some invaluable MSS. Sanskritists will be glad to note that there was a MS. entitled *Jog Bashut* which is a Persian translation of the *Yoga Vasishtha*. There was another MS. containing the five chapters of the Persian translation of the Mahabharata, under the name of *Razmnamah*, i.e., the Book of Wars. These translations together with those of the Ramayana, Harivamsa, Atharva Veda, Lilavati, etc., were made at the court of Emperor Akbar. The readers are here referred to the summary of the paper entitled 'The King Akbar and the Persian Translations from Sanskrit' in this volume, pp. lxxv-lxxviii. In this connection it may be mentioned here that Prince Dara, the unfortunate son of Shah Jehan, was so fascinated with the Upanishads that he learnt Sanskrit and rendered some of them into Persian. (Messrs. E. J. Lazarus and Co. of Benares have brought out an edition of these works from a MS. supplied by the Maharaja of Balarampur.) This Persian translation of the Upanishads was translated again into Latin (1795) by Anquetil Duperron and it was that "Latin translation which inspired Schopenhauer and furnished to him, as he himself declares, the fundamental principles of his own philosophy." It may not be out of place to say that the well-known medical books, Charaka and Susruta, were rendered into Arabic in the time of Calif Haroun-Al-Rashid or his famous son Al-Mamoun. It should be mentioned here that the two MSS. referred to above belong to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay. The Pan-

chatantra was also translated into Arabic from its Pahlavi version by the Zoroastrian literateur Rozbeh (Mr. G. K. Nariman's paper, Bhartrihari in Ibn Muqaffa, clxxxi). Those who are interested in Prakrita will be glad to know that in the exhibits lent by the Central Library, Baroda, there were two MSS. of Apabhramsa works, Aradhana and Chaurangasandhi. Lovers of the Vedic literature will also feel much pleased to note that among the MSS. sent to the exhibition by the Govt. MSS. Library, Madras, there were three MSS. of the commentaries on the Rigveda by three different commentators, viz., Udgrithacharya, quite unknown to us, Skandasvamin, referred to by Devaraja, the commentator of the Nighantu; and Venkata-Madhava, quoted by Devaraja and Vidyananya. It is expected that these commentaries, when published, will throw light, at least to some extent, on the meanings of the Rigveda. It is needless to say that Orientalists should be provided with a copy of the volume we are here speaking of.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE AVADHUTA GITA OF DATTATREYA Translated by Lala Kannoomal, M. A., Judge, Dholpur (Rajputana). Published by S.R. Murthy & Co. Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp. XX+98. Price Re. 1.

It contains (i) Foreward by K. S. Ramswami Sastri, (ii) Foreward by Dayanand of Benares, (iii) Introduction by the translator, (iv) an English Translation of the Avadhuta Gita, (v) an English translation of Hastamalaka (Appendix i), (vi) an English translation of Sukastaka (Appendix ii). The Avadhuta Gita, Hastamalaka and Sukastaka are well-known works dealing with the fundamental principles of the Neo-Advaita school of the Vedanta philosophy. The translation is readable.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

MARATHI.

SHRIMADBHAGAWATADARSHA: by Mr. Y. V. Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B. Publishers, Messrs. G. V. Chiplunkar & Co., Poona. Pages about 600. Price not known.

The present work evinces no destructive tendency on the part of the writer, but has faults of verbosity, irrelevancy and biased judgment. The book is intended to be a *resume* of the Shrimadbhagawat and as such one naturally expects its learned author to strictly confine himself to the subject of devotion and allied topics as illustrated in the life of Sri Krishna, but instead of that the author has devoted over 400 pages out of 600 to the discussion of extraneous matter, such as mind and matter, spiritualism, immortality of the soul and priority in time of the Puran over the Vedas, and treats of the Shrimadbhagawat only at the fag

end of the work. It is some consolation, however, to the readers that the author has approached the subject in the spirit of scientific criticism, though even here one finds faith dominating the author's judgment. Taken all in all, the book is well worth reading for those who are fortunate enough to possess an inexhaustible amount of patience. The style of writing is inviting and the vast amount of information displayed bespeaks the studious habits of the author.

JIWANASMRITI OR REMINISCENCES OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE: by Mr. S. S. Gokhale, B.A., L.T. Pages 225. Price Re. 1-4-0.

This is a Marathi version of the English translation of Tagore's original Bengali book, and is quite a welcome addition to Marathi literature, as it will to some extent relieve the paucity of autobiographical books in Marathi. Mr. Gokhale has done a real service to Marathi literature by producing this translation. It is a pity that he has not even the slightest acquaintance with Bengali language and is consequently led into some curious errors. But with all its faults the book is valuable, as it provides much interesting and instructive matter for those who feel interested in questions like those of education, merits and demerits of poetry, vernacular literature, Swadeshi enterprise, etc.

V. G. APTE.

MADHURANI: translated by Shivaram Govinda Bhabe. Published by Sahya Prakasak Mandali, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. 325 (1920).

This book has been translated into Marathi from the English translation of the Bengali novel 'Ghare-Baire' by Rabindranath Tagore. The title of the work is changed; the 'Makshirani' of the Bengali is rendered Madhurani in Marathi. The translator admits in the Preface that he does not know Bengali. The problems set out in the work are a little touched in the Preface. On the whole the translator is to be congratulated, but we often miss the fine light touches of the original master-artist in the translation. This will no doubt be a valuable addition to the Marathi fiction literature.

RAMES BASU.

GUJARATI.

SHRI RAMGITA: translated by Ambashankar Kalidas Bhat, B.A., printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad and published by Vanmali Virji of Veraval. Cloth bound. Pp. 392. Price Re. 1. (Gratis to those interested in the subject.) (1920.)

Just as the Gita forms a part of the Mahabharat, and is cast in the form of a dialogue between Shri Krishna and Arjuna, Rama Gita is a part of the Ramayana and is a dialogue between Shri Krishna and Hanuman. It has

got eighteen chapters also, and is taken up with Vedanta and other metaphysical subjects. It is not so well-known as the Krishna Gita, and hence very few translations of it exist in Gujarati. The present book consists both of the Sanskrit text and its Gujarati version, which is rendered with intelligence and ability.

BAL KALIDAS (बाल कालिदास), Part I. by Prasannavadan Chhabilaram Dikshit. Printed at the Surat Jaina Printing Press. Paper cover. Pp. 59. Price 5 as. (1920.)

Kalidas' works are full of passages of great use in the spheres of morals, ethics, and kindred subjects. A translation and collection of such passages, would be always desirable, if properly they are selected and rendered. The present work is an attempt in that direction and as such well worth encouragement.

MOGAL SANDHYA (मोगल संध्या): by Rajendra Rao Somnarayan Dalal, B.A. Printed at the Surat Jaina Printing Press. Cloth bound. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 2. (1920.)

The writer of this novel is engaged in a sordid profession, working as an ordinary broker on the Stock Exchange, and it is greatly to his credit that he has not allowed the pursuit of his business to come in the way of his leanings towards literature. Vipin was his first novel, and this is his second. It describes the treachery of the last of the Great Moguls, in respect of the Rajputs. Although the narrative does not on the whole reach a high level, there are several bright passages and chapters in it which arrest the reader's attention.

K. M. J.

ASSAMESE.

KETEKEE: by Babu Raghunath Choudhury Pp. 64. Price 8 as.

The author of this small treatise is one of the popular lyric poets of Assam. The present work is a long, continuous lyric poem, running into five small cantos, addressed to the sweet singing Ketekee bird. The bird is, as the poet says, the harbinger of a thousand and one beauties of the world. The poet had, in composing the poem, the great conception of the Meghaduta before his mind's eye.

CHANDRAKANTA BHATTACHARYA.

URDU AND PERSIAN.

NIKAT-USH-SHUARA: by Mir Taqi Mir. Publisher, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan. Pp. 187+xxxviii. Price Rs. 3.

The language of the book is Persian but it deals with the lives and works of Urdu poets and is written by perhaps the most eminent of Urdu poets. Nobody who knows anything

of Urdu can feign unfamiliarity with the name and fame of the first recognised and methodical Urdu poet Mir Taqi Mir of Delhi. To add to his poetical genius we now know that he was also a literary critic and biographer of no mean order. This collection of the critical studies of his contemporary and only recently dead Urdu poets contains more than a hundred articles. In some cases, the notices are exceedingly brief; in others they are fairly long and copious, but they are always interesting, instructive, well-informed and judicious.

The book establishes two facts of considerable importance; first, that some of the masters of Persian poetry, like *Khusrau* and *Bedil* hitherto regarded as exclusively Persian poets, were equally at home in Urdu; and secondly, that Urdu poetry in those days was not the monopoly of the Muslims. Poems of several Hindus recorded in these pages do not show that they were inferior in any way to the Muslim fellow-poets, so far as merits of thought and expression are concerned.

The *Anjuman* has done a real service to the cause of Urdu literature by unearthing this forgotten treatise and bringing it within easy reach of all. The book opens with an "Introduction" by Maulana Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani, which is also eminently readable. The get-up is excellent.

A. M.

HINDI.

SUBHASHITA AUR VINODE: by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, B. A., LL. B. Translated into Hindi by Ramchandra Sarma. Published by the Lakshman Sahitya Bhandar, Lucknow. Price Re. 1.

The author does a great service to rhetorical literature by this treatise on wit and humour. The seven chapters are all very readably written. Though the examples are almost wholly collected from Sanskrit literature, yet the writer regrets the comparative want of humorous writings in Sanskrit and Hindi. This is, we think, the first and only work on the subject published in any modern language of India. The treatise has the enhanced interest of laying under contribution the theories of both Eastern and Western critics. Bengali critical literature will no doubt be richer by a translation of this treatise.

RAMES BASU.

MAITHIL KOKIL VIDYAPATI.—It is a typical selection from the *Padāvalis* of Vidyapati with short Hindi notes thereon, edited by Babu Brajnandan Sahai and published in Devanagari character, by Arrah Nagari Pracharini Sabha. The selection is a beautiful one. It is priced at Rs. 1-4 and contains 202 pages.

SAMBATI PUNARJANMA.—A modern drama in the Maithili language (in 7 acts) dealing with a Puranic episode about the rebirth of Samavati.

The theme of the drama is very charming. It was composed by the late Maithil poet and dramatist Pandit Jiwan Jha and has been brought to light by Pandit Harikant Jha, a Raja-Pandit of the Maharaja of Benares. It is a book of 62 pages. Its price is As. 6 only.

GALPAKUSUMVATI.—It is a fine treatise containing a few interesting and didactic Hindi tales. The book seems to be useful but the style is a laboured and difficult one and hence not suitable for the mass. It has been written by B. Radhika Raman Sinha and its price is As. 8. It is a book of 117 Pages.

SIKHA GURUON KI JIWANI.—It is a Hindi treatise dealing with the elaborate lives and doings of the Gurus, 'Spiritual Heads' of the renowned Sikh sect. The lives of those religious and social reformers have been written after great researches by Babu Shivanandan Sahai and published by Nagri Paracharini Sabha, Arrah. The book is of 244 pages.

BHAKTI KA MARG (भक्ति का मार्ग).—The book named 'Path of Devotion' written by Swami Paramanand (the disciple of Swami Vivekanand) who is at present the President of the Vedant Section of the Ramkrishna Paramahansa School at America, is a wellknown book. It is its Hindi version by Swami Dharmanand. It has 69 pages. It is priced at As. 8 and to be had of B. Tripathi & Co, Barabazar, Calcutta.

SUSHILA OR SWARGADEVI.—A social and domestic novel of high standard in Hindi, written by Pandit Chhabinath Pandey, B.A., LL.B. It has added to the poor number of original social novels in Hindi. It has been published by Sahmadan Mohan Lakshman Sahitya Bhandar, Chowk, Lucknow. It contains 124 pages.

RASAL BANA.—A very beautiful versified booklet—dealing with the pathetic domestic quarrel between the cruel mother-in-law and a good-natured daughter-in-law. It is a useful book for girls. It has been published through the noble exertions of Premalata Devi, Prem Mandir, Arrah, and its price is As. 5 only. It contains 23 pages.

SHRISTI-TATTVA (सृष्टि-तत्त्व).—A booklet dilating upon the origin of the creation of the Universe and its development by Pandit Sakalnarayan Pandey, Kavya- and Vyakarantirtha, and has been published by Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Arrah. It contains 20 pages.

SUSHIL SHIKSHA.—It is a booklet dealing with the required mode of training of our boys and the necessity of fostering in them some most essential qualities, such as, the foundation of character, etc. It has been written by Pandit Iswari Prasad Sharma and published by Arrah Nagari Pracharini Sabha. It contains 16 pages.

G. SINGH.

NOTES

Corrections.

We are grateful to Sriji Dwijendra Narayan Bagchi and to Sriji Nagendra Kumar Ratna for pointing out to us by letter that great injustice has been done to Mr. Gandhi in our Note on 'Mr. Gandhi's "Instructions" to Lawyers' in our last issue. Both these correspondents point out that the word "Instructions" was not used by Mr. Gandhi, but by the *Bengalee's* Barisal correspondent. Mr. Gandhi had simply said, in reply to questions asked, "what a practising lawyer may not do". This he was certainly entitled to do, just as we were entitled to criticise his reply. We are sorry we did not, when writing the Note, take the precaution of consulting Mr. Gandhi's *Young India*.

Greater injustice was done to Mr. Gandhi in the following sentence in our Note:—

"No doubt, Mr. Gandhi has (whether intentionally or otherwise, does not matter) made it difficult now-a-days for anybody who is not a follower of his to obtain a hearing from crowds."

This sentence plainly suggests what we did not intend to say. We know that Mr. Gandhi has repeatedly denounced rowdiness in public meetings, that he has said again and again that all speakers should have a hearing, and that it was his intervention which enabled Mrs. Besant to obtain a hearing at the Calcutta Special Congress. Knowing all these facts, we are surprised and sorry that we wrote so carelessly as we did. We are unable to explain this lapse on our part. What we meant is, that "the Non-co-operation propaganda started by Mr. Gandhi has given rise to a group mentality which has made it difficult now-a-days for anybody who is not a follower of his to obtain a hearing from crowds. That Mr. Gandhi did not intend to produce such a state of

mind, does not matter so far as the actual result is concerned."

The fact that Mr. Gandhi has repeatedly said that he wished all men to think for themselves and that he did not want blind following, should also be made prominent.

20-4-1921.

The News About India Which Reaches London.

In order to give some idea to the Indian public of the reports, which reach London from India, it seems to me to be instructive to refer to an exceptionally gross instance of sensational news mongering, which I have recently received. The following 'United Press' cable was sent from London:—

INDIAN REBELS RAID TRAIN OF VICEROY.

London, Feb. 19.—[United Press.]—Indian rebels attacked the special train of Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, near Allahabad, forcing the viceroyal party to abandon its efforts to reach Calcutta, according to advices received here today.

The party left Delhi with the intention of going to Calcutta. As the train was approaching Allahabad, an important railway junction, 450 miles north-west of Calcutta, it slowed down. Almost immediately it was surrounded by hundreds of extremists, who swarmed over the locomotive and cars. They were driven off with difficulty, but the military escort deemed it advisable to return to Delhi.

The advices, which were fragmentary, did not indicate whether there had been an actual clash or whether there were any casualties on either side. Some fear was expressed here for the safety of the Christian population in Allahabad numbering about 10,000 of the city's 200,000 inhabitants.

It is difficult even to guess at the origin of this falsehood. Possibly it originated in the brain of the scaremongering newspaper reporter himself. The most disgraceful part of it is the last paragraph, which is a deliberate attempt to stir up racial

and religious hatred, by suggesting that the "10,000 Christians" (sic) in Allahabad were in imminent danger of massacre.

C. F. A.

The Hon. Srinavas Sastri and Lord Hardinge.

Mr. Srinavasa Sastri appears to have cast an undeserved slur on Lord Hardinge's regime in his farewell speech, and to have given undue praise to the regime which has just come to an end. The report of Mr. Sastri's speech runs:—"The policy of the Government of India with regard to Indians overseas has progressed from one of halting support to their cause, during the time of Lord Hardinge, to one of complete accord with Indian public opinion."

If the implication is, that Lord Hardinge himself was halting in his support of the cause of Indians overseas, then nothing can be further from the truth. Lord Hardinge was one of the very first among the Viceroy's, who took this matter seriously. His Madras speech, with its indignant reference to the shooting down of Indians by the military in Natal was called in official circles a "blazing indiscretion." In South Africa, I myself heard it spoken about in most scathing terms. But its 'indiscretion' lay in the very fact, that it was not halting at all, but direct from the heart, and in complete accord with Indian public opinion. Again, it has to be fully borne in mind, in judging Lord Hardinge, what opposition he had to encounter from England itself and from the colonial office, and how he overcame all this and actually passed into law his great Act of Abolition of Indenture.

Surely in all this, which formed Lord Hardinge's contribution, there was nothing 'halting'! I have read very many Government documents on the questions connected with Indians Abroad, but I can remember none, that was more completely in accord with Indian public opinion, than Lord Hardinge's famous Despatch of October 20, 1915, which sounded the death knell of indentured Indian labour in the colonies.

It is quite true, that the recent reports on Indians in Africa, published by the Government of India, have been admirable. But at present they are reports only. They have not been embodied in any definite actions.

On the other hand, the answer given by Sir George Barnes last year to Mr. Sastri himself concerning the shooting down of Indians by the military in Fiji (so singularly parallel to the Natal incident in 1913) was not admirable at all. It was a callous answer. It was completely out of accord with Indian public opinion.

I have often stated in public, that the only action on the part of Government, which will now be in accord with Indian public opinion, is a plain 'Declaration of Independence.'—"Either let Indians have fair treatment in the colonies; or else let India be separated from the colonies altogether, i.e., go outside the British Empire."

C. F. A.

The Strike in Fiji.

The utter helplessness of India, in her present state of subjection, within the British Empire, may be seen from the news concerning the strike in Fiji, as far as it has been published by the Government of India. It will be remembered, how, last year, in order to obtain a living wage, the Indians on the south of the main island struck work. The one who inspired them most of all in their struggle was the wife of Mr. Manilal, a Gujarati lady, the daughter of Dr. Mehta of Rangoon.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Manilal were deported by the Fiji Government. No charge of violence, or incitement to violence, was brought against them. On the other hand, there were violent acts committed against Mr. Manilal by the Europeans. When the Indian leaders had thus been removed by force, the strike on the south of the island fell through. The Indians were compelled to go back to work without gaining their demands.

Now, on the north of the main island, a further strike has been continuing for

more than two months. The leader in this strike was an educated Gujarati, named Sadhu Vashistha Muni, who went out to Fiji more than a year ago. He was educated first in the D. A. V. College in Lahore, and then at the Rishikul at Hardwar. As far as can be gathered, he went out at his own expense and with a pure desire to help his own people. He established schools for teaching Hindu religion, and his unselfish life gave him great influence with the people. This is the simple account I have received about him from many reliable sources.

As the leader of the strike for higher wages, on the north side of the island, he appears to have been able to keep the Indian labourers so absolutely free from all kinds of violence, that the Fiji Government has acknowledged in its cable, that the conduct of the Indians was unexceptionable and extra police had been withdrawn.

Yet, in spite of this, we are informed that he has been arrested and deported summarily, without trial, and the Indians have again been left leaderless. Stories have been sent to England (in order to justify his deportation), to the effect that Sadhu Vashistha Muni had been sent out to Fiji as a part of a worldwide propaganda of Mahatma Gandhi, in order to foment strikes.

I have repeated, again and again, in the pages of the 'Modern Review' the figures which conclusively show that the Colonial Sugar Refining Company has been making such enormous profits before, during, and after the war, that it is afraid to disclose them. Their profits can only with great difficulty be unravelled and even then much remains unknown and unrevealed. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has been able, for many years, owing to its enormous financial interests, virtually to rule Fiji, as a kind of Shogun behind the throne. It is obvious, therefore, by what influences these deportations have been effected. They appear to have been brought about by the influence of this great Sugar Company, which wields such sovereign

power. They are, therefore, a weapon used to render the Indians leaderless and helpless.

C. F. A.

Rabindranath Tagore in Europe.

The poet, Rabindranath Tagore, is now in Europe. He has already visited Sweden, and intends to visit Denmark, Switzerland and Italy and possibly Spain and Portugal. His present purpose is to return, before his School at Shantiniketan re-opens after the holidays, i.e., towards the end of June, and not to stay in Europe for the summer.

The Higher Criticism of Christianity.

In noticing the article on the future of the Indian Christians by "A Hindu" in the April issue of this Review, the *Catholic Herald of India* (April 6th) admits that Catholic asceticism should find more responsive elements in India than anywhere else in the world, but it observes that in asking Christians to water down their Christianity with a dose of Higher criticism the writer simply asks them to westernise Christianity with a vengeance, and "discard precisely the spiritual element which is likely to appeal to India most."

There is no doubt a danger that rationalistic criticism may undermine the element of faith and devotion in the human mind. But the historical method is intended to free the mind from the cobwebs of superstition and prejudice, and if it be argued that the latter are necessary in order that the spiritual nature of man may not be starved, it is difficult to subscribe to such a proposition. The spirit must be fed, but not by superstitions. To quote Sir John Seeley in *Ecce Homo*, we have no 'superstitious dread of superstitions.' We are perfectly aware that all superstitions are not equally gross, and that there are men both among the Catholic clergy and the orthodox Hindus who in spite of their superstitions are to be ranked among the most saintly and spiritual natures that the

world has known. The world would decidedly be the poorer had they not been born. Nevertheless, it is pre-eminently in the field of religious and sectarian prejudice that 'man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn' and the blood-stained pages of history display in a lurid light 'the rarity of Christian charity under the sun.' That being so, it cannot be said that the spiritual doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God gains anything from being associated with Mariolatry, Bibliolatry, thaumaturgy, or with doctrines like those of the immaculate conception and transubstantiation, over which Christians have quarrelled and fought for ages. Modern Hinduism abounds in such superstitions, and Christian theology and Hindu philosophy (which has never been divorced from theology) alike indulge in metaphysical speculations which mystify and obfuscate, but add little to our spiritual insight or our moral growth. If a Christian desires a Hindu to outgrow the associations of his degrading superstitions, he must be prepared to shed his own superstitions and bigotries. And when both have done so, with the aid of the Higher Criticism which has replaced the old unscientific methods of sifting the truth, and the light of reason has purged the grossnesses of theological exegesis, the Indian Christian and the Hindu will be able to extend the hand of fellowship to each other across the religious chasm which will still continue to separate, without being able to divide, them. Such mutual tolerance can never be expected of dogmatic followers of either the Christian or the Hindu religion; and in the interests of that universal brotherhood which is the goal of our spiritual aspirations, rational criticism is to be welcomed in the domain of theology and we can confidently assert that the result will not be a diminution of the influence of the spirit on the lives of Indian Christians, but quite the reverse. We are not afraid of westernising Christianity, if that means the separation of the ethical and the spiritual element from the grosser elements of blind faith and unreasoning prejudice. It would be well

for the followers of all the religions of the world if they could stick to the accepted canons of historical criticism in tracing their origin and growth; and the soul of man would be broadened and rendered spiritually more receptive, and better attuned to the finer influences of our nature, if man everywhere could distinguish between the essence and the excrescences of what constitutes his religion.

"A HINDU."

The New Viceroy and his Executive Council.

The new Viceroy's speech on his landing at Bombay appeared to have a ring of sincerity in it. Indians, however, have been so often duped by fair promises and smooth excuses that they need not build any hopes upon it. All that can be said is that the speech created a favourable impression in the minds of those who take note of such things, and it is up to Lord Reading to act in such a way throughout the tenure of his exalted office as to deepen that impression and make it permanent. It is not very difficult to understand the difficulties of a Viceroy who would like to make sympathy and absolutely impartial justice the watchwords of his policy. In the words of Dewan Raghunath Rao to W. S. Blunt (*India Under Ripon*, p. 39), as soon as a Viceroy begins to propound his policy, he will be likely to "find that he is everywhere defeated in detail by officials who bow to him and pretend to agree with him, but who go away and raise obstacles which defeat his ends, or at any rate delay them till his power to enforce them is nearly over." For, the whole atmosphere of India is permeated and surcharged with the silent spirit of Civilian domination, of bureaucratic adherence to monopoly and privilege. True, the recent reforms have introduced some little change even in the stronghold of bureaucratic power—we mean the Governor-General's Executive Council. In paragraph 272 of the Montagu-Chelmsford report we find it stated that Lord Morley's experiment of appointing an Indian in that

Council "has proved of value in enabling the Government to have firsthand acquaintance with Indian opinion"; though that acquaintance may have enabled the bureaucracy the more effectively to safeguard its position. Under the report of the Joint Select Committee, not less than three members of the Council are to be Indians and accordingly Lord Reading will now have the opportunity of learning about things Indian from persons in his immediate entourage, three of whom at any rate have firsthand knowledge, and ought to support him in any undertaking having for its object the doing of justice to India. If, however, the real wishes of the European majority of the Executive Council are to prevail, 'not less than three Indians,' shall always mean 'not more than three Indians,' for such has been the case in all departments of the public service. To avoid this usual interpretation, the Joint Select Committee expressly added in their report that "in this connection it must be borne in mind that the members of the Council drawn from the ranks of the public servants will, as time goes on, be more and more likely to be of Indian rather than of European extraction." The first step, therefore, that Lord Reading should take to strengthen his position, if he wants to do justice to India, is to increase the Indian element in his Executive Council by appointing a representative Indian to every vacancy that may occur during his term of office. We know that all the arguments which were trotted out by the bureaucracy in paragraph 113 of the Government of India Despatch, dated the 5th March, 1919, against the appointment of more Indians in the Executive Council will be dinned into Lord Reading's ears. In the Despatch we find it stated that "the main advance will be made in the provinces: the Government of India have heavy responsibilities of an imperial character; and we consider that the appointment of a second Indian member will be sufficient to give Indian opinion such further weight in their innermost counsels as it is at present wise to give it." In order that the way might not be left open for future ad-

vance along the same lines, the despatch cleverly recommended that the appointment of two Indians should be secured by statute. The Joint Select Committee fortunately saw through this ruse, and, instead of recommending any statutory provision as to the number of Indians, recommended that three should at once be appointed, and suggested that the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be more and more Indian as time goes on. The Government of India Despatch of 1919 had, however, to admit that "there is a decided feeling among Indians—that at least half the members of the Council should be Indians." Lord Reading should take note of this feeling, observe how just it is, and give effect to it. The Joint Select Committee leaves the way open to him, and it is for him to avail himself of it. Not that we think that so long as Indians cannot control the entire policy of the State, both in civil and military affairs, mere increase in the Indian element will nationalise the Government. Nevertheless, it will be a change in the right direction, and an essential condition of such nationalisation, and should therefore be insisted on.

Another most salutary change, though of a humbler character, was proposed in the Council of State by the Maharaja of Kasimbazar, but with an arbitrary inconsiderateness which so often characterised Lord Chelmsford, he vetoed the resolution. It was to the effect that Lord Reading should choose a Private Secretary from the ranks of qualified Indians. Following the prevailing practice his Private Secretary was selected for him from the European Civilian Bureaucracy, who want to keep watch at every gate, so that nothing may reach the Viceroy without their previous knowledge and sanction, and he may not see or hear except through their eyes and ears. That not even the Private Secretary of the Governor General of India can be an Indian, would appear amusing to some Indians, and to others humiliating. Instead of vetoing the resolution, Lord Chelmsford might very well have left it to his successor to deal with; but that would not

have suited the bureaucracy, who feared perhaps that Lord Reading might have an open mind on the subject, and, feeling impressed with the absolute justice of the recommendation that he should have an Indian as his Private Secretary in India, might, as the earnest of a sympathetic rule, give effect to it knowing the Indian feeling with regard to this matter.

Lord Reading and the Panjab Atrocities.

A Bengali proverb has it that the time to praise a woman is when she is dead and cremated and her ashes are blown about in the wind. Without discussing why Bengali proverbial wisdom should have advised this caution only in the case of women, we may follow the spirit of the advice by saying that the time to judge a Viceroy finally is when he has retired. In the meantime it may be observed that, though the Viceroy did well to visit the Panjab before going up to Simla, what he has done or ordered to be done in connection with the tragedies of that Province, has not improved the situation. One gets sick of being exhorted to "forget and forgive", and compensation for damages sustained by Indians on a more "generous" scale cannot heal the hurt that national honour has felt, nor is it a substitute for justice pure and simple.

"Eternal Damnation."

With regard to another sentence in "A Hindu's" article on the future of Indian Christians, *The Catholic Herald of India* observes:

"A Hindu" in his article contributed to the *Modern Review* on the future of the Indian Christian makes the extraordinary statement that Catholics send every non-Catholic to Hell. "The convert," he writes, "cannot help believing that it is Christ Jesus alone through whom salvation can be attained; and the inevitable corollary to this doctrine is the eternal damnation of the rest of humanity."

We are sure the writer has made the statement in good faith but in total ignorance of the facts. What Catholics believe on this subject has been authoritatively laid down by Pius IX in his encyclical to the Italian Bishops (10th August, 1863): "It is known to you as well as to ourselves that those who live in invincible ignorance of our holy religion, and who faith-

fully follow the natural law and its dictates as written by God in every heart, and who, ready to obey God, lead an honest and righteous life can obtain eternal life, because God who sees, sounds and knows the minds, souls, thoughts and aspirations of all men, will never allow, in his infinite goodness and clemency, anybody to undergo eternal punishment for no wilful fault of his own." What more does "A Hindu" want?

Eternal damnation of the rest of humanity is not the inevitable corollary of the faith in Jesus Christ. Exclusion from salvation only follows wilful rejection. None but those who see the necessity of Christ's salvation, yet refuse to have anything to do with it, come under this terrible ban.

We are not competent to discuss Catholic theology with our contemporary. We take it for granted that its statement of the Catholic position is correct. Nevertheless, we do not see the justice of eternal damnation of any person. What we want and consider to be just and merciful is the ultimate salvation of all, and we take it that is also the view of "A Hindu."

Calcutta University "Dictatorship."

It has been contended by the supporters of Sir Asutosh Mukherji's "dictatorship" in the Calcutta University that it is required for the proper administration of its affairs 'in the new spirit (of research).' If none but Sir Asutosh can conduct the University in this assumed spirit of research, then the whole edifice is foredoomed to collapse at his retirement. How will the men "in his clutches" act when the clutch is relaxed by death? If so many years of English education, and of research since 1894, when the Premchand Roychand Studentship was made conditional upon research, have failed to create a body of senators and professors willing and able to conduct the university, promote research and possessed of the requisite brain power, knowledge and sense of justice and honor for guiding research, examining these and laying down courses of "higher studies" without the dictation of the "constant quantity at the head of every Board of Higher Studies," then research has dismally failed—and we shall be as much in need of Sir Asutosh's masterful dictation in 1950 as we are in 1921. Not that his dictator-

ship has promoted research alone. It has promoted plagiarism and plagiarists also, and has placed some "spectres of humanity" in positions of responsibility who have not been able to distinguish between originality and its opposite.

A New Civil Marriage Bill.

The following Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly by Dr. H. S. Gour on the 23rd March, 1921:—

A Bill further to amend Act III of 1872.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend Act III of 1872; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Civil Marriage (Amendment) Act, 1921, and Act III of 1872, as amended by this Act, may be called the Civil Marriage Act.

2. In the preamble to Act III of 1872 (hereinafter referred to as "the said Act") for the words from "do not profess" to "Jaina religion" the following words shall be substituted, namely:—"intend marriage under the provisions of this Act."

3. In section 2 of the said Act for the words from "neither of whom" to "Jaina religion" the following words shall be substituted, namely:—"who intend marriage under the provisions of this Act."

4. In the Schedule to the said Act for the words "I do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh or Jaina religion" where they occur in both places, the following words shall be substituted, namely:—"I intend marriage under the provisions of the Civil Marriage Act."

The Bill has our general support.

The Power of Will in Controlling Nervous Impulse.

At a special meeting of the Sahitya Parisad held at the Bose Institute, Sir J. C. Bose gave a discourse in Bengali on "The Power of Will in controlling Nervous Impulse." The lecture was illustrated by original experiments.

Sir J. C. Bose explained how man may control nervous impulse by the internal power of the will. He holds that

In the determination of sensation the internal stimulus of will may play as important a part as the shock from outside. And thus through the inner control of the molecular disposition of the nerve, the character of the resulting sensation may become profoundly modified. The external then is not so overwhelmingly dominant, and man is no longer passive in the hands of destiny. There is a latent power which would raise him above the terrors of his

inimical surroundings. It remains with him that the channels through which the outside world reaches him, should at his command be widened or become closed.

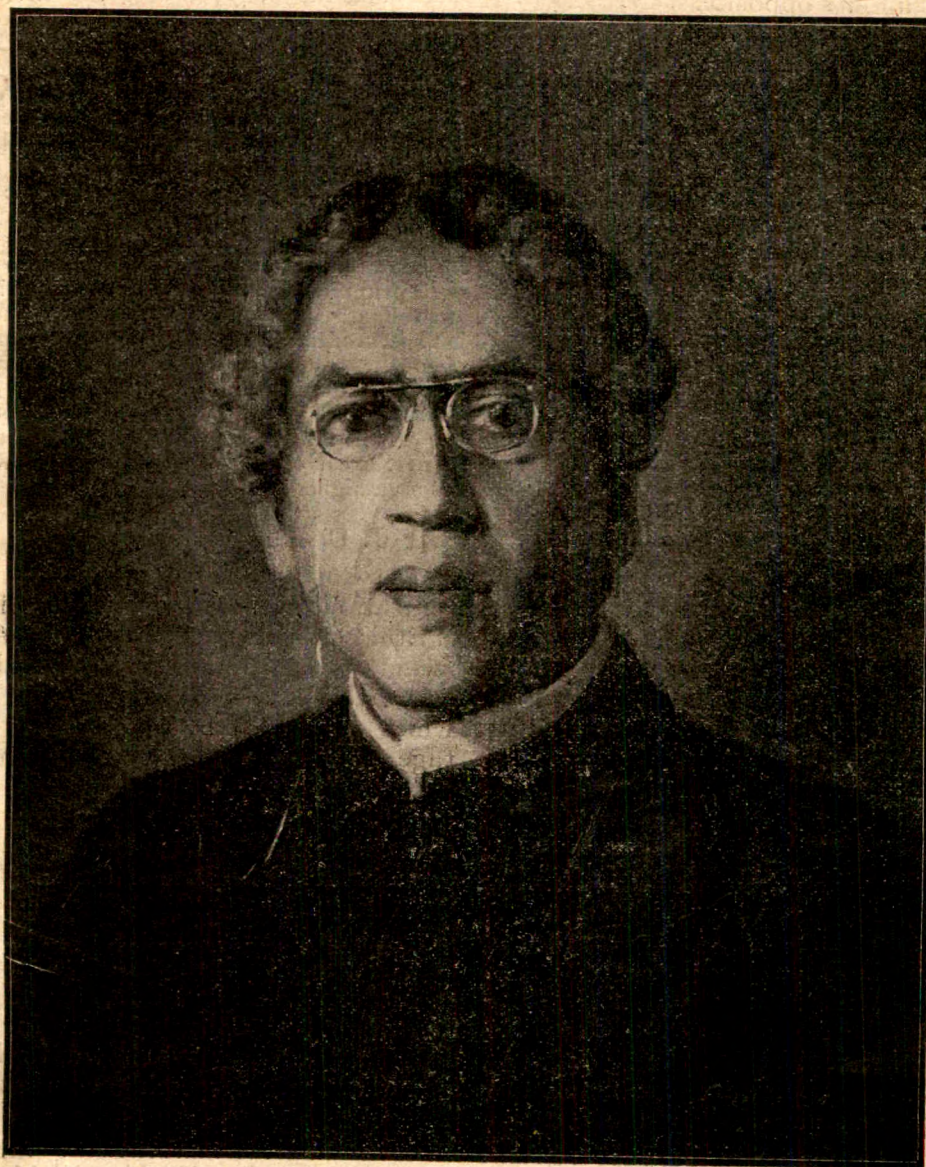
Function is created by the action of stimulus, which may be external or internal. Does the mind make the body or does the environment fashion the organisms? Are the two statements opposite to each other, or are they but one fact described from different points of view? If the internal stimulus be the resultant of inpouring forces from outside, then when in this infinite transfusion came the birth of thought? Even in the smallest living particle we may trace the dim beginnings of the faculty of choice. A speck of protoplasm accepts or refuses, submits to or resists the multiplex forces of destiny about it. When in all this did perception begin to manifest itself? If in throbbing response to stimulus then the smallest speck of life has it. If in nervous commotion then the tree has it. Mind and matter thus become transfused. The microcosm is that whose highest term is the one, and its lowest the other. And man opposing himself at will to new areas of stimulation thereby determines his own higher evolution.

Sir J. C. Bose at the Rotary Club.

The Rotary Club is an international institution of business men, and the Code of Ethics to which the members subscribe, includes the following: "To consider no personal success legitimate or ethical which is secured by taking unfair advantage of certain opportunities in the social order that are absolutely denied others; nor will I take advantage of opportunities to achieve material success that others will not take because of the questionable morality involved." These are undoubtedly admirable sentiments.

The members of the Rotary Club, which is an European institution, recently entertained Sir J. C. Bose at dinner. In acknowledging the courtesy shown to him, the scientist made a speech in course of which he said:

One of the great characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon is that he identifies himself with the place of his work. So it happens that when he settles in Australia he does not call himself an Anglo-Australian, but an Australian. In the States he becomes an American and soon begins to look down on Europe as a "back number." He resents hyphenated prefixes of any description. And I think you will also come to regard your present prefix equally superfluous and take pride in being known as Indians. For if one



Sr J. C. Bose.
From an Oil Painting by Mr. Atul Basu.

reads the history of this country rightly he will realise that India has a great assimilative power by which many races and peoples who came to this country came to call this their home. And it is through our united efforts that we could look forward to the rejuvenescence of India and the world services she is again to render.

It would be wise on the part of Englishmen residing in India to take the hint thrown out by Sir J. C. Bose. But whatever they may or may not do, it is our duty to so think and act as to make the name "Indian" respected all over the world.

Sir J. C. Bose then passed on to make a brief reference to some of his scientific conclusions.

Instead of special creation and specific characteristic I find all life is one. The world is not a chaos, but a cosmos. From the unity of life there follows as a postulate the unity of all human efforts. It is a misreading of the laws of Nature to regard conflict as the only factor in evolution. Far more potent than competition is mutual aid and renunciation in the scheme of life. It is true that the weakling who has refused the conflict, having acquired nothing has nothing to renounce. He alone who has striven and won, can enrich the world with the fruits of his victorious experience. It is only out of struggle that some inner power is born through which we come to realise the essential kinship of all humanity. It is through the eternal interaction of the outer and the inner that the world evolves. And the most living man is he, who having acquired through years of patience gives out in spontaneous outflow. Thus in modern times we have a Rockefeller or a Carnegie. Is this an exception? Some twelve centuries ago the merchant princes of India adventured forth across unknown seas and shared their ancient heritage with the people among whom they lived. The ruins of Java and Cambodia still testify the creative impulse of that epoch. And Bengal too was not behindhand. Her scholar-adventurers with palm leaf manuscripts as their sole merchandise crossed the Himalayan barriers and extended the great Indian culture to the furthest East.

Referring to the present unrest, he spoke first of its political aspect.

In the physical world I find that whenever in a system there is a great accumulation of energy at any one point there is a tendency for equalisation. Should there be any obstruction to this natural process a dangerous tension is set up, ending in explosion. A parallel phenomenon in the system of human conglomeration is known as revolution. And the most stable

and enduring form of Government is that in which undue tension is not allowed to develop.

Passing on to the economic aspect of the unrest Prof. Bose said :—

The present unrest is not confined to India, but is almost world-wide due to economic conditions. In my recent travels in Europe I found the acutest symptoms of unrest in London, in Paris and in Berlin. The prevalent idea is that the produce of the world is not sufficient for all.

The conflict is between the "have's" and "have-nots." The idea that dominates one group is that the produce of the world is not sufficient for all and therefore they must have more than their share. The "have-nots", who are many, however fail to realise this logic. And thus has arisen the tragedy of the present situation.

But, the Professor asked, is it true that the productive capacity of the world has been fully developed?

The only place where I found this unrest to be at its minimum was in Norway and Sweden. Norway, for example, has an area of a few thousand square miles and a population less than that of Calcutta and Bombay combined. She nevertheless maintains her own army and navy, has her system of universal education, and the most up-to-date University. Poverty is practically unknown. The country is not rich in its resources. How is this miracle accomplished? By utilising to the utmost through science all her available resources. In many of the provinces in India, Bengal for instance, I find inexhaustible resources alike in her soil and in her mineral wealth. India could be the richest country in the world if she only knew how to utilize nature's gifts. As regards the beneficent powers of science, my own researches show the possibility of making four ears of corn grow, where one grew before. In this aspect science is a divine gift and the call is imperative which compelled men to choose a life of unending struggle to extend the bounds of human knowledge.

The solution of the present difficulties lies in working together for mutual benefit.

The conflict in the industrial world perhaps reached its climax in the United States. But in the same country there is also a different method in operation. They there realise that it pays to make every one actively interested in the success of an enterprise, thus the operative of to-day may become the director to-morrow.

Why is this obvious method not in evidence in this country? Here there is large diffuse capital and a large number of men trained in the methods of science, and a growing feeling of

patriotism, an increasing desire of developing the natural resources of the country. What they lack is business training. On the other hand you have remarkable experience in business and power of organisation. The two should have complemented each other, but are now in conflict. Why should they not work for mutual benefit? The present conflict brings vividly before my mind a picture where two claimants were pulling the milch-cow—one by the horn and the other by the tail—when thus fixed, a third party came in and walked off with the milk. I am sure that you would be able to identify the respective parties.

Sir J. C. Bose concluded his address with a note of hope and of faith in the future of India.

Whether India is to gain her salvation through conflict or through the other method more consonant with her ancient tradition, there can be no misgiving about her future. For there is something in the Indian culture which is possessed of extraordinary latent strength, by which it has resisted the ravages of time, and the destructive changes which have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations, must be latent in that mighty civilisation which has seen the intellectual culture of the Nile Valley, of Assyria, and of Babylon wax and wane and disappear, and which today gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the past.

Professor Bose has raised many issues in his speech before the Rotary Club and has given us food for thought. The blessings that Nature had conferred on India have, through the passivity of her people, proved to be a veritable curse; for wealth that is unappropriated must attract adventurers from all parts of the globe. So we have not only the Europeans, but the Americans and the Japanese as well, exploiting the resources of the country and effecting peaceful penetration. Already we have in our midst examples of Gurkha mercenaries employed by foreign Zamindars to overawe the tenants. Armies and navies will no doubt be required by different nationalities to protect their respective interests. The process by which China has been carved up into different spheres of influence is still going on and precedent thus established will no doubt be followed in other Asiatic countries, including India. Of course Japan excepted, in whose "sphere of influence" the shooting of an American

officer by a Japanese sentry had to be accepted by the United States as a regrettable accident. This is but a parable! But our problem is, Is India to be cut up into spheres of influence in addition to being subjected to foreign rule?

Sir Nil Ratan Sircar on Public Health.

As president of the recent Public Health Conference Dr. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar delivered a very important address. He first drew attention to the seriousness of the problem which at present faces Bengal, and in doing so referred to some first principles of a general character.

If you wish to erect a strong and durable edifice, you take the utmost care first to set up a firm and secure foundation. The basis of a sound national life is a healthy and physically efficient community. You cannot expect the citizens of a country to be capable and fit in any other way if they are not already physically fit.

It is now an accepted principle in advanced countries that it is among the duties of the State to provide conditions that would secure physical and mental efficiency in every citizen. Whatever the individual may do to ensure his or her physical well-being, it is recognized to be a primary obligation of the State to strive to maintain each citizen at the highest point of physical perfection.

In order to give his audience an adequate idea of the task of improving the sanitary condition of Bengal Dr. Sircar quoted certain figures.

The provincial birth-rate of the year 1919 was only 27.5. The lowest return since 1892. This was 5.4 per mille less than the ratio of 1918 and 5.8 per mille less than the average for the preceding five years. Every district in the province showed a reduction in the birth-rate and Madras was the only province in India which returned a lower birth-rate.

The death-rate amounted to 362 per mille of the population and was higher than in any year since 1905 with the exception of 1918. Among the districts the highest rate, viz., 62.3 per mille, was returned by Birbhum. Burdwan came second with 50.5 per mille. Among the towns eight, including Calcutta, returned a death-rate exceeding 40 per mille. Howrah comes first with a death-rate of 55.1. Baranagore comes next with a death-rate of 54.8 per mille.

The rate of infant mortality was 228 per

thousand, as in the previous year. This compared unfavourably with the quinquennial rate, which was 209, as also the rate for 1917 which amounted to 184 in four districts, including Calcutta, the infantile death-rates exceeded 300 per thousand births, the respective ratios, being Birbhum 392, Calcutta 357, Burdwan 342, and Khulna 308.

The number of deaths recorded during the year exceeded the number of recorded births by 396,000 or 8.7 per mille of the population. This is undoubtedly a serious condition of affairs. By far the largest percentage of deaths, viz., 27.1 was due to fevers. Fever claimed so many as 1,229,257 deaths; cholera, 124,949 deaths; smallpox, 37,010 deaths. These are all preventable diseases. Moreover, a very large proportion of infant deaths is due to causes which are of a preventable nature. The infant deaths recorded in 1919 numbered 284,298. Very few people seem to have an adequate idea of the loss of potential manhood and power that the high death-rate of Bengal indicates.

A comparison with England will show how high our death-rate is.

While in 1919 the death rate in Bengal was 36.2, in England, for instance, 13 to 14 per mille may be taken to be the average normal death rate. It is wellknown that the high death rates that formerly existed in many of the Western countries have now been considerably reduced by the adoption of effective and scientific sanitary measures. The adoption of similar methods in our province may reasonably be expected to yield equally satisfactory results.

The doctor then briefly mentioned some of the methods which should be adopted for combating the most prevalent diseases.

In a scheme for the control of cholera the foremost place should be given to the supply of pure drinking water—a great want of our province. A very grave menace to the public health of Bengal is the absence of a proper supply of pure drinking water. Many of the diseases in the province are due to impure water. The measures that have so far been taken for removing this want are, however, quite disproportionate to the needs of Bengal. A determined effort should, I think, be made to introduce wells of the artesian type as rapidly as possible. In this connection it should be remembered that costly water-works are not always the best solution of the problem. It is needless to point out that the economic condition of the province is also one of the causes that contribute to the present unsatisfactory state of public health in Bengal. The other directions in which action is needed are the sanitary disposal of excreta of diseased persons and the destruction of house flies, which play a prominent part in disseminating cholera. It is now proved beyond doubt that small-pox can be almost entirely prevented

by vaccination. The hook-worm disease is the cause of much sickness, misery and poverty in our province. The spread of this unsuspected disease is due to the almost universal pollution of the soil with human excreta. The first thing necessary to combat this disease is, therefore, to stop the pollution of the soil by human excreta. Among other diseases tuberculosis requires special attention with a view to its prevention and reduction, as it is obviously on the increase.

The Doctor also dwelt on the urgent need of greatly reducing the infant mortality and the mortality of mothers from causes connected with child-bearing. He also repeated what he had previously said in his convocation address regarding the health of our students. Those observations of his were quoted in our last issue. As malaria is the greatest scourge of Bengal, Dr. Sircar dwelt at greater length on measures for the prevention of malaria than of other diseases. He described what has been successfully done in other countries, and urged that similar steps should be taken here. The measures to be adopted would cost huge sums. Where are these to come from? In reply Dr. Sircar observed:

It is certainly the primary duty of the State to provide funds for improving and safe-guarding our national health. But with the limited resources at the disposal of the Government of Bengal at the present moment, I do not think any reasonable person can ask them to undertake costly schemes such as those referred to above. The question is, how much can we afford to pay in order to get rid of malaria? The economic significance of the matter has not been fully realised. Insidious losses, that are an every day occurrence, do not attract attention. Yet the leakage is appalling. There is a general decrease in the individual efficiency of the community. The business-man, the labourer, the professional man, the manufacturer, the child, the farmer, all suffer from diminished individual inefficiency. Many live as a burden on the community. It is not possible to estimate all these losses in actual sums, but they must be tremendous. The cost for malaria control varies widely in different conditions. Three factors have to be taken into account. The annual loss to the community, the first cost of any permanent work, and the cost of maintenance. The Government of India should, I think, be asked to return the proceeds of the jute duty to Bengal. This amount should be mainly devoted to the promotion of public health in the province and a portion of it capitalised by raising loans for carrying out projects of a permanent nature.

You ought to see that adequately large sums are allotted every year for promoting sanitation. A part of this allotment might very properly be capitalised by loans. If, for instance, the money raised in such a manner is devoted to the carrying out of an irrigation project for the reduction of malaria, besides improving the health of the people, it would materially help the development of the economic resources of the country. It may be expected that after a number of years a good return will be available from such a project in the shape of the health, wealth and contentment of the people.

The jute fields are situated in Bengal, the jute farmers are Bengalis, the jute mills are situated in Bengal, water transport and harborage for the jute traffic are provided by Bengal, and it is the people of the Bengal jute-growing districts who have to suffer from the pollution of the water in their villages by steeping the jute stalks in it before the extraction of the fibre. There can, therefore, be the least doubt that Bengal is entitled to have the proceeds of the jute duty at its disposal.

Another important matter to which I desire to invite your attention is the need of extension of general education for the diffusion of sanitary ideas among the people. The present illiteracy and ignorance of the masses serves as a great handicap to the spread of even the most elementary knowledge of sanitation. What the situation demands is the introduction of universal education without any further delay and loss of time besides a provision for the teaching of hygiene and sanitation in our secondary schools.

Equally urgent is the need of the establishment of more medical schools for the training of doctors. It was unfortunate that the Government of India vetoed the proposal of the Calcutta University for the reconstitution of the diploma of D. P. H. for providing the province with an adequate supply of experts, so urgently required at the present moment, although it was supported by H. E. the Governor. Now that the Calcutta University has been liberated from the leading strings of the Government of India it is to be hoped that there will be no difficulty in giving effect to the proposal.

In this connection it is not out of place to mention that proper facilities for the conduct of medical researches are denied to Indians in the existing State medical institutions, although nobody can say that qualified Indians are not available for such work. It is of the utmost importance that opportunities for such researches should be afforded to Indians. It is

deplorable that the authorities have practically secured the exclusion of competent Indian professors and research workers from the Tropical School of Medicine. Strenuous efforts should be made to put an end to such unjustifiable racial discrimination.

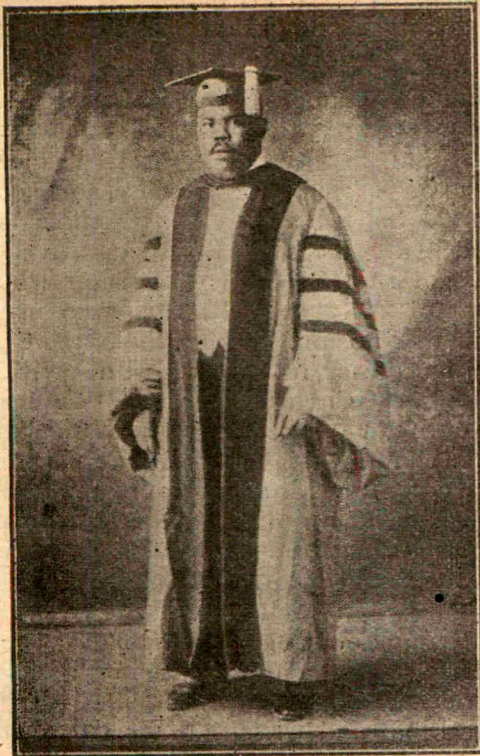
Indian Census of 1921.

It is not Bengal alone which has suffered for years from the effects of various preventible diseases. Other provinces, too, have suffered, as would be evident from the provisional statistics of population based on this year's census. According to the *Gazette of India*, the variations of population since 1901 are as shown in the following table given in the *Gazette* (April 9):—

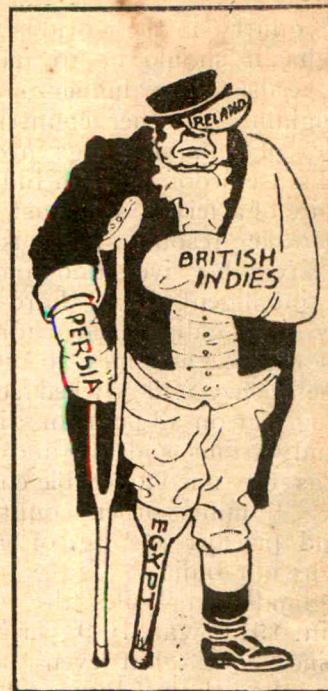
| | • Variations per cent since 1901. | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| | 1891 to 1901. | 1901 to 1911. | 1911 to 1921. |
| India | +1.5 | +6.5 | +1.2 |
| Provinces | +3.9 | +5.4 | +1.3 |
| States | -6.6 | +10.3 | +1.0 |

On these figures the Government of India Resolution has the following observations:—

The agricultural conditions of the early and middle years of the decade were not unfavourable to the growth of the population. There was some local scarcity but no widespread famine, while the birth rate and survival rate both stood high in 1913 but declined slightly in the subsequent four years. The war, which gave a notable stimulus to the agriculture, industry and trade of the country, had little direct effect on the population figures. The influenza epidemic of 1918 dominates all other direct influences on the movement of the population during the decade. The epidemic left no part of India unvisited. The death rate was nearly double that of the previous year and the direct loss of life due to the ravages of the disease during a few months in 1918 alone is put at about 7 millions in British India, while the indirect effects are shown in the heavy fall in the birth rate in 1919, the births being less than the deaths in both 1918 and 1919. Apart from the influenza epidemic, the later years of the decade were generally unhealthy. Plague which had been virulent in 1915 in the Northern and Western portions of the country again took a heavy toll in 1917 and 1918. The general failure of the rains of 1918 caused widespread distress over a large part of the country and the mortality from cholera in 1918-19 was exceptionally high. In the last year of the decade a large part of the country had again to face a serious failure of the monsoon.



MARCUS GARVEY,
President-general of the Universal Negro
Improvement Association and African
Communities League of the World, &c.
(See p. 636 of this number.)



VICTORIOUS JOHN BULL
—*De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam).



GERMANY OF 1914-18=ENGLAND OF 1920-?—*The Star* (London).

In no country in the world is the rainfall just what it should be to meet agricultural needs. The influenza epidemic visited England and other countries, too. The bodies of human beings are in no country disease-proof. It is in India alone, that, inspite of a fertile soil vast mineral and vegetable resources, thousands of miles of navigable rivers and coast lines, and an intelligent and hard-working peasantry, an "enlightened" administration does not feel ashamed to try to conceal its inefficiency and wicked selfishness by trotting out on all occasions irregular rainfall and various epidemic and sporadic diseases as the unconquerable enemies of humanity. If many other countries can thrive and prosper inspite of all such causes, why not India?

In England and Wales the decennial increase in 1911 was 10.9 per cent, the lowest since 1841; but even that figure was higher than that of India, which was 6.5. The present year's census shows a further serious decline in the rate of increase, which stands at 1.2. If even the previous decade's rate had been kept up, the increase in population would have been 20,485,165; instead of which it has been only 3,918,736; therefore we have lost at least 16,566,429 persons owing to the ravages of disease and famine. This is a remarkable testimony to the efficiency of the most highly paid and the most highly (self-) praised bureaucracy in the world, whose emoluments have been and are being continually added to on the most shameless and flimsy pretexts.

There has been an increase, among the main provinces, of 13.2 per cent in Assam, 2.6 in Bengal, 9 in Burma, 2.2 in Madras, 2.3 in N. W. F. Province, 5.6 in Punjab, and a decrease of 1.4 in Bihar and Orissa, 1.8 in Bombay Presidency, .1 in Central Provinces and Berar, and 2.6 in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Among the principal States and Agencies there has been an increase of 10.8 in Manipur, 4.4 in Baroda, 8.9 in Bengal States, 5.2 in Kashmir, 13.5 in Madras States (Cochin 6.6, Travancore 16.8), and 2.9 in Mysore, and a decrease of 2.2 in Central India Agency, 1.3 in Gwalior State, 6.9 in Hyderabad

State, 6.4 in Rajputana Agency, 7 in Sikkim State, and 4.6 in Central Provinces States.

Of the 28 Bengal Districts, including Calcutta, 18 show an increase, some only nominal, and ten a decrease. Of these last ten, 5 are in the Burdwan Division, three in the Presidency Division (both parts of West Bengal) and two in the Rajshahi Division. On the whole, there has been a decrease in the Burdwan Division, a nominal increase of .1 in the Presidency division, and increases in the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, which have a predominantly Musalman population. The most notable increase has been that of 12.9 per cent in Noakhali district, and the most deplorable decrease (of 10.5) in Bankura district, which was visited by two famines during the decade.

There has been an increase in all Assam districts.

In Bihar and Orissa, 6 districts show an increase and 15 show a decrease. Singbhum shows the highest increase of 9.5, and Angul the greatest decrease of 8.5. The Daspalla State, where there was a rising and great oppression during the decade, shows the appalling decrease of 39.5 per cent.

In Bombay Presidency 12 show an increase and 16 a decrease, the greatest increase being in Bombay suburban district (50.4) and the greatest decrease in Ahmednagar (22.5).

In Burma all 43 districts, except Arakan Hill district, Prome, and Chin Hills, show an increase.

In Central Provinces and Berar 9 districts show an increase and 13 a decrease.

In Madras 8 districts show a decrease and 19 an increase.

In Panjab 7 districts show a decrease and 23 an increase.

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the districts which show an increase are Dehra Dun, Meerut, Cawnpore (very slight), Jalaun (very small), Benares, Gorakhpur, Basti, Azamgarh, Almora, Garhwal, Gonda, Faizabad, and Bahraich, the remaining 35 districts showing a decrease.

Plague.

Plague probably arrived in Bombay in March 1896, though it became noticeable in September of that year; so that it has been in India for a quarter of a century—a standing demonstration of the prosperity and enlightenment of the people under “the most efficient administration” in the world. The latest plague figures supplied by the *Gazette of India* are for the week ending the 26th March, 1921. They show that it prevailed during that period in the provinces and states of Bombay, Madras, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, Panjab, Burma, Central Provinces and Berar, Mysore State, Hyderabad State and Rajputana. Bengal showed only 1 seizure and death in Calcutta. Assam was entirely free. Seizures totalled 3994 and deaths 3202 during the week.

A New Theory As To Man.

Count Korzybski is a Pole who comes of a family of mathematicians. What appears a brain-cracking problem in higher mathematics to the ordinary man, the Count treats as a simple problem in arithmetic. He has just written a book which sweeps aside all past conceptions regarding man's place in the universe. According to him,

Man is not a higher animal to whom has been added a touch of divinity. Man belongs in a class to himself. He is a human being born with a specific attribute which separates him from any of the other classes known to the human mind; he has the power to bind time.

The three definitions around which the material of the book is based are these: “Members of the plant or vegetable kingdom bind solar energy; members of the animal kingdom bind space; humans bind time.”

An elucidation of these definitions was given by Robert B. Wolf in a paper read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

“Korzybski,” he says, “who had ample opportunity to observe the destructive effects of commercial competition in Europe, concluded that man must have a wrong conception of the reason for his existence. The human standards seemed to be but little above the animal standards and the survival of the fittest naturally resulted. It was in the hope that he could find a fundamental distinction between the various

classes of life that he began his researches by studying the records of the past.

“He first turned his attention to the lowest form of organic life, the vegetable, and very soon found its main function to be the storing up of solar energy. The vegetable organism, which does not move about, but is attached to the earth, draws up through its roots the inorganic chemical substances from the earth and forms them into a cell in which the energy of the sun is confined. He therefore concluded that the function of the vegetable class of life is to bind solar energy. Coal, for instance, is of vegetable origin and in burning it we release sun power.

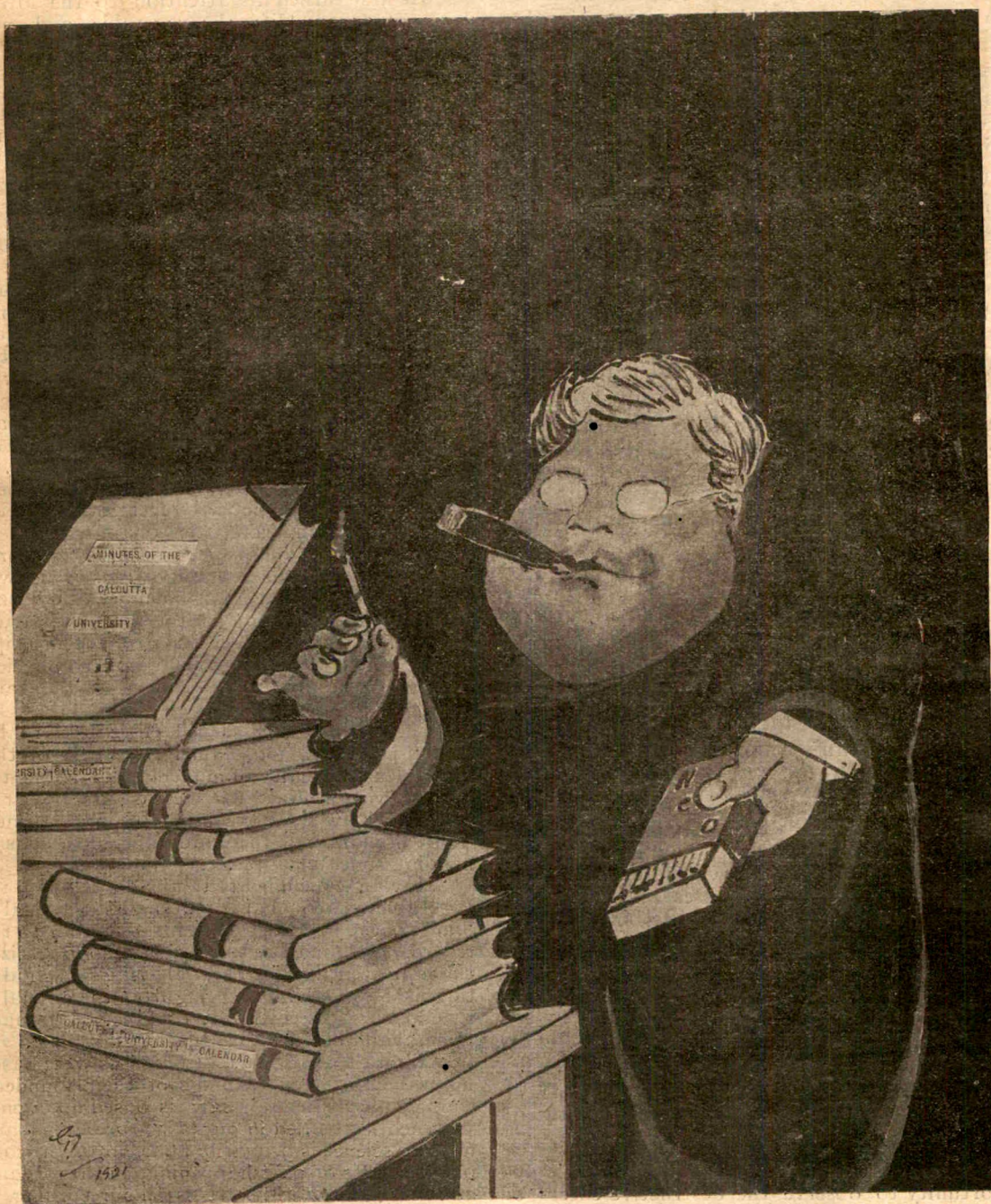
“He next directed his attention to the records of animal life and at once noted that the outstanding thing which distinguished it from the vegetable is its freedom to move about in space. The animal is more concerned with giving out energy than with storing up energy; in fact, it can be likened to a firearm by means of which vegetable energy is exploded.

“As all life proceeds by multiplication, i. e., geometrical progression, each species of animal life was soon in conflict with every other species. This animal characteristic of movement in space, of occupation of space, resulted, of course, in a struggle for self-preservation. This was especially true in an environment which stimulated rapid production of the species. Darwin observed this when he enunciated the principle of the survival of the fittest—no two physical bodies can occupy the same space at the same time.

“These observations led Korzybski to his second generalization, namely, because of this fundamental faculty of movement in space the animal was destined to increase its power of movement by its occupation of more space. The animal, he therefore concluded, was a ‘binding space’ class of life.

“Having concluded that the function of the vegetable was to ‘bind energy’ and the animal to ‘bind space’, he next turned his attention to the records of human activities. He soon realized that the outstanding characteristic which distinguishes the human being from the animal is its capacity to record past experiences, to make them available for future generations.

“All of the world's great religions were based upon the recorded teachings of their founders. Our whole system of law is based upon past precedents recorded in our law proceedings and modern science is primarily an accurate history of the results of past happenings in the organic and inorganic worlds. It is this recording of events in time which is a distinctly human faculty and through it man alone becomes conscious of the operation of the principles of causation, for without this power of recalling past events men could not have come to a realization of the absolute unchangeableness of natural law.



PROGRESSIVE SCREAM.

By the Courtesy of the Artist Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.



'VERSITY SCREAM—HELP! HELP!!

By the courtesy of the artist Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.

"This faculty of holding or fixing past events to make the knowledge of them a source of power for future generations is what Korzybski calls 'binding time.' His third generalization is that man is therefore a 'time-binding' class of life. The natural effects of this is that each succeeding generation of mankind is able to begin approximately where the preceding one left off, whereas in the animal world each succeeding generation is obliged to begin practically where the preceding one began."

The far-reaching effects of this new realization of human life is expressed by Korzybski in his conception of what human competition should be, namely, competition in time.

"'Survival of the fittest,' yes, but in time, not space. It is, he maintains, the application of space binding animal standards to the human being which is responsible for 'man's inhumanity to man.'"

"The World War was the logical result of animal emotions controlling the terrific power released by human intellect.

"Man, therefore, by the basic law of his nature is compelled to work for posterity. The animal is conscious of one dimension of time—the present. Man alone consciously uses all three—past, present and future. That is why real education by means of the true presentation of facts of the past is the only cure for wars; also why humanity must resist any dogmatic attempt to keep the individual in ignorance. Safety lies in a true evaluation of the past in order that present humanity can consciously create a future which will be in harmony with the universal creative purpose."

According to Mr. Korzybski, there is nothing new in the presentation of the fact that man has the power of rolling up time with all its accumulated facts and using that power in solving the problems of the present and the future. The novelty of his theory lies in the fact that it is this power of rolling up time or "binding time", as he calls it, which is the definitive characteristic of human beings.

"Functioning is the aim and purpose of life," he said in further explanation of his theory. "The function of plants, as I have explained, is to bind solar energy; the function of animals is to bind space. The fact that man can chemically bind solar energy does not make him a plant; the fact that he binds space or can fight for his place in the sun does not make him an animal. It is not what an object has in common with other objects that defines it or places it; it is what it possesses apart from other objects that classifies it. A solid has line quali-

ties, but a surface is not a line. In the same manner a man may have animal qualities, but that does not make him an animal.

"If man, as I say, is in a class all to himself whose function it is to bind time, how do I account for the Darwinian theory? That's easy. There is no conflict between the two. The evolution of man was from the ape to the human. But just as soon as the ape began to remember things, just as soon as he began using and improving upon the utensils that his father made, he passed for all time out of the animal class. He began binding time.

"The whole point of the matter is this: Man is born with a time-binding cell not possessed by any other organism of which we are now cognizant. Take a new-born child, place him in the wilderness, and he will begin binding time for his children. Place him in the midst of civilization and he will take up the work of binding time where it was left off by the former generation. He must do that. That is his natural law. That is his function.

"Take a new-born dog and place him in the wilderness. He will fight for his existence and nothing else. He will do what the first of his kind did in the wilderness. Place him in the midst of civilization and he is still an animal. He still fights for his preservation, for his place in the sun. Time means nothing to him,—the past, the present, the future. To him there is no connection other than the one of reproduction."

Cartoons in This Issue.

The Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Schemes suggested to Mr. Gogonendranath Tagore the idea of drawing a series of cartoons with the general title of Reform Screams [Sch(r)emes], bearing on political, social and educational topics. He has, with his usual courtesy and kindness, allowed us to reproduce some of these cartoons. "Scream" No. 1 is a cartoon illustrating the cry or scream that the *Mont-ford Reforms* mark the "Dawn of a New Era" in India. The cartoon has, therefore, been styled "Reform Dawn." The White Elephant, the Pair of Black and White Bullocks drawing the cart, the heavy burden of deficit, &c., will be easily understood. This cartoon, forming our frontispiece, we have reproduced in colours.

Another cartoon of the "Scream" series which we have reproduced in colours, is the Ministerial Scream or Cry, being the

demand of the ministers that they must have their 64,000 rupees per head per annum. The typical minister is represented as a typical extortionate Kabuli usurer who must have his handful of silver, else he will with his big stick break open the door of even the poor terrified widow with her frightened orphan boy in her arms and carry away whatever he may be able to lay his hands on. The red lamp burning is the *Lāl Buttee*, symbolical of bankruptcy.

The third cartoon is a social one. It is a sort of humorous reply to the Social Reformer's Cry that no dowry should be extorted by the bridegroom's parents from the bride's father; instead, the Soul Force of Love alone should be the compelling power behind marriages. It has been named by the Artist "Sold per Force versus Soul Force." He confronts the ideal of Soul-Force or love-marriages with the fact of mercenary marriages. This appears to be the significance of the title of the cartoon, "Sold per Force versus Soul Force." The figure in the foreground is the bridegroom, with a copy of *Romeo and Juliet* in his hands, in token of the fact that he is not a stranger to the sentiment of love. He was married once before, but his wife is just dead, and her body is covered with a sheet, pinned up with a butterfly. She was bride No. 1, and she became a wife on the strength of a heavy dowry which she brought with her. The pinning up with a butterfly will be readily understood in Bengal. *Prajapati* is a name of the god Brahma, who is the god of marriage; and that word also denotes a butterfly. Hence in Bengal the butterfly symbolises marriage. The bridegroom who has just lost his wife (who has not yet been cremated) applies his finger to one eye as if to wipe away a tear; but his mother consoles him with the prospect of a new bride (No. 2) just fished up from an earthen vessel with a hair-pin. The new bride is a mere child with the Bengali primer in her hand. Such a one is surely not fit to be the help-mate and life's companion of one who can appreciate *Romeo and Juliet*. But, though the female child carries an alphabet book in one hand,

she has a dowry in the other! The fishing up of a baby bride from an earthen pot is a humorous idea which will be fully appreciated in Bengal. For invalids in Bengal *Koi* and *Magur* fish, just killed before cooking, are sometimes prescribed. Therefore these fish are kept alive in earthen pots, and every day the necessary number is fished up from the pot for consumption. So the grim joke of the picture appears to be that when one wife has been consumed, another is being fished up for consumption—who knows when the process will end?

There are two more cartoons which we reproduce. They are politico-educational. One is called the Progressive Scream, the other the 'Varsity Scream. "The Progressive Scream" is a visual representation of the destructive side of "educational non-cooperation." "The 'Varsity Scream" is a cry of "Help, Help" to preserve the existing official system of education.

Kemal Pasha.

That the Turk is not an extinct volcano yet, has been demonstrated by the achievements of the Turkish Nationalist leader Kemal Pasha. His Government at Angora must be reckoned with. He is the *de facto* head of the Turkish nationality. In the portrait reproduced here from the *Literary Digest*, he does not look at all formidable and imposing—not, at any rate, as terrible and showy as an Anglo-Indian volunteer officer. Evidently there is more fiery spirit in him than phlegmatic fat and flesh.

"Satyagraha" at Mulshi Peta.

Under the Land Acquisition Act land may be acquired for a public purpose by giving adequate compensation to its owner or owners. But what is a "public purpose"? Any individual or company requiring land for an industrial purpose may contend with literal truth that it is for a public purpose because the produce of the industry in question may meet or create a public demand. But this does not seem to be an equitable and commonsense view of the law. A public purpose must be a purpose which is not mainly and directly the pecuniary gain of

an individual or a company. In any case, as there are industrialists abroad, keenly desirous of exploiting the resources of the country, an authoritative and equitable interpretation of the law has become an urgent necessity. The Tata Hydro-electric scheme at Mulshi Peta required the damming up of a river with the consequent submergence of 52 villages under water. It appears that the Bombay Government did not consult the Mavalas who live in and own the land in these villages, or their representatives, before sanctioning the acquisition of these villages by the Tatas under the Land Acquisition Act. The villagers repeatedly protested against such acquisition, but in vain. The committee of the Poona District Conference intervened to effect a compromise, but without success. The Mavalas then resolved upon Satyagraha as the only resource left. Wherever the work of the dam was begun or carried on, they lay prostrate, and the laborers engaged by the Tata Company refused to hurt them. Even when jets of hot water were made to flow over the bodies of the Satyagrahis, they did not budge. So the work has been at a standstill. As we are writing this Note at a small station away from Calcutta, the latest news available to us is contained in the following telegram dated, Poona City, April 21.

After the meeting at Poona of the representatives of the Tata Company and the leaders of the Mavalas, regarding the Mulshi Peta Works, the Collector of Poona wrote to the Satyagraha Sahayak Mandal to the effect that the Government was prepared to do its utmost to find land as compensation for expropriated ryots and further that the Government has declared that their policy regarding the Mulshi Peta scheme, was first, that the work was to be carried out, second, that the Government would spare no efforts to find land for those who wished to settle elsewhere and third, that extremely liberal compensation would be given to those who wished to take cash.

Messrs. Paranjpe, Bhopatkar, Gokhale, Kavade, Dr. Phatak proceeded to Mulshi to-day where a meeting of the Mavalas was held under the presidency of Prof. Paranjpe. Mr. Bhopatkar translated the Collector's letter literally to them.

The same was explained to them by the President who adjourned the meeting for an hour to give them time to consider the matter. The meeting reassembled at 12 noon. The President asked them to give their opinion as to whether they were ready to accept land in exchange or money as compensation or they would retain their present lands. Votes were taken and none voted for the first two alternatives. They emphatically and unanimously declared that they would not part with their lands under any circumstances.

The work on the dam has not yet been resumed.

If the villagers had been consulted at the very beginning and the terms now offered were then proposed, it is probable that they would have been accepted. But both the Government and the Tata Company seem to have contemptuously ignored the existence of the Mavalas. We do not think the attitude of the Mavalas is unreasonable. But even the unreasonable attitude of humble folk who stoutly fight for their rights, encroached upon by power and wealth, cannot but extort admiration and respect.

We do not appreciate the Government declaring its policy to be "first, that the work was to be carried out." That is a sort of ultimatum which cannot but stiffen the back of men of spirit. Suppose the Mavalas do not finally agree, will Government order these Satyagrahis to be removed by force, and order or connive at some little shooting for the purpose? That would be promoting a public purpose with a vengeance. Suppose, after force has been used upon or against the Mavalas, the labourers at the dam refuse to work; will forced labour be resorted to?

Government should proceed in a more conciliatory manner, and declare, not that it will do its utmost to find land for expropriated ryots, but that it will *guarantee* that land of equal value and extent will be found for expropriated ryots.

"Ladies Told to Abandon Family Life."

Last month we read in the *Indian Daily News* that Mr. Abbas Tyabjee addressing the ladies of Bezvada "gave Mr. Gandhi's message appealing for one crore of rupees to the 'Swarajya' fund before June 13 next and one crore of men to become members of the Congress. Every house, he said, should have a spinning wheel, and the ladies should relieve the men of their domestic anxiety and free them to work for their country. He exhorted them to take a vow not to lead a family life till 'Swaraj' was established." We cannot commend the last bit of exhortation. If any such advice must be given, it should be addressed to both husband and wife simultaneously. Moreover, apart from the soundness of the advice or otherwise, it is only women who ought to advise women in a matter like this.

Reduction of Armaments.

According to the *Literary Digest*, the navies of England, United States and Japan may be classed as follows :

| | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| Great Britain | ... 808,200 tons. |
| United States | ... 467,250 " |
| Japan | ... 319,140 " |

According to the naval programme laid down by the powers, their naval strength will be as follows in 1924 :

| | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| United States | ... 1,117,850 tons. |
| Great Britain | ... 808,200 " |
| Japan | ... 543,140 " |

The nations are all groaning under the burden of armaments. The more 'civilised' and powerful a nation is, the heavier the burden. Therefore, there has arisen the cry for the reduction of armaments. In Asia, Japan alone has a navy worth mentioning. Some of her statesmen want to join in the cry for "the naval holiday." But Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, one of the elder statesmen, is not exactly of the same mind. He gives his views in the Japanese periodical named *Taikwan*, from which they have been translated in a condensed form by the *Japan Magazine*. The Marquis does not favour unconditional disarmament, but hopes that Japan will follow this policy after England and America have led the way. He begins by asking, to whom we should naturally look for peace proposals? "Is it not to the strong rather than to the weak?"

The Marquis says :—

Nowadays the rapid advance of communication and transportation facilities has made the world seem smaller, just as the inaccessible regions in Japan are now brought nearer by the aid of science. We can circumnavigate the globe in a month and learn the news of the world from the printed page in a moment. Only spiritual progress is slow, especially advance in international morality. The desire for universal peace was stimulated by the experiences of the recent great war, yet we doubt whether disarmament can become general and we can welcome the ideal heaven and earth of an era of peace.

In this connection the resolution by Senator Borah of the United States to reduce armaments seems like a gleam of hope. Recently an international press correspondent called on me and asked my opinion of the proposal. I replied in brief that England and America should take the lead and that then no doubt Japan would consider a similar step.

Before the war there were eight great Powers, three of them naval Powers, England, Germany, and America. Germany, Austria and Russia are now in a desperate or at least struggling position and the two great naval nations are England and America. Now what is the Borah proposal? It is not very definite, but if it

contemplates a reduction of one-third or one-half, Japan and Italy, being in financial straits, will gladly follow in their steps. Hence I repeat, if the world sincerely desires peace let the strongest nations make the first move. The weaker nation cannot initiate the movement, as to do so would be tantamount to unconditional surrender.

To be sure the weaker nation can use its armaments only as a threat but being so weak it cannot disregard armaments altogether. The nation which has greater defences cannot demand that the weaker nation disarm first. If the strong have no aggressive designs, they do not need so powerful a fleet for defence merely. That Japan and Italy have no aggressive designs is proved by the weakness of their respective fleets. To be sure, Japan's 8-8 program may sound big, but compared with England and America, it is not even one-half as large. Hence Japan has only the minimum, and cannot begin to reduce. By all means let England and America begin. That will be the one short method of securing world peace, and Japan will delightedly welcome such an arrangement.

No one can deny the fact that the world is spending immense sums on armaments and is feeling severe financial embarrassment on account of this enormous expenditure. At a time when the nations are suffering serious financial depression after a war extending through nearly five consecutive years, and when provision for the national defence can hardly be made even with the utmost effort, how does Japan feel about this matter? We are indeed not strong either financially or economically, yet we cannot neglect our national defences even for a day, since we are as dependent upon these for existence as a bird upon beak and spurs or an animal upon teeth and claws. Hence the minimum of defence must be maintained even in the face of financial difficulties, to protect ourselves from stronger nations.

Child Mortality Committee in Bengal.

The Government of Bengal (Ministry of Local Self-Government) have constituted a permanent committee, consisting of the following members, to recommend measures for the prevention of child mortality in Bengal :— Sir Nilratan Sircar ; Rai Haridhan Dutt Bahadur ; Dr. S. K. Mallik ; Professor of Midwifery, Medical College, Calcutta (ex-officio) ; Dr. Kedar Nath Das ; and Dr. Hasan Suhrawardy. The Committee will elect their own President and Secretary.

Some good will be done, if the sanitary and hygienic recommendations of the Committee, when made, be given effect to, if the number of trained midwives and nurses can be rapidly multiplied, and if their services can be had gratis by all but the well-to-do. But the social changes which are required for saving mothers and infants are not easy to bring about, as even our "educated" men are either not given to thinking on such subjects, or not

convinced, or are victims of moral cowardice. Another most important factor is the economic condition of the people. Poverty kills more mothers and infants than Government and well-to-do people have any idea of. Strenuous efforts should be made to improve the material condition of the people. And then, what recommendations will the Committee make on the subject of the supply of pure milk at a reasonable price? Lastly, the Committee should recommend that steps be taken to impart general and sanitary education to the grand-mothers and mothers of infants yet unborn.

Revision of Famine Code.

Last month Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillay moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council for the revision of the Famine Code of 1914, after prompt and necessary enquiry regarding wages and allowances in general with a particular reference to the affected areas, the basis of conversion of the grain, the conditions enforced in the test works, the case of the dependents of the labourers during the test-period, to the circumstances required to convert the test into relief works, the classification of labour, and such other cognate matters, so as to make Government relief timely and effective.

He made a powerful speech in support of his resolution. The provisions for famine relief should be revised with reference to all provinces. Famine rations are insufficient.

The officers always give a fraction less than the fraction provided in the Famine Code and never a fraction more. When in Bengal there was a famine and when Sir Richard Temple was in charge of it, he was very liberal in giving rations. He gave one and a half pounds of rice. Then the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State, said: "Give a fraction more and never a fraction less." But somehow or other when the question comes to be considered at the table surrounded by the commissioners they reduce the scale and increase the task.

I can give instance after instance in order to show that the diet mentioned in the Code is insufficient. I challenge the Hon'ble Member on the other side if he can dispute any of the points raised about the test works. In the ordinary test works they went to make them most unattractive to the villagers. What do they do. They give additional work to the standard work and the women and men have to break stones under a scorching sun. Even after the famine was declared the Government have not taken away the additional task. They have to walk a distance of four miles and five miles and sometimes six miles from their places of residence before they reach the works. What do they do there, Sir? The Hon'ble Member replied the other day that there were avenue trees,

They break stones just by the road-side. In many places there are no avenue trees. I picked some sample stones which could not be broken.

After these stones are broken they are heaped on one side, and no allowance is made for rejected stones. They say that the workers should be very careful in picking these stones. Among these workers there are Lingayats, there are Muhammadans, and there are Kurubas who would never come out of their villages unless they are driven by dire poverty and distress. All these people are not paid sufficient wages and are not taken care of sufficiently. No doubt many male member run away from their homes to seek work elsewhere, but their womenfolk and children remain at home until they return. They have not sufficient wages given to them for their hard work. Some of these people may be engaged in digging wells which may be more profitable. Breaking stones on the road-side is a very hard work, especially for women and children. Children of 10 years of age are made to work. The rules about these works should be revised.

Progress of Non-co-operation.

At the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bezvada, Mr. Gandhi made a speech in proposing the first resolution, which ran:

(1) In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee all Congress organizations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon:

(a) Bringing the All-India Tilak Memorial "Swaraj" Fund to one crore of rupees and before 30th June next each Congress Province should collect in ratio of its population.

(b) Putting in the Congress registers one crore of members in pursuance of the constitution and before 30th June next each province should contribute a number of members in ratio of its population.

(c) Introducing into villages and houses 20 lakhs of 'Charkas', (spinning wheels) in good working order and before 30th June next each province to introduce a number of Charkas in ratio of its population.

All the proposals are constructive, and no objections can be urged against them on moral or legal grounds.

The Standard Bearer, the organ of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's followers, observes after prolonged experience of the working of the spinning wheel that in its present crude condition its use cannot be considered an economic proposition. Of course as a second string to the bow for families of small means, or as a useful employment even for women of well-to-do families who now waste their leisure, it may be recommended, though it is possible to suggest more productive employment. As penance for self-purification also, it may be recommended.

We do not mean to say that the spinning wheel should not be used until it has been so

improved as to be able to compete economically with power-driven spinning machinery; what we mean is that it is necessary so to improve it that it may yield a living wage, as the improved hand-loom yields a living wage, though it cannot compete with power-looms. Labour unions are sure in course of time to compel mill-owners to materially increase the wages of mill operatives and reduce their hours of work. They will also compel the mill-owners to tackle the housing problem and improve the general conditions of work. All this will increase the cost of production in mills. Thus in future there is a possibility of the difference in the prices of machine-made and hand-made goods being not so great as it is at present. It is contemptible foppery to bring forward the objection that hand-woven cloth made of hand-spun yarn is coarse and thick. To the self-respecting lover of his country it is very beautiful.

The following summary of Mr. Gandhi's speech on the first resolution has appeared in the dailies :—

He pointed out that in respect of those aspects of the propaganda upon which they had so far concentrated, namely, the giving up of titles, councils, educational institutions, and courts, there was no need for the further concentration thereof and Mr. Gandhi considered that the success already achieved therein was in every way satisfactory. Whatever be the number of students who had given up their colleges or of the lawyers who had given up practice, the Congress had achieved the real object of the propaganda, namely the demolition of the prestige of these institutions of the bureaucratic Government of this country. He therefore pointed out that in order to achieve the programme of Swaraj within the time mentioned in the Nagpur Congress Resolution, they should now concentrate upon those parts of it which would directly lead the masses of this country to its realisation. The awakening of the masses was phenomenal and while the masses were fully alive to the urgent need of the realisation of Swaraj, the leaders were lagging behind. It was therefore necessary to give form and shape to the aspirations of the masses. Their aspirations for Swaraj were based upon the very definite perception that without Swaraj their condition could not improve and the direct means of improving their condition was to enable them to clothe and feed themselves. It was for this purpose that he felt the Charka movement full of the utmost potentialities in the winning of Swaraj.

It would immediately have the effect of making them feel that they were no longer dependent on foreigners for their livelihood and progress. It would also effect the complete economic boycott of the most important of the foreign imports of this country. If this was achieved Swaraj could be considered to have been realised. If, as the resolution insisted, one crore of rupees was collected before 30th June, as he was quite hopeful it would be, and one crore of the man-

hood and womanhood of the country are registered as Congressmen there could be no more patent proof of the fitness of the people for Swaraj than of their ability to achieve it through the Congress organization.

On the constructive part of the speech we have no criticism to offer; rather we heartily support what has been said—subject, of course, to the observations we have already made on the use of the *charka*. But when Mr. Gandhi said that he considered the success already achieved in respect of the giving up of titles, councils, educational institutions and courts "was in every way satisfactory," we cannot cry ditto. "Satisfactory" is a relative term, and unless one knows what kind or amount of success was expected when the propaganda was started, one cannot judge whether the success achieved has been satisfactory. We do not think the results have been satisfactory. But as the chief propagandist and his followers are satisfied, we, who never supported some items of the programme, have no reason to complain. We will only add "that the prestige of these institutions of the bureaucratic government of this country," *viz.*, courts, councils, schools and colleges, has not been *demolished*, though it is undoubtedly true that their prestige has been *diminished*.

Other Resolutions of the Congress Committee.

The second resolution was to the following effect :—

(a) All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that officials in various provinces against non-co-operators in pursuit of a policy of repression are totally unwarranted by the situation in the country and are in most cases pronounced by highest legal opinion to be illegal.

(b) Whilst the committee believes that the country has responded in a wonderful manner and in the face of grave provocation by Government to the principle of non-violence enjoined by the Congress in the country's pursuit after 'Swaraj' and the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

(c) This Committee is of opinion that apart from the fact that civil disobedience is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolutions relating to non-co-operation, the country is not yet sufficiently disciplined, organised and ripe for the immediate taking up of civil disobedience.

(d) This committee by way of preparation therefore advises all those upon whom orders may be served voluntarily to conform to them and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by Government and that people at large instead of becoming disheartened or frightened by such orders will continue their work according to the quiet organisation and construction sketched by Congress resolution.

Though the wording of a portion would have been more to our liking if it had been more restrained and subdued, considering that it was a resolution, not a speech appealing to emotion, we support this resolution. As regards

Civil Disobedience,

Mr. Gandhi pointed out :

How wonderfully the people had conformed to non-violence even under grave provocation. Nevertheless, he felt that the Committee should not recommend civil disobedience suggested in the form which was understood by those who advocated it. He thought it was true that the non-payment of taxes was one form of civil disobedience contemplated by the Congress resolutions, yet it was not initiated as a part of the programme of civil disobedience against the Government in respect of particular laws or orders, lawful or otherwise. The scheme of civil disobedience which he had practised in South Africa and developed his own mind was one which could not yet be put into operation. If the country was organised and restrained so thoughtfully as he desired, it would then be time enough to put into operation. As it was, he considered that notwithstanding the great progress of non-violence among the people, there was still an element of what he would, for want of a better term, call mob law, not in the wrong sense, but in the idea that the people had not yet so thoroughly disciplined themselves the restraint that was needed, when their dearest wishes were violated or when their great leaders were snatched away to prison under most provocative circumstances. Until therefore, they were able to self-control themselves perfectly, they should not initiate civil disobedience. Of course he was glad to note that the people were on a fair way to it. If any person took upon himself the responsibility of offering civil disobedience to particular orders or laws, which he conscientiously thought he could not obey, as for example in the case of Mr. Yakub Hasan, he was at liberty to do so, but he might do so only on his own responsibility and not in the name of the Congress.

The matter and manner of this speech was unexceptionable.

The third resolution was to the following effect :—

(3) All-India Congress Committee congratulates the country on the rapid progress made in the organization of 'Panchayats' and trusts that people will make still greater efforts to boycott Government Law Courts.

As in our opinion the progress made in the organization of panchayats has not been rapid, which, however, is a relative term, the appeal and exhortation to the people made in the resolution are more important and worthy of attention than the congratulation.

The fourth resolution ran as follows :—

(4) This Congress Committee congratulates the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification underlying the movement of non-

violent non-co-operation by taking up the campaign against the drink evil and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by persistent and continued efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

We give unstinted and unqualified support to this resolution. We strongly condemn the official attitude against the anti-drink campaign. Drink must go. Government must be prepared to do without that part of its revenue which is derived from the debasement and disabling of the people. The despicable Indian sycophants of the bureaucracy who are ferreting out passages from old Sanskrit works to support drink must know that the experience and moral sentiment of our forefathers embodied in the old Dharma Shastras which lay down that wine is not to be given, not to be drunk and not to be accepted and which class drinking among the great sins (mahāpātakāni), are, in this matter, better guides than passages from poems and mythology.

We deplore and cannot understand the conduct of those Indian journals which continue to print advertisements of liquors for the sake of what is, in this case, literally *filthy* lucre.

Repression.

Will Government answer some questions to its own satisfaction? Supposing all the men who are now being prosecuted in different parts of the country have broken the law as it is, why are they doing so and thereby bringing suffering upon themselves and on their families? What sustains them in cheerfully undergoing suffering? Why do the people acclaim them as heroes? Is it certain that all these persons, the sufferers and the people, are misguided and the bureaucrats alone are right? What does history say?

Is force a remedy? Does history say that it has ever been a remedy?

Is not the fact that repression has been considered necessary, in itself a clear condemnation of the administration? Whatever bureaucrats may think, human nature ordinarily prefers ease and happiness to suffering, and when people prefer suffering to selfish ease and happiness, they do so in view of some ulterior good. It is perfectly foolish to say and believe that the agitators are misleading the people. If the people be well-fed and strong, can agitators make them believe that they are hungry and weak? If

they be sufficiently clothed, can agitators persuade them to think that they are naked or ragged? If they are decently housed, can agitators make them believe that they live in pig-sties or in the open? If they do not fall a prey to epidemics, if they receive medical aid in sickness, can agitators persuade them to believe that they die like flies of epidemics and endemics, without medical aid? If the people be educated, can agitators make them believe that they are illiterate? If they are treated with ordinary courtesy and justice, if they are not oppressed and insulted, if they can lead self-respecting lives, can agitators make them believe that they are oppressed, insulted and treated like slaves? If the people have powers of initiative and control in the affairs of their country, can agitators deceive them into the belief that they are a disinherited and enslaved people?

If the agitators can do all these things, they must be possessed of wonderful powers and the sooner the bureaucracy come to terms with them the better. But the truth is, as Bacon perceived long ago, "sedition" cannot be stirred up unless there be matter for sedition, and that the most effective, in fact the only effective way to combat sedition is to remove the matter, the underlying causes of sedition.

No class of persons, not even the bureaucracy, should ever lose sight of the fact, that, neither the powers that be nor agitators can fool all of the people all the time, though it may be possible to fool some of them for some time.

Village Organisations.

The cry "Back to the villages," was not an invention of Non-co-operators. It was an old cry; how old need not be discussed. And it was not a mere cry. Village work, on a small scale, has been going on for years. Non-co-operators wanted the services of non-co-operating students to organise and do village work. Some students and teachers, though small in numbers, have already begun this work. At the recent conference of Liberals or Moderates in Calcutta, great stress was laid on village work. That was good so far as it went.

If all parties be in earnest, there is a possibility of all of them undertaking social service in villages. There is no harm in placing on record an obvious suggestion,

though it has most probably already occurred to the organisers and workers of all parties. It is, that, either the workers of one party should not go to work in a village where the other party is already at work, or, where feasible and necessary, both parties should work harmoniously, avoiding overlapping and friction. It may be a counsel of perfection, difficult to follow, but it is true that there should not be jealousies and rivalries and party quarrels in a work of loving service.

And, though not workers ourselves, may we remind village workers that they should be able to do without the incentive of being in the lime-light? It was excusable in the first flush of excitement to publish the names and letters (to headmasters or principals) of non-co-operating students; but hankering after celebrity can never supply motive power for any great work. That must come from a higher and deeper source. The more one gets accustomed to work as only in the great task-master's eye, the better for him.

Ministers' Salaries.

It was not British rule which introduced the payment of enormous remunerations to officers of the State, while the vast mass of public servants and of the people have to be content with very small incomes. This disproportion between the incomes of the few and the many existed in pre-British periods, too. British rule introduced the further disproportion between the incomes of indigenous officials and foreign officials. But as we cannot have enough money for the most vital concerns of the people—economic development, education, sanitation, etc., unless we economise in all other directions, big salaries must be cut down. We must accustom ourselves to the idea that officials are *really* servants of the people; that is the underlying idea of *national* government. So, if some unpaid servants of the people agree to become *paid* servants, they must accept office on the understanding that such office is not lucrative work like commerce, industry, or some of the learned professions, but that it will pay just enough to meet indispensably necessary expenses. The salaries paid to officials in Japan are based on these principles. The Japanese understand that to accept office is not one of

the ways to "get rich quick". One of the reasons why the national government of Japan has been able to spend so much money for the education of the people and the development of agriculture, industries and commerce, is that official salaries in Japan are very moderate. In this respect, we must make Japan our model.

The reason why the salaries of Indian ministers have been subjected to so much criticism and not those of others, is that the people's representatives appeared to be given some power to fix their scale.

Let us compare some Japanese figures with Indian figures. The population of Japan proper in 1918 was less than 57 millions, the population of British India in March, 1921, was 247 millions, or, roughly, more than four times that of Japan. The total budgeted revenue of India (*after borrowing 19 crores of rupees*) in 1921-22 is 129 crores of rupees; or, in other words, we are able to pay a little more than 5 rupees per head. The total revenue of Japan according to the budget for 1920-21 was 158 crores of rupees in round numbers; or in other words, the Japanese are able to pay more than 27 rupees per head. That shows that they are a richer people than the Indians.

However, a nation having national revenues amounting to 158 crores of rupees per annum, pays its prime minister Rs. 18750 per annum, and other ministers Rs. 12000 per head per annum. Therefore, if our Indian ministers had been All-India ministers, their salaries should not have exceeded the Japanese salaries; for our revenue amounts to 129 crores, as against the 158 crores of Japan. But the Japanese ministers have to manage both the internal and the external affairs of a Great Power, whereas our ministers are only provincial officials entrusted with some portfolios relating only to *internal and provincial* matters. This shows still more conclusively that our ministers' salaries should not exceed those of Japan. What makes our contention absolutely uncontestable is that Japan pays her ministers out of a total revenue of 158 crores; but out of what total revenues do our provinces pay the ministers Rs. 64000 per head per annum? Not out of 129 crores, for that is the All-India revenue, but out of the total revenues of each separate province. We have

not at present before us the budget figures of our provinces, but we think we can safely state that no province has a yearly revenue exceeding 16, or 18, or 20 crores. So it comes to this, that Japan pays its prime minister Rs. 18750 out of a total revenue of 158 crores, and the bigger Indian provinces pay their ministers Rs. 64000 out of total revenues which are one-eighth or one-tenth (or less) of that of Japan.

As for population, the most populous British Indian province is Bengal with a population of 46 millions. The population of Japan proper is 57 millions and that of the Japanese empire is 77 millions. Therefore, the Japanese ministers have to manage the *internal and external* affairs of a larger population than the Indian ministers of any British Indian province entrusted merely with *some of the internal affairs* of the people.

Having in previous issues discussed some other points raised in connection with this subject, we do not repeat our observations thereupon.

Vocational Education.

The Conference of high school teachers which Sir Asutosh Mukherjee as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has convened for the purpose of considering the question of vocational education is a timely move. It is an old problem. Its importance struck many Indians afresh when all of a sudden the majority of college students in Bengal left their colleges in pursuance of the principle of "Non-co-operation". They did not want to study the University courses and appear at University examinations. The editor of this Review then wrote to some newspapers and college principals suggesting that arrangements should be made for the vocational education of those students who did not want University certificates or degrees; and the idea may have struck others also. There is no reason why vocational courses should not form optional parts of University curricula, too.

The question of vocational education has been under the consideration of Mr. Prabhas Chandra Mitra, Minister in charge of Education, for some months

past. We also understand that a Bengali educational officer of the Imperial Service submitted a note on the subject to his official superior some months ago.

The fact that so many persons have been thinking alike, shows that it is a live issue which the Vice-Chancellor has resolved to tackle. It is to be hoped that there will be full and unfettered discussion, that only practical suggestions will be made, that all suggestions will be considered on their merits, that the conference will not end in mere discussion, and that no cut and dried scheme has been already resolved upon.

In this connection, it is important to know and consider what is done in other countries and with what result. The Sloyd system of Norway and Sweden deserves to be studied and adapted to our country. It is a good preparation for technical education. Sister Nivedita once told us that Mr. Bhabha, then Inspector General of Education in Mysore, knew more about it than any other Indian. Information on the subject may be obtained from the Mysore education department. The system of education in vogue in the Philippines is excellent. It is a harmonious combination of the academic, physical and vocational sides of education. We gave an account of it in this Review some years ago—perhaps in 1917 (we are writing at a distance from our office library). In the present issue, some extracts on the subject are to be found in the Foreign Periodicals section. Full information should be obtained from the Director of Education, Manila, Philippine Islands.

The 7 per cent Sterling Loan.

About the new £7½ million Government of India sterling loan, Reuter has cabled as follows :—

London, April 21.

The Bank of England has issued the prospectus of the Government of India seven per cent. loan. The loan is issued at par in stock or bearer bonds, mutually convertible without fee.

The Bonds will be in denominations of £50, £100, £500, and £1,000 sterling. The list closes on April 26.

Bonds will be repayable in 1926 at 102, or in 1931 at par, and are convertible into India three per cents. on the basis of £202 in 1922, and £200 in 1923.—“Reuter.”

A later message says that the Indian Government loan list, which opened in the morning closed at three o'clock in the afternoon. It is understood that the loan has been over-subscribed. There has been a great rush for prospectuses, and the Bank of England supply was exhausted before noon.

London, April 22.

There is an extraordinary rush for the Government of India seven per cent loan. The lists closed after a few hours. The banks were so inundated with applications that the supplies of forms ran out. The firms hastily bought up newspapers in which the prospectus was printed.—“Reuter.”

According to an Associated Press Message,

The Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau, Bombay, have sent a telegram to the Government of India protesting against the arbitrary issue in England of the 7 per cent. Sterling Loan with the option of conversion as ruinous to Indian interest. The committee anticipate a disastrous effect on the value of Rupee Securities in India and think that the prospects of issuing a new Rupee Loan at reasonable rates have been prejudiced by the action of the Secretary of State. The Committee suggest that no loans in England should be issued at a higher rate than in India and that the Indian rupee investor should have preference to invest on identical terms.

The Bombay merchants are quite right. They are perfectly justified in protesting in the way they have done. The Government of India should not go abroad for a loan until it has been proved that Indian capitalists cannot lend the amount required. Indians have the first claim on the interest to be paid out of Indian revenues for loans taken by the Government of India. Seeing that the big war loans were fully subscribed in India, there is every reason to believe that India could have supplied the £7½ millions, if the loan had been issued here. The interest, too, is very high. It is very iniquitous that India should be milked and bled in all possible ways.

The Indian Daily News writes :—

The new 7 per cent. sterling loan is a bit of a puzzle,..... Mr. Hailey promised Bombay that India would not borrow at over six per cent. and we leave it to casuists to say whether this seven per cent. loan is within the promise or

not. He did not say he would not borrow in England, but no one anticipated more sterling loans after the experiences of the last fifty years. However, there is 7½ million sterling in London and a grand opportunity for more Reverse Councils and more Currency experiments. Meanwhile, Mr. Hailey fences with the question, "Who suggested last year's sales of Reverse Councils?" Probably the same financial gang that have started this new loan. The Secretary of State has given up lending like Lord Morley India's crores at half per cent. to favourite Banks after that little business was exposed. But the ways of getting hold of India's money are Protean.... Apparently someone is very anxious to lend India money in spite of the views of Lords Amptthill and Sydenham....

Police Rule.

We read in the *Indian Daily News* that Mr. Moore, a Sheriff's officer, has written a book on "The Sheriffs of Calcutta", in which occurs the following passage on police rule:—

"There is something bearable and often noble in a military despotism under which many nations have grown to greatness and possibly to happiness. But the rule of the policeman is the negation of all that makes life bearable. It is often mean and always provocative: when it reaches the Imperial and political pattern, it is certain to end in the destruction of the fools who adopt it and whose Government it is meant to preserve."

We have had police rule, for how long a period we cannot recollect. But that it is very provocative and mischievous, all except Sir Henry Wheeler and his followers and co-thinkers will agree. Of course, police rule may have its redeeming feature, too; it may, like Falstaff, be the cause of humour in others. For, Policemen were the *bunder-log* in the revolutionary cryptic slang of Barin Ghose and his colleagues.

Mr. Hornell's Bengal Educational Report.

From extracts in the papers from Mr. Director Hornell's report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1919-20, we gather some interesting information. Institutions and pupils have on the whole increased, but the increase is small. Of the total number of pupils in all classes of institutions 16,11,175 were males and 3,42,734 females. This disparity in the

numbers of male and female pupils is one of the causes of our backwardness and of our having to lead a double life. The vast majority of girl pupils are in the primary stage.

Of the total expenditure of Rs. 3,01,92,891 on public instruction Rs. 1,00,05,332 came from public revenues, Rs. 15,44,723 from District and Municipal funds, and Rs. 1,86,42,836 from fees and other private sources. Whatever the source, the money ultimately comes from our pockets. Still it is noteworthy that the parents and guardians of the pupils *directly pay more than half the expenses of their education*. So our children are not charity boys and girls educated at the expense of the Anglo-Indian Government as some Anglo-Indians have repeatedly asserted.

There were 33 arts colleges for men and only 3 for women. Regarding the only Government college for women in Bengal, we read:

The Bethune College and the Collegiate School have for many years been seriously cramped for accommodation. To remove the congestion Government have sanctioned a scheme for the construction of temporary class rooms, and these rooms are now being used. The College needs further development and reorganisation but the question has been held in abeyance pending the consideration of the report of the Calcutta University Commission.

This is amusing and annoying in addition to being deplorable. Even before the *appointment* of the Calcutta University Commission, the Bethune College improvement and expansion schemes had been held in abeyance year after year on some pretext or other. There is no cheering or alarming prospect of Bengali women developing suffragettist tendencies and breaking the Director's windows, and the *beau ideal* (or is it *belle ideal*?) of "educated" Bengal (*vide* Calcutta University Commission Report) continues to be the submissive illiterate domestic drudge. So you need not hurry up, Mr. Hornell.

Of collegiate students 18,745 were Hindus and 2,332 Musalmans. As the latter are a majority of the entire population, this difference is regrettable.

The greater part of the expenditure on arts colleges comes from fees and other private sources.

The total number of secondary schools and pupils have decreased, which is to be regretted.

The total number of primary schools and pupils have increased to a small extent.

Of the total direct expenditure on primary schools, 48.9 per cent. came from public funds and 51.1 from private sources.

Of the total number of pupils in primary schools for Indian boys, 5,32,104 were Hindus and 5,98,507 were Musalmans.

The proportion of Muhammadan pupils to the total number of pupils in schools rose from 46.4 per cent. to 47.3 per cent. The proportion of Moslem students in arts colleges rose from 10 per cent. to 10.8 per cent.; in professional colleges it remained almost stationary, i.e., at 8 per cent.; in high schools it declined slightly from 20.1 per cent. to 20.09 per cent.; in middle schools the proportion declined from 31.1 per cent. to 30.5 per cent.; in primary schools it rose from 51.4 per cent. to 52.6 per cent.; and in special schools from 64.6 per cent. to 64.9 per cent. The progress in the year under review is in fact, confined to the sphere of primary education. In primary schools the proportion of Moslem pupils is now commensurate with the ratio of the Muhammadan population to the total population of the Bengal Presidency.

Muhammadan education in Bengal is thus, comparatively speaking, sufficiently broad-based; the superstructure needs to be attended to.

The number of public institutions of all classes for Indian girls on the 31st March 1920 increased to 11,543. Of these, 3 were arts colleges, 2 training colleges, 13 high schools, 54 middle schools, 11,366 primary schools, 10 training schools and 95 other special schools.

The number of pupils, including girls reading in mixed schools, increased from 3,07,773 to 3,23,992, or by 16,219. Of this number, 1,49,088 were Hindus, 1,66,843 were Muhammadans and 8,061 belonged to other communities. It will be noticed that while the number of Hindu girls increased by 229 only, that of Muhammadan girls increased by 15,759.

The relatively greater progress of education among Musalman girls must raise the Muhammadan community in the esteem of all right thinking persons. Hindus can-

not be congratulated on their backwardness in this respect.

Though Government has not yet paid adequate attention to the education of girls and women and though its indifference is to be strongly condemned, Mr. Hornell is right in pointing out that social and domestic prejudices are still retarding causes. A great obstacle is *purdah*, making the cost of conveyances a prohibitive drag on girls' schools and colleges.

The average cost of educating a college student was Rs. 107-12-2 for the year. The similar cost per secondary school pupil was Rs. 25-3-3, and Rs. 3-8-1 per primary school pupil. The average cost per primary school during the year was Rs. 106-15-3. There are then, it will be evident, thousands among us who can singly maintain a primary school, and tens of thousands who can each bear the cost of educating a child in a primary school, in addition to educating their own children. But how many of us do our duty to the community?

Lucky Dr. Watson.

It is said, Dr. E. R. Watson, Principal of the Research and Technical Institute, Cawnpore, has been appointed to the post of Director of Research, Dacca University, on a monthly salary of Rs. 2500. Isn't that splendid? We mean from the viewpoint of him who has got the job. This prodigal waste of money makes one sick. And then is Dr. Watson a greater researcher than Sir P. C. Ray, or some of his pupils, say, Dr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh of "Ghose's Law" fame, who is to be a professor on a much lower salary?

. Compulsory Bible Teaching.

In the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, our Hindu countrymen began long ago to discuss the necessity of a conscience clause for their children attending Christian missionary schools and colleges, by availing themselves of which they might avoid the compulsory Bible classes of those institutions, and they are at it still. Even some eminent Christian Missionaries themselves are opposed to the principle of compulsion as being unchristian. For

instance, in discussing the question, "Does or does not a 'full Christian education' necessarily include compulsory Bible teaching as at present?" the *Indian Social Reformer* says :—

Dr. Fraser holds that such teaching is not only not necessary, but that it is opposed to Christ's religion, and, therefore, to Christian education. The Bombay Board does not evidently accept that view. But it does not tell us what its own view is. When so eminent an educational Missionary as Dr. Fraser, speaking from his long experience, condemns in unequivocal terms the practice of compulsory Bible teaching as un-Christian and even as conducive to produce an anti-Christian bias in non-Christian students, it is clearly necessary for the Board to be more explicit in the expression of its views. We think that there is a vastly higher sphere of usefulness for educational institutions conducted by men imbued with the spirit of Christ in the new life of India. But compulsion is a discredited method, and we hope that many Missionaries will incline to the spiritually and educationally correct conclusion that has been forced upon Dr. Fraser by his open mind acting on his ripe experience.

Whatever the position may be elsewhere, the Calcutta University, which is not a Christian Missionary institution, compels all Matriculation, Intermediate and B. A. candidates to read and pass an examination in portions of the Bible selected by professors chosen by it and published by it with introductions written by the Rev. Dr. Howells of Serampore, parts of which have been plagiarised from a well-known work. (We do not, of course, suggest that plagiarism is a compulsory Christian method.) We do not object to anybody, Christian or non-Christian, reading the Bible, but we do strongly condemn compulsion, whether by a University or by missionary institutions. It is true, English literature and Western civilisation have been greatly influenced by the Bible. It is also true that the English of the authorised version of the Bible is good English. But in learning to write and speak good current English, undergraduates should not take as their model any 16th or 17th century work, however excellent; that would rather be a hindrance than a help. As for acquaintance with the forces and factors that have influenced and shaped

English literature and Western civilisation, that can and ought to wait till the post-graduate stage. And what is a more important consideration, it is undoubtedly more important for students to know first of all the formative influences of their own country's and society's literature and civilisation than those of an alien faith and civilisation. But the Calcutta University does not compel Hindu and Musalman students to read portions of their scriptures with introductions, historical, literary and cultural. The Bible certainly contains much that is spiritually and morally elevating. But so do the Hindu and Islamic scriptures. Why should not Hindu and Musalman boys be made acquainted with these? Of course, they may study these at home, as some do. But is it natural and sensible for a non-sectarian body like the Calcutta University to make the study of an alien scripture compulsory for Hindu and Musalman students, leaving them to study or not to study their own scriptures at home? We do not suggest or propose that the scriptures of any sect should be made a subject of compulsory study for even its members by the Calcutta University. What we say is, that, if any scriptures are to be prescribed at all, certainly it is the scriptures of the student's own faith which should have the prior claim.

There is also another point deserving of attention. There is much in the Bible which is erroneous and harmful from the non-Christian point of view. No doubt, most of what is most objectionable is not to be found in the Calcutta University Bible selections. But there are some passages to which we object on theological and other grounds. Why should these find place in a book prescribed for non-Christians and Christians alike? No doubt, a whole book is not prescribed. But any portion of any of the books of selections may be prescribed.

Altogether, the Calcutta University has done wrong in lending itself, it may be indirectly and unconsciously, to Christian propagandism. The move has, no doubt, its advantages from the party point of view, as it indirectly secures Christian sup-

port from Christian officials and non-officials. But the University is not a party machine.

The Bible selections, being University publications, also bring money to the coffers of the University. But the getting of money by any and every means should not be a main consideration in determining University policies. Moreover, money could have been obtained equally by the publication and prescription as text-books of selections from Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina and Islamic scriptures, for students of these sects.

The Question of a National Flag.

As the question of India's National Flag has been raised afresh and Mr. Gandhi has approved of the idea of the Spinning Wheel being pictured thereupon, we draw the attention of the public to the article entitled "The Vajra as a National Flag" with its coloured illustration, which appeared in the November, 1909, issue of the *Modern Review*.

Bengal Teachers' Conference.

The teachers of Bengal did well to hold a conference with the object of improving their position. It is not their material condition alone which requires improvement. They must be re-established in their ancient position of respect in society for the good of society and themselves.

Their choice of a president was very judicious. Sir P. C. Ray is a most distinguished teacher, who has throughout his career made a strenuous (and, we should add, successful) endeavour to live up to the ancient Indian teacher's ideal of voluntary poverty, plain living and high thinking. He has lived for and among his pupils and is revered and loved by them. Our description of him as the Doctor of Doctors has become current coin and it is becoming truer as the years pass and more pupils of his become Doctors of Indian or foreign universities.

He delivered an important, instructive and interesting address. He said in part :

The school-going population may be taken to be 2 lacs in the whole of Bengal. These are the future hopes of the country, the makers of our destiny, the future torch bearers of light and civilization. The teachers, who are often paid worse than Head Constables of Police, are the custodians of this invaluable treasure, the richest asset of the land. It is in the fitness of things that this profession should be manned by the best and ablest of the land. If the outlay is poor, the best return could not be expected. If the prospect be not bright in the near future it will fail to attract the best men which would be most detrimental to the interests of the country.

So Dr. Ray advises the teachers to organise themselves into a united body so as to make themselves heard. He says,—

If you all promise to pay a monthly subscription of Re. 1, from each school, your income will be Rs. 850 per month. Out of the fund you can well afford to appoint a well paid secretary and an agent whose work will be to edit your journal and visit different schools periodically to make the organisation living and cohesive. Your journal can also take up problems of education in general and thus prove its utility to the public at large.

No taxation is fair without an adequate representation. You must have your representatives in the Senate and Syndicate of the University and in the Legislative Council, if possible. The other day the Senate and Syndicate in their infinite wisdom have imposed a tax of Rs. 100 as fee for continuance of recognition. Such an illegal and iniquitous rule has been passed without yourselves being consulted. Taxing the schools means the curtailment of the meagre pay of a poor schoolmaster.

The teacher has a right to claim a decent pay but he should also know what the society expects of him. Sir Michael Sadler remarked the other day that he never saw a Bengalee student enjoy a hearty laugh—he is always gloomy and morose with a downcast look and it seems that he thinks that life is not worth living. The teacher ought to try to help the students in forming a better conception of life and living. Too much attention is generally paid to the narrow bounds of curriculum and he is regarded as the best teacher who gives voluminous notes and encourages cramming. The result has been far from what is desirable. Teaching must be such as to create a real and living interest in the subject and to inspire with a thirst for knowledge.

I have observed that the more learned and experienced a teacher is, the higher the classes given him to teach. This practice is exceedingly bad and this is perhaps due to a false conception

of prestige. The young and pliant minds should be left in the hands of those who have the tact and ripe experience of years.

"Unscrupulous Critics" of Calcutta University.

At a recent meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee received "a most hearty welcome" on his re-appointment to the Vice-Chancellorship. He "expressed his gratitude to the Senate for the very cordial welcome they had extended to him." He also said among other things that "The University could not afford to wrangle with unscrupulous critics." As we have not read all that has been written by way of criticism of the University or of Sir Asutosh, it is possible that there has been some unscrupulous criticism. But we also know that there has also been much criticism that is perfectly true and honest. Sir Asutosh has, however, never admitted that there has ever been in the press any correct, justifiable and honest criticism. What can be the reason? Is it due to obtuseness or to lack of intellectual honesty? Or may it be that Sir Asutosh is so conceited as to think that the ordinary code of ethics must be as plastic in his hands as wax or clay?

Of course, the University cannot afford to wrangle with unscrupulous critics! But it ought to be able to admit mistakes or contradict inaccurate statements. In this democratic age, that is the only way to retain or regain public respect, though that may not be the way to obtain a "very cordial welcome" from the Senators, of whom "there was a large attendance." With regard to criticism of the University, were these persons of the same way of thinking as Sir Asutosh? We would fain hope there were a very few exceptions.

Mr. Sharp and the Calcutta University.

The last letter of the Calcutta University addressed to Mr. Sharp, Secretary, Education Department, Government of India, has been widely quoted, as it is sensational and quite in the smart journalistic style. It has also been copiously commented upon. It has been described as a parting kick, a Parthian

shot, &c. We think it would be doing an injustice to the University to suggest that the pungency of the letter was due to the fact that the official connection of the Calcutta University with the Government of India is now at an end, and it can, therefore, expect neither favours nor be afraid of retaliatory measures. Even before the severance of its connection with the Government of India could be foreseen, the University and its protagonist Sir Asutosh Mukherjee gave some hard knocks to Mr. Sharp.

Our own position has been throughout consistent. We have urged that the University should spend carefully and with a view to obtaining the best and greatest results, cutting down unnecessary and disproportionate expenditure and feeding more freely the most useful and efficient departments of teaching and research. We have also urged an independent audit of its accounts, and the control and guidance of its affairs by competent representatives of the educated public. At the same time we have urged that the Government of India should have come forward with liberal grants in aid of genuine university work, taking a strict account of its subsidies.

We think Mr. Sharp has been hostile to the University. We exposed the hollowness of Mr. Shafi's inspired reply to Rai Bahadur Lalit Mohan Chatterjee re Government grants to the University. But we cannot support the present letter of the University in all its details. For instance, it complains of the inordinate delay in receiving a reply from Mr. Sharp. It points out that the University letter was dated the 6th of September, 1920, while Mr. Sharp's reply to it is dated the 4th of December, 1920—a delay of three months. But it has been pointed out to us that the University itself has not been more prompt in matters like these. The very letter which makes this complaint is a reply given in mid-April to Mr. Sharp's letter dated the 4th of December, 1920—a delay of more than four months. Another point raised is

"That the Senate deeply regret to find that

the letter under reply abounds in misleading statements. The Government of India express their regret that they are not in full possession of the facts regarding the position of the University, and it is added that the last statement of accounts which is laid before them was that ending the 30th of June, 1919. Under these circumstances one would have expected that the obvious course for your department to follow would be to seek for further and up-to-date information from the University authorities. There was abundant time for such enquiry, as the letter of the University was dated the 6th of September, 1920, and the reply of the Government thereto is dated the 4th of December, 1920." The reason suggested by the University for such abstention of enquiry is that the framer of the Government reply apprehended that the enquiry made might lead to the discovery of facts completely destructive of the position intended to be taken up.

The consequence has been, as the University surmises, that on the 4th of December 1920, the question of the needs of the University in 1921 is determined with reference to the supposed financial position on the 30th of June, 1919.

We think in this matter the University cannot be absolved from blame. That the Government of India based its reply on a statement of accounts ending the 30th of June, 1919, may have been because the University did not take care to send a statement of accounts ending the 30th of June, 1920, which it ought to have done, and could have done if it had been prompt and efficient in the conduct of its affairs. It is usual for those who seek grants (or "favours" of any sort) to furnish the most favourable facts to those who are to make the grants. It is rather curious that the University should turn round and accuse Mr. Sharp of neglecting to seek information. As if it was more Mr. Sharp's business to disburden himself of a plethora of wealth than it was the University's business to get money. Of course, if Mr. Sharp had sought further information it would have been "generous" of him. But was it wise for the University to wait for such "generosity" on his part?

As for the cost of conducting examinations, we think the cost per candidate has not appreciably increased. For at present, examinees are instructed to write on both sides of the paper, which was not the

case some years back; the paper now supplied is of worse quality than before; the remuneration of examiners, paper-setters, &c., has been decreased; and the numbers of candidates have been continually increasing, thus reducing (at least, not raising) the cost of establishment per capita. On the whole, examinations have been a more lucrative business than ever before.

The cost of printing calendars has, no doubt, increased. But we do not see why they should be distributed *gratis* in such large numbers. That objection may be flimsy; but in any case considering the large income and expenditure of the University Rs. 26,000 for printing calendars and Rs. 7500 for purchase of stationary are not big items—though we know every mickle makes a muckle. Such items of expense, at least those which were absolutely unavoidable, could have been met from savings effected by not opening for the present classes to teach Tibetan, &c., which are, comparatively speaking, more expensive than useful and helpful to any appreciable number of students.

As we did not support the proposal to raise the examination fees of Matriculation, I. A., I. Sc., &c., candidates, we cannot blame the Government of India for not viewing it with favour.

Not possessing the advantage of having the original papers or their printed copies before us, we hope if we have erred, our mistakes will be pointed out.

We would urge the Bengal Government to make liberal grants to the Calcutta University after going into its financial condition with the help of an independent committee.

Knowing as we do how persistently and consistently hostile and obstructive Mr. Sharp's attitude has been for years towards another institution, we can understand why he has not been friendly to the Calcutta University. But the latter, too, ought not to have laid itself open to just criticism.

We wish to make our position quite clear with regard to the Calcutta Univer-

sity examination expenses. There is not the least doubt that, as the University letter contends, the *total* expenditure in connection with examinations has increased. But the real question is, has the surplus, left after deducting the examination expenses from the fee-incomes, been increasing or decreasing or has it remained stationary? Our impression is that the surplus has been increasing, or, at any rate, it has not been decreasing; though, not having the accounts of the University before us, we cannot make any positive statement. This is the drift of what we have observed regarding the incidence of examination expenses per candidate. We shall be glad to publish the exact figures

if some one in the know will kindly send them to us.

As regards the increasing cost of management of the general department of the University and of the University press, due to increments of salary granted, &c., we should like to know whether the increasing fee-income and the increasing income from the sale of University publications prescribed as text-books, do not cover the aforesaid increasing cost.

In conclusion we should like to state our clear opinion that the letter of the University is, on the whole, a powerful indictment of the attitude of the Education Department of the Government of India towards the Calcutta University.

ERRATA

Page 461, column 1,

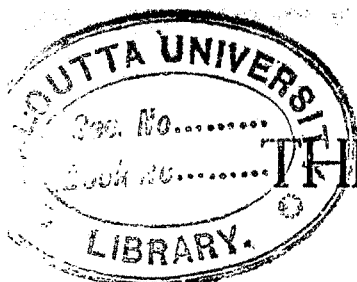
(i) Read 'on' for 'or' in line 2,

(ii) Insert "annam, from annam" between 'from herbs' and 'retah' in the 38th line.



Will not the frequent hill retard thy flight,
Nor flowery plain persuade prolonged delight ?
Or can the Peacock's animated hall,
The bird with lucid eyes, to lure thee fail ?
—*"The Cloud Messenger" of Kalidasa.*

By the courtesy of the Artist Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, C. I. E.



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EAST AND WEST IN GREATER INDIA

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

(*Specially translated for the Modern Review*)

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THE History of India,— of whom is it the history?

This history began with the day when the white-skinned Aryans, overcoming all obstacles, natural as well as human, made their entry into India. Sweeping aside the vast enveloping curtain of forest, which stretched across her from East to West, they brought on the scene sunny fields adorned with corn and fruit, and their toil and skill thus laid the foundation. And yet they could not say that this India was exclusively their India.

The non-Aryans became fused with the Aryans. Even in the first blush of the latter's victorious supremacy, they used to take to themselves non-Aryan girls in marriage. And in the Buddhist age such intermingling became freer. When, thereafter, the Brahminic Samaj set to work to repair its barriers and make its encircling walls impregnable, they found some parts of the country come to such a pass that brahmins of sufficiently pure stock could not be found to conduct the vedic ceremonies, and these either had to be imported, or new creations made by investiture with the sacred thread. The white skin, on the colour of which the difference between Brahmin and Sudra had originally been founded, had meanwhile tarnished into brown. The sudras, with their different manners and ideals, gods and rituals, had been taken into the social polity. And a larger Indian, or Hindu,

Samaj had been evolved which not only was not one with the Aryan Samaj of the vedic times, but in many respects even antagonistic.

But was India able to draw the line of her history there? Did Providence allow her to make the assertion that the History of India was the history of the Hindus? No. For, while in Hindu India the Rajputs were busy fighting each other in the vanity of a suicidal competition of bravery, the Mussalmans swept in through the breaches created by their dissensions, and scattering themselves all over the country they also made it their own by living and dying on its soil.

If now we try to draw the line here crying: "Stop! Enough! Let us make the History of India a history of Hindu and Muslim!" will the Great Architect, who is broadening out the history of humanity in ever-increasing circles, modify his plans simply to gratify our pride?

Whether India is to be yours or mine, whether it is to belong more to the Hindu, or to the Moslem, or whether some other race is to assert a greater supremacy than either,— that is not the problem with which Providence is exercised. It is not as if, at the bar of the judgment seat of the Almighty, different advocates are engaged in pleading the rival causes of Hindu, Moslem or Westerner, and that the party which wins the decree shall finally plant the standard of permanent posses-

sion. It is our vanity which makes us think that it is a battle between contending rights,—the only battle is the eternal one between Truth and untruth.

The Ultimate, the Perfect, is concerned with the All, and is evolving itself through every kind of obstacle and opposing force. Only to the extent that our efforts assist in the progress of this evolution can they be successful. Attempts to push on oneself alone, whether made by individuals or nations, have no importance in the processes of Providence. That Alexander did not succeed in bringing the whole earth under the flag of Greece was merely a case of unsatisfied ambition which has long ceased to be of concern to the world. The preparation of Rome for a world-empire was shattered to pieces by the Barbarians, but this fall of Rome's pride is not bewailed by the world to-day. Greece and Rome shipped their golden harvests on the bark of time,—their failure to get a passage on it, for themselves as well, proved no loss, but rather lightened its burden.

So, in the evolving History of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu, or any other race. In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal, to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity;—nothing less than this is its end and aim. And in the creation of this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectarian pride, but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right.

We are all here as factors in the making of the History of Greater India. If any one factor should become rebellious and arrogate to itself an undue predominance, that will only interfere with the general progress. The section which is unable or unwilling to adapt itself to the entire scheme, but struggles to keep up a separate existence, will have to drop out and be lost, sooner or later. And the component which, realising its dedication to the ulti-

mate ideal, acknowledges its own individual unimportance, will lose only its pettiness and find permanence for its greatness in that of the whole.

So, for ourselves, we must bear in mind that India is not engaged in recording solely our story, but that it is we who are called upon to take our place in the great Drama, which has India for its stage. If we do not fit ourselves to play our part, it is we who shall have to go. If we stand aloof from the rest, in the pride of past achievement, content with heaping up obstacles around ourselves, God will punish us, either by afflicting us with sorrow unceasing till He has brought us to a level with the rest, or by casting us aside as mere impediments. If we insist on segregating ourselves in our pride of exclusiveness, fondly clinging to the belief that Providence is specially concerned in our own particular development; if we persist in regarding our *dharma* as ours alone, our institutions as specially fit only for ourselves, our places of worship as requiring to be carefully guarded against all incomers, our wisdom as dependent for its safety on being locked up in our strong rooms; then we shall simply await, in the prison of our own contriving, for the execution of the death sentence which in that case the world of humanity will surely pronounce against us.

Of late the British have come in and occupied an important place in India's history. This was not an uncalled for, accidental intrusion. If India had been deprived of touch with the West, she would have lacked an element essential for her attainment of perfection. Europe now has her lamp ablaze. We must light our torches at its wick and make a fresh start on the highway of time. That our forefathers, three thousand years ago, had finished extracting all that was of value from the universe, is not a worthy thought. We are not so unfortunate, nor the universe so poor. Had it been true that all that is to be done has been done in the past, once for all, then our continued existence could only be a burden to the earth, and so would not be possible.

With what present duty, in what future hope, can they live who imagine that they have attained completeness in their great grand-fathers and whose sole idea is to shield themselves against the influx of the Modern behind the barriers of antiquated belief and custom?

The Englishman has come through the breach in our crumbling walls, as the messenger of the Lord of the world-festival, to tell us that the world has need of us; not where we are petty, but where we can help with the force of our Life, to rouse the World in wisdom, love and work, in the expansion of insight, knowledge and mutuality. Unless we can justify the mission on which the Englishman has been sent, until we can set out with him to honour the invitation of which he is the bearer, he cannot but remain with us as our tormentor, the disturber of our quietism. So long as we fail to make good the arrival of the Englishman, it shall not be within our power to get rid of him.

The India to which the Englishman has come with his message, is the India which is shooting up towards the future from within the bursting seed of the past. This new India belongs to humanity. What right have we to say who shall and who shall not find a place therein. Who is this "We"? Bengali, Marathi or Panjabi, Hindu or Mussalman? Only the larger "We" in whom all these,—Hindu, Moslem and Englishman, and whosoever else there be,—may eventually unite shall have the right to dictate who is to remain and who is to leave.

On us to-day is thrown the responsibility of building up this greater India, and for that purpose our immediate duty is to justify our meeting with the Englishman. It shall not be permitted to us to say that we would rather remain aloof, inactive, unresponsive, unwilling to give and to take, and thus to make poorer the India that is to be.

So the greatest men of modern India have all made it their life's work to bring about an approachment with the West. The chief example is Rammohan Roy. He stood alone in his day for the union of

India with the world on the broad base of humanity. No blind belief, no ancestral habit was allowed to obscure his vision. With a wonderful breadth of heart and intellect he accepted the West without betraying the East. He, alone, laid the foundation of new Bengal.

Rammohan Roy cheerfully put up with persecution in order to extend the field of our knowledge and work, right across from East to West, to gain for us the eternal rights of man in the pursuit of Truth, to enable us to realise that we, also, had inherited the earth. It was he who first felt and declared that for us Buddha, Christ and Mohammed have spent their lives; that for each one of us has been stored up the fruits of the discipline of our Rishis; that in whatsoever part of the world whosoever has removed obstacles in the path of wisdom or, breaking the bondage of dead matter, has given freedom to man's true *shakti*, he is our very own, and through him is each one of us glorified.

Rammohan Roy did not assist India to repair her barriers, or to keep cowering behind them,—he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time, and built for her a bridge between the East and West. That is why his spirit still lives with us, his power of stimulating India's creative energies is not yet exhausted. No blind habit of mind, no pettiness of racial pride, were able to make him commit the folly of rebellion against the manifest purpose of Time. That grand purpose which could not have found its fulfilment in the past, but is ever marching onwards to the future, found in him a gallant, unflinching standard bearer.

In the Deccan, Ranade spent his life in the making of this same bridge between East and West. In his very nature there was that creative faculty of synthesis which brings men together, builds up the *Samaj*, does away with discord and inequity and circumvents all obstacles in the way of knowledge, love and will-power. And so he rose superior to all the petty or unworthy considerations prevalent in his time, in spite of all the various conflicts of ideas and interests between the

Indian and the Englishman. His largeness of heart and breadth of mind impelled him to make a life-long endeavour to clear the way for an acceptance of whatever elements in the British are of value for the true History of India, and to strive for the removal of whatever obstructions stand in the way of India's attainment of perfection.

And the *mahatma* who passed away from us only the other day — Swami Vivekananda — he too took his stand in middle, with the East on his right, the West on his left. His message was not to keep India bound in her latter-day narrowness by ignoring in her history the advent of the West. His genius was for assimilation, for harmony, for creation. He dedicated his life to opening up the royal road by which the thought-treasure of the East may pass to the West, and of the West to the East.

Then there was the day when Bankimchandra invited both East and West to a veritable festival of union in the pages of his *Bangadarshan*. From that day the literature of Bengal felt the call of time, responded to it, and having thus justified herself, took her place on the road to immortality. Bengali literature has made such wonderful progress because she cut through all the artificial bonds which would have hampered her communion with the World literature, and regulated her growth in such wise as to be enabled to make her own, naturally and with ease, the science and ideals of the West. Bankim is great, not merely by what he wrote, but because his genius helped to pave the way for such growth.

Thus, from whatever view-point we take a survey, we see that the epoch-makers of modern India, in whom the greatness of man becomes manifest, are gifted, as the very essence of their nature, with that breadth of understanding in which the differences of East and West do not hurt, or conflict with; one another, but where both find their ultimate harmony.

Many of us who belong to the educated class, think that these attempts at union

of the different races belonging to India are for the purpose of gaining political strength. Thus, as in so many other cases, do we view the Great as subservient to the Small. That we in India should attain Unity, is a much greater thing than any particular purpose which our union may serve, — for it is a function of our humanity itself. That we are not succeeding in becoming united is due to some basic defect in our manhood, which also is the reason why on every side we perceive our lack of *shakti*. It is our own sin that destroys our *dharma*, which again makes for the destruction of everything else.

Our attempts at Union can only become successful when they are made from the standpoint of Righteousness, which cannot be brought within the confines of any petty pride or narrow expediency. And if Righteousness be our guiding principle these efforts will not remain restricted to the different classes of Indians alone, but the Englishman also needs must join hands in the good work.

What then are we to make of the antagonism which has arisen of late between the Englishman and the Indian, educated as well as uneducated? Is there nothing true in this? Is it only the machination of a few conspirators? Is this antagonism essentially different in purpose from the constant action and reaction of making and breaking which are at work in the making of Indian History? It is very necessary for us to come to a true understanding of its meaning.

In our religious literature, opposition is reckoned as one of the means of union. Ravana, for instance, is said to have gained his salvation because of the valiant fight that he fought. The meaning is simply this, that to have to own defeat after a manful contest with the truth is to gain it all the more completely. To accept with a too ready acquiescence is not a full acceptance at all. This is why all science is based on a severe scepticism.

We began with a blind, foolish, insensate begging at the door of Europe, with our critical sense entirely benumbed.

That was not the way to make any real gain. Whether it be wisdom, or political rights, they have to be earned, that is to say to be attained by one's own *shakti*, after a successful struggle against obstructing forces. If they be put into our hands by others, by way of alms, they do not become ours at all. To take in a form which is derogatory can only lead to loss. Hence our reaction against the culture of Europe and its ideals. A feeling of wounded self-respect is prompting us to return upon ourselves.

This revulsion was necessary for the purposes of the History which, as I say, Time is evolving in this land of India. Of what we were receiving weakly, unquestioningly, in sheer poverty of spirit, it was not possible for us to appraise the value; therefore we were unable to appropriate it at its worth, and so to put it to use. It remained with us merely as an ornamental appendage. And when we realised this, our desire to get away from it was only natural.

Rammohan Roy was able to assimilate the ideals of Europe so completely because he was not overwhelmed by them: there was no poverty or weakness on his side. He had ground of his own on which he could take his stand and where he could secure his acquisitions. The true wealth of India was not hidden from him, and and this he had already made his own. Consequently he had with him the touchstone by which he could test the wealth of others. He did not sell himself by holding out a beggar's palms, but assessed the true value of whatever he took.

This *shakti* which was natural to our first great leader, is steadily developing itself amongst us through constantly conflicting stresses and strains, actions and reactions. Pendulum-wise do our movements touch now this extreme, now the other. An undue eagerness of acceptance and an undue timidity of rejection assail us by turns. Nevertheless are we being carried forward to our goal.

Our soul which was overburdened with uncritically accumulated foreign ideas has

now swung to the opposite extreme of wholesale rejection. But the cause of the present tension of feelings is not this alone.

The West has come as India's guest; we cannot send away the visitor while the object of his visit remains unfulfilled; he must be properly accommodated. But, whatever be the reason,—whether it be some defect in our power of appreciation, or the miserliness of the West in revealing itself in its truth,—if the flow of this great purpose of Time should receive a check, there is bound to be a disastrous irruption.

If we do not come into touch with what is true, what is best in the Englishman; if we find in him merely a merchant, or a military man, or a bureaucrat; if he will not come down to the plane in which man may commune with man and take him into confidence;—if, in fine, the Indian and the Englishman needs must remain apart, then will they be to each other a perennial source of unhappiness. In such case the party which is in power will try to make powerless the dissatisfaction of the weaker by repressive legislation, but will not be able to allay it. Nor will the former find any satisfaction in the situation; and feeling the Indian only to be a source of trouble the Englishman will more and more try to ignore his very existence.

There was a time when high-souled Englishmen like David Hare came very near to us and held up before our hearts the greatness of the English character. The students of that day truly and freely surrendered their hearts to the British connexion. The English professor of to-day not only does not succeed in exhibiting the best that is in his race to his pupils, but he lowers the English ideal in their eyes. As the result, the students cannot enter into the spirit of English literature as they used to do. They gulp it down but do not relish it, and we see no longer the same enthusiastic revelling in the delights of Shakspeare or Byron. The approachment which might have resulted from a genuine appreciation of the same literature has thus received a set-back.

This is not only the case in the sphere of education. In no capacity, be it as magistrate, merchant, or policeman, does the Englishman present to us the highest that his racial culture has attained, and so is India deprived of the greatest gain that might have been hers by reason of his arrival; on the contrary, herself-respect is wounded and her powers deprived on every side of their natural development.

All the trouble that we see now-a-days is caused by this failure of East and West to come together. Bound to be near each other, and yet unable to be friends, is an intolerable situation between man and man, and hurtful withal. Therefore the desire to put an end to it must become overwhelming sooner or later. Such a rebellion, being a rebellion of the heart, will not take account of material gains or losses; it will even risk death.

And yet it is also true that such rebelliousness can only be a temporary phase. In spite of all retarding factors our impact with the West must be made good,—there can be no escape for India until she has made her own whatever there may be worth the taking from the West. Until the fruit is ripe it does not get released from stem, nor can it ripen at all if it insists on untimely release.

Before concluding I must say one word more. It is we who are responsible for the failure of the Englishman to give us of his best. If we remove our own poverty we can make him overcome his miserliness. We must rouse our powers in every direction before the Englishman shall be able to give what he has been sent here to give. If we are content to stand at his door empty-handed we shall only be turned away, again and again.

The best that is in the Englishman is not a thing that may be acquired by us in slothful ease; it must be strenuously won. If the Englishman should be moved to pity that would be the worst thing for us. It is our manhood which must awaken his. We should remember that the Englishman himself has had to realise his best through supreme toil and suffering. We must cultivate the like power within ourselves.

There is no easier way of gaining the Best.

Those of us who go to the Englishman's durbar with bowed heads and folded hands, seeking emoluments of office or badges of honour,—we only attract his pettiness and help to distort his true manifestation in India. Those, again, who in a blind fury of passion would violently assail him, succeed in evoking only the sinful side of the Englishman's nature. If, then, it be true that it is our frailty which excites his insolence, his greed, his cowardice or his cruelty, why blame him? Rather should we take the blame on ourselves.

In his own country the Englishman's lower nature is kept under control and his higher nature roused to its fullest capacity by the social forces around him. The social conscience there, being awake, compels each individual, with all its force, to take his stand on a high level and maintain his place there with unceasing effort. In this country his society is unable to perform the same function. Anglo-Indian society is not concerned with the whole Englishman. It is either a society of civilians, or of merchants, or of soldiers. Each of these are limited by their own business, and become encased in a hard crust of prejudice and superstition. So they develop into thorough-going civilians, or mere merchants, or blatant soldiers. We cannot find the man in them. When the civilian occupies the High-Court bench we are in despair, for whenever there is a conflict between the Right and the civilian's gods, the latter are sure to prevail,—but these gods are inimical to India, nor are they worshipped by the Englishman at his best.

On the other hand, the decay and weakness of the Indian *Samraj* itself is also a bar to the rousing of the true British spirit, wherefore both are losers. It is our own fault, I repeat, that we meet only *Burra Sahebs* and not great Englishmen. And to this we owe all the sufferings and insults with which we have to put up. We have no remedy but to acknowledge our sin and get rid of it.

Nāyamatma balahinena labhyah,
Self-realisation is not for the weak,—nor the highest truth.

Neither tall talk nor violence, but only sacrifice and service are true tests of strength. Until the Indian can give up his fear, his self-interest, his luxury, in his quest for the best and the highest, in his service of the Motherland, our demanding from the government will but be empty begging and will aggravate both our incapacity and our humiliation. When we shall have made our country our own by sacrifice and established our claim to it by applying our own powers for its reclamation, then we shall not need to stand abjectly at the Englishman's door. And if we are not abject, the Englishman need not lower himself. Then may we become colleagues and enter into mutual arrangements.

Until we can cast off our individual or *samajic* folly; as long as we remain unable to grant to our own countrymen the full rights of man; as long as our zamindars continue to look on their tenantry as part of their property, our men in power glory in keeping their

subordinates under their heels, our higher castes think nothing of looking down on the lowest castes as worse than beasts; so long shall we not have the right or power to demand from the Englishman proper behaviour towards ourselves.

At every turn,—in her religion, in her *Samaj*, in her daily practice—does the India of to-day fail to do justice to herself. She does not purify her soul by sacrifice, and so on every side she suffers futility. She cannot meet the outsider on equal terms and so receives nothing of value from him. No cleverness or violence can deliver her from the sufferings and insults of which the Englishman is but the instrument. Only when she can meet him as his equal, will all reason for antagonism, and with it all conflict, disappear. Then will East and West unite in India,—country with country, race with race, knowledge with knowledge, endeavour with endeavour. Then will the History of India come to an end, merged in the History of the World which will begin.

Free translation

By SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

PLAN OF ORGANISATION

AFTER the aims and objects of an organization have been defined, comes the problem of planning practical steps to attain the goal. Plans involve investigations of conditions and methods, provision of materials and tools with which the workers can perform the task, planning and controlling the progress of work and supervision. The basic facts have to be established first before any other steps can be taken. Then campaigns for membership, for financing, for the enactment of measures, for the establishment of branches and every method of strengthening a movement are taken up.

Plans involve strategy. War maxims

such as: "activity, activity, life", "order, counter-order, disorder", "march divided, fight united", apply just as well to social organizations as the army. Eternal vigilance and activity is necessary by each of the departments, boards and committees of the organization to successfully conduct it. Life is one struggle after another with nature and our fellow-beings. The greatest competition; the greatest hindrance in our plan of work usually comes from the latter. The life of an organization is not free from oppositions. Organizations of reform have to fight continually with forces of conservatism, of labour with capitalism, of religion with the sinful tendencies of the day. Very like the army,

their plan of action has to take into account all the different factors which affect the result of campaigns: superiority of morale, of knowledge, of command, of materials, of policies, of defense etc. These may again be divided into moral factors such as quality of workers and of command, amount of energy shown, passions displayed etc., which cannot be figured as to quantity and the material factors which include materials, machines, funds, nature of the work, number of workers, and so forth.

There are no fixed set of plans applicable for all organizations. In lieu of a general plan individual plans of some typical American organizations are given to suggest some methods of carrying on the activities of different kinds of organizations. In an American organization dedicated to civic work the plan of work is found to be: 1. To submit a statement of facts from departments or officials investigated; 2. to get before the officials an impartial appraisal; 3. to show a disposition to be helpful by submitting, upon request, such constructive suggestions as might be helpful, with supporting reasons for making changes in organization or method; 4. to meet with any and all persons in office or out of office to talk over the pros and cons of the situation; 5. not to give publicity to facts till after the official or department is given opportunity to make position known; and 6. to keep entirely out of partisan controversy. The general plan consists of: publication of scientific handbooks or manuals of administrative practice; state and national investigation work; and a training school for public service. Then there are such considerations as the raising of funds, determination of policies governing the work of the staff, and the systematic giving of publicity to the findings. The field work consists of: loaning out assistants to other cities, where bureaus are to be established, helping the organization of official municipal and state bureaus and co-operation with bureaus.

This programme is slightly varied in the case of another organization for the

study of municipal activities which divided its work into four main sections: public meetings, at which municipal experts speak; programmes for civic education furnished to educational and other bodies; publication of a weekly bulletin; and formation of study groups, making of surveys and offering of recommendations. The programme of its woman's department is carried on by committees on employment, factory nursing, occupational diseases and housing. Another object of this department is the establishment of hospitals and service clubs for enlisted men at home and abroad.

On a much less extensive scale is carried on the work of another organization which concentrates its attention on labour legislation. Its plan is: to investigate existing conditions, to formulate laws for their amelioration, and to see that these laws are enforced. In order that every part of the vast field is covered, committees are appointed to undertake all the work in any special field. Thus, there is an unemployment committee, a social insurance committee, an occupational disease committee, etc. In addition, there is a bureau of information, which answers enquiries on practically every subject within the field of labour legislation. This is supplemented by a reference library, which is in constant use by the office staff as well as members and enquirers.

In the educational field, the activities are divided and sub-divided by each group, in order that all sides of a problem may be attacked at the same time. The following is the plan adopted by an American educational organization:

a. A training school for community workers: this supplies the need which is constantly arising for new workers in the social field.

b. Health department: this concentrates its attention on the health of union workers in industry. Lectures are delivered before local branches of unions. Workers are free to consult with physicians of the institute.

c. Music League: the activities of this

department are purely recreational and educational. Concerts are given in public schools to awaken interest in music.

d. Educational centres: these are opened for the members of unions. The work includes classes, health talks, social activities, summer homes, libraries and rest-rooms.

e. Creation of community centres in public schools.

An organization for conducting experiments in the field of education limits its activities to the following three things: it gives support to present experiments; it initiates new experiments; and it collects and makes available for public use information about experiments in education.

The plans for labour union organization are perhaps more extensive than any of those given above. Their announcement of the methods of carrying on work must of necessity be clear and detailed, since all labour union members and leaders are not experienced workers, and therefore not cognizant of the many aspects of the problem. The phenomenal growth and success of labour unions in the United States are due, more than to anything else, to the definite, formulated plans for union organization. This steady method, constantly applied, brings about a certainty of method.

1. The first requisite for union organization is that in the group needing organization stimulus and leadership must exist. With such leadership, a central body is formed.

2. After the formation of the central body, it is possible to develop a systematic and dependable scheme of extending the organization. Not until the individual units which grow from the central body-nucleus band themselves together in some central organization, is it possible to have rapid extension of the organization.

3. Upon the formation of a central body, a meeting of the various units is called, offices are selected, and the organization acquires a character of stability. The officers then proceed to bring into

the fold the unorganized groups. This necessitates organizing trips.

4. With the growth of the organization, one or two officers are made salaried workers. They are thus enabled to devote their whole time to further the growth of the organization. These officials are now called organizers.

5. The organizer divides his activities into: meeting groups at specified times; and posting notices of meetings and advertising the advantages of one organization. This he resorts to, if his time is limited. When his time is not restricted, he makes personal appeals, by visits to homes, factories, and clubs. He talks with the men, distributes leaflets, stirs up discussion, arouses the organizing spirit, and then calls a meeting of the men ready to be organized.

Organization is brought about by constant agitation and appeal. After the workers have been organized, the problem is to make the organization stable and permanent. To keep alive their spirit is one of the principal duties of the organizer.

The purposes of a campaign for the organization of men into unions are: to increase the numerical strength of the union movement; to arouse old members, and get them to renew their activities; and to disseminate, more widely, information about the principles of unionism.

A survey of the numerous activities of a social settlement will reveal the many lines along which work is carried on. In all social work, there is such an abundance of activities. The plan of a group concentrating its attention on just one social problem, that of health, embraces the following activities: 1. To prepare travelling exhibits. With each exhibit is a lecturer, who has pictures and who demonstrates for each audience. 2. To publish literature for popular consumption. Pamphlets, posters, and circulars are issued dealing with the specific disease which the bureau is investigating. Its work is conducted through agencies created for carrying out specific programs and through existing organizations, unaffiliated with it, to which it

makes appropriations in order that they may be enabled to continue their work.

As an example of real practical social reform work may be mentioned the Peoples' Institute of New York which has for its object the presentation of the claims of society "through sympathetic and candid discussion." It has encouraged to promote the following organizations and activities:

"A National Board of Review of Motion Pictures; Opening of Play Streets; Educational Dramatic League; Wage Earners Theatre League; Training School for Community Workers; Community Clearing House; Community Chorus; Educational Work with the Trade Unions; Child Health Organization; Socialization of Night Schools; Work with Foreign Groups as Advisors and Councillors; People's Forum; Pageants and Festivals; Neighbourhood Dances; Moving Pictures; Dramatics, Concerts, Orchestras, Singing Societies; Co-operative Buying Societies in Schools; Food Demonstrations; Lectures and Forums; Health Talks, Experiments and Exhibits; Vocational Guidance; Shop Meetings in School Buildings and District Music and Recreation Organizations."

There is a "Hostess House" connected with and conducted by the Young Women's Christian Association of New York. It is a hotel in New York intended for the visiting

mother, wife or sweetheart of the American soldiers and sailors. The soldier is asked to tell her about this place in his letters to her. A leaflet describing the "Hostess House" says:

"She will find there: A library in which to wait for you; Reception Rooms in which to visit with you; Information as to stores, theatres, churches, sight-seeing, transportation, in fact everything she wants to know; Rooms and baths at moderate rates; Telephone service; Chaperonage arranged upon request."

The practical visible signs of an organization are:—the office, the staff, the departments, the committees, telephones, typewriters, pamphlets, literature, lectures, etc. But behind it, in every organization, is a silent force of thinkers who compose the planning department, who know what is to be done, the method by which it shall be done, who shall do it, what the compensation the workers should be, the time that it should take, the exact quality of the product—all the different factors which enter in all its activities. The plan is the invisible force which acts as the mainspring for all the movements of the organization.

RAM KUMAR KHEMKA.

HIGH PRICES IN INDIA

BY R. BEOHAR, M.A., LL.B., F.R.E.S. (Lond.).

I.

PERHAPS the most prominent feature of the Economic life of India—nay of the whole world of the present day—is the prevalence of high prices of all commodities. The question has of late been engaging the attention of the ruler and the ruled. The evil is not of recent growth but it has manifested itself ever since the country engaged into trade relations with foreign countries in the beginning of the last century. But it has been aggravated since the war. The proper consideration of the question is complicated. To a superficial observer it may appear that

since India is pre-eminently an agricultural country high prices have brought benefits to it.

To solve the problem we divide it into four parts:

A. What are the causes of high prices?

B. What are the effects of this state of things (high prices)?

C. What remedies can do away with this evil?

D. Future of high prices.

A. The causes of high prices. The causes are not peculiar to India alone but to the whole world. United States of America, United Kingdom, Australia,

Canada, China and India all are suffering from the bane of high prices. However there are some causes which affect India alone. They will be dealt with later on.

The following are the world-wide causes of high prices :

(1) Diminished production. This decrease in output is the outcome of the following factors :

(i) Dislocation of industries brought about by war when the production of commodities was reduced to a minimum and the stock of articles which the world was able to consume in normal years practically disappeared. If pre-war sources of supply were to contribute their quota of manufacture, even then it will take many years to replenish the old stock. Many countries are unable to produce their pre-war output. England has been handicapped by labour strikes, exchange problems and many other troubles of the same kidney. France is unable to keep up the old level owing to the destruction of her factories during the war. Hopeless economic condition has overtaken Germany. India herself has not been able to produce as she could have under responsible popular government.

(ii) Dearness of raw material owing to higher wages and costlier charges of transport by land and sea, etc., have all contributed to limit production.

(2) Absence of keen competition between sellers and buyers that alone forces the producers to limit their profit to a minimum. This has been brought about by the fact that demand has outstripped supply and thereby we notice no equilibrium between demand and supply. Thus we see high prices.

(3) Inflation of currency and credit. Paper currency has been inflated to an unprecedented extent. In this connection, the "Times" points out that during the five years of war the belligerents have been making paper money in enormous quantities. Thus the total paper money of the 12 countries of Europe+Japan+U. S. A., amounts to about £5,914,000,000 as against £1,201,800,000 in 1914.

This means an increase of about 392 per cent. The reserve of gold of State Banks of the same countries during the same period rose from £575,000,000 to £1,106,000,000, that is an increase of 100 per cent. Thus the proportion of gold to paper money has fallen much. Consequently the paper money has much depreciated. Then there has been an inflation of credit. Exchange difficulties have also caused hardships. Adverse exchange means higher prices of imported goods. All have contributed towards high prices.

(4) Profiteering by wholesale merchants beyond normal profits. During the war the manufacturer fixed the price arbitrarily but now there are tendencies of awakening on the part of the manufacturer and the prices will no longer be arbitrarily fixed.

(5) Profiteering by middle-men and their increase in number. According to one authority the number of intermediaries between the manufacturer and the consumer, was 8 during the last decade but now it has risen to 14. The retail price as paid by the consumer includes profiteering by wholesale dealers and middlemen+the wholesale price and normal profits of 14 middlemen.

(6) Cornering by syndicates and persons and thus monopolising supply.

(7) Depreciation of Gold. This, though last is not the least important item in the determination of prices. During the last decade the world output of gold has much increased. It has thus been depreciated.

To the above may be added causes which are peculiar to India alone :

(a) Fiscal policy of the Indian Government. Free Trade has been the ruin of many infant Indian industries, and consequent rise of prices of many commodities is also due to Free Trade.

(b) Export of foodstuffs by the Indian Government to countries beyond the sea and to Mesopotamia. The mandate of this country given to us has only added to our economic cost. Our cereals which are insufficient for our home consump-

tion even in normal years are exported even during bad years. This year (1920) the Indian Government has exported about 400,000 tons of wheat. In the interest of the country the Government should at once stop exportation of grains.

(c) Shortage of waggons for internal trade. An instance may be cited: Sugar was selling at Rs. 25 a md. in Calcutta while in Allahabad it sold at Rs. 38 a md. Freight charges are very heavy for internal trade. An Indian witness while giving evidence before the Industrial Commission gave out that freight charges for such a small distance e.g. from Madras to Calcutta are much greater than for the distance between Japan and Calcutta.

(d) Diminished imports are also one of the causes of high prices in this country. We consume many foreign commodities, consequently diminution in their imports means higher price. The following table shows that in comparison to pre-war times (1913-1914) our imports have much fallen in 1919-20. This table is illustrative but not exhaustive.

| Group. | Article | Excess P. C. over 1913-14. | Article | Shortage P. C. be- low 1913-14. |
|--------|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| I. | Food, Drink, etc.— | | | |
| | Coffee | 0.5 | Fish, dry and wet | 43.5 |
| | | | Biscuits | 43.3 |
| | | | Butter | 80.7 |
| | | | Cheese | 82.7 |
| | | | Sugar | 43.6 |
| | | | Confectionery | 48.7 |
| II. | Personal Clothings, etc.— | | | |
| | | | Lammettas | 16.4 |
| | | | Boots | 80.6 |
| | | | Handkerchiefs | 80.7 |
| III. | Manufactured Articles— | | | |
| | Silk piece goods | 10.2 | Grey and white yarn | 78.0 |
| | | | Manufactured silk | 87.5 |
| | | | Raw wool | 65.0 |
| IV. | Articles of Domestic use— | | | |
| | Gum resins | 22.8 | Candles | 71.0 |
| | Petroleum | 37.6 | Quinine | 21.0 |
| | Matches | 8.4 | Fodder | 71.0 |
| | | | Bottles | 23.8 |
| | | | Umbrellas | 85.1 |
| | | | Soaps | 12.4 |
| V. | Raw materials for trade and manufacture— | | | |
| | Caustic Soda | 20.6 | Cement | 37.1 |
| | Sulphur | 94.4 | Tiles | 96.1 |

| | | | |
|--------------|------|---------|------|
| Hides & skin | 25.0 | Dyes | 68.6 |
| Raw cotton | 18.0 | Skins | 17.0 |
| Lac | 46.1 | Manures | 55.0 |

VI. Miscellaneous—

| | | | |
|---------------|------|----------------|------|
| Brushes | 20.8 | Books | 32.2 |
| Paste-boards | 22.4 | Camphor | 60.6 |
| Disinfectants | 12.0 | Printing paper | 50.2 |

We thus notice diminution in imports and still expect more decrease in future owing to the increase in import duty from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 per cent.

(e) Unfavourable exchange has further added to the rise in prices of commodities imported from abroad. Mr. Hailey admitted that methods of selling Reverse Bills had depleted sterling resources and aggravated the exchange situation.

II.

B. We come now to the second part of our inquiry,—the effects of high prices.

One visible effect of the rise in prices is acute distress prevailing amongst men of fixed money incomes. As most of them belong to the articulate class their grievances have come to the front. The result is an all round but unproportionate increase in their incomes, in the form of revision of pay. Civilians have got the lion's share. Judicial officers have been given due increase, while the Subordinate Service which forms the mainstay of the government machinery has been left to struggle with the high prices with a small increase in their pay. Poor clerks have been given an increase of about 30 per cent while their standard of living has risen by 300 per cent. Even this increase has been granted only at the expense of their fellow clerks (e.g., in P. W. D. offices here) who have been discharged. What a mockery! Rate of interest has risen pari passu with prices, but not to the same extent. Government Securities have been depreciated. Unskilled laborers have been hard hit. Their wages have not risen in the same ratio as is shown below by the following figures:

| Articles | Selling Price, Srs. per Rupee. | Wages per day in Rs. As. P. | | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| | 1913. | 1920. | 1913. | 1920. |
| Wheat | 14 sr. | 6 sr. | Unskilled | |
| | | | Laborers | 0-4-0 0-6-0 |
| Grains | 20 " | 7 " | Carpenters | 1-8-0 2-8-0 |
| Rice | 10 " | 4 " | Masons | 1-8-0 2-8-0 |

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Pulses | 12 " | 4½ " | Barbers | |
| Mutton | 4 as. | 12 as. | for a shave | 0-0-6 0-1-0 |
| | a sr. | a sr. | | |
| Cotton cloth | 2 as. | 8 as. | | |
| | a yd. | a yd. | | |
| Dhotis | 1-8-0 a pair | 6-8-0 a pair | | |

It is therefore natural to see labor strikes and industrial disputes. They have been hard hit. Coming now to agriculture we find that three-fourths of the population is engaged in industries connected with producing raw materials.

They must be said to have benefited by this rise. A true picture of Indian peasants in the words of Sir O'Moore Creagh is,

"There are millions, who, even in good years fail to get a full meal, and they would die in droves in a bad one, were it not for public relief. The peasant digs, sows and reaps, the rains fall and the crops prosper and are reaped, but no sooner is the harvest over than the crop is divided. The landlord, *be he Government, or a great landlord* (italics are ours) takes the lion's share, the village shop-keepers and the village servants are paid from what remains, when the producer has nothing left. The money-lender, town Vakil and quacks (medical men) cannot squeeze him drier than what they do. He again gets credit for his food and seed for the next crop from the village shopkeeper which cost him dear, and he goes home to plough, sow and live in hopes of better times which never come."

From personal experience the present writer knows that this is in no way an exaggerated account, unless the reader thinks that it is for love of variety, scenery and work that thousands of peasants are every day compelled to abandon their fields and do cooly work, which they hate.

In conclusion we find that this phenomenal rise in prices has caused a keenly felt distress amongst laborers, men of fixed money incomes and agriculturists (including producers of raw materials).

C. Coming to the third part of our inquiry namely, remedies for this state of things (i. e., high prices), we find the task very difficult. The evil at the best can be mitigated, not remedied. The remedies being numerous, complicated and partially efficacious, a few of them are set forth here :

(1) Increase in the output of raw materials, as India is only a producer of raw materials only. Agriculture is the

greatest industry of India. This can be improved by many means. Its output can be increased by means of irrigation. Punjab colonies offer an illustration of the above fact. The average total area cropped during the last decade was 192,852,000 acres out of which only 24,515,000 acres were watered by irrigation. Here lies a scope for increasing the produce of the country. An idea of the Government's indifference can be gathered from this that over nearly double the amount spent on irrigation is spent on Railways. Now the time has come to sink more and more capital in irrigation works and we hope that under the Reformed Councils ample provision will be made for irrigation. But expectations and hopes have been belied.

(2) Change in the Tariff policy of the Indian Government. Restrictive export duties should be imposed on foodstuffs and raw materials.

This tax will fall on foreign consumers and at the same time it will help to keep prices within bounds during famines and scarcity in the country.

Abolition of excise duty on cotton manufactures will do much to foster this industry. In this connection it may be mentioned that recently sugar duty has been raised from 10 per cent to 15 per cent. This will no doubt stimulate sugar industry in this country. We are anxiously awaiting the recommendations of the Sugar Committee. Growing military expenditure has left a deficit of about 18½ crores in the budget of 1920-1922. This has caused great dislocation in the funds allotted under different heads. Economy has to be observed in other departments. Under such circumstances the question of subsidy to infant industries becomes unfeasible. Thus, the output of manufactured articles can be much increased in the country.

(3) Improvement in currency system. It ought to be self-adjusting and automatic. It may increase with the volume of trade and commerce and contract when it is no longer required. Gold currency is desirable. It will keep fluctuations with-

in bounds. Exchange muddle will be obviated by gold currency.

(4) Introduction of Co-operative Societies,—Land and Industrial Banks. These will go a long way to ameliorate the conditions of agriculturists and small artisans who are the backbone of the Indian Economic structure. Distribution of good grains for seed should be undertaken by the Government farms. Land Banks of the German and Belgian type are badly needed.

(5) Co-operative Stores should be encouraged to check profiteering by middle men.

D. The last part of our subject is, "Future of Prices". It is very difficult to foresee the future when new changes and complications are being introduced at break-neck hurry. These are not only economic but also political in character. However, an attempt will be made to predict what the tendency of prices is going to be. During war, the writer along with many others, opined that the cessation of hostilities will witness a temporary fall in prices only to be followed by their return to their old level. As was expected, the Armistice saw a momentary drop in prices. It was succeeded by a rise which brought things to a height far in excess of that reached during the war, and no break in the state of things seemed likely until the last week since we are witness to a real drop in many directions. Sugar, Ghee, and many cereals may be cited as examples. It will be a dangerous situation if drastic reduction in prices take place all at once, as there will be bankruptcy and unemployment. If the reduction takes place gradually there will at least be an opportunity of negotiating stocks to cover moderate losses, and labor will have the opportunity to work for such increased production as will enable the demand to be met at this lower price. In future prices will come down gradually because of the following reasons :

(i) Supply will be outstripped by Demand. The world production is not likely to increase in future. Even if all pre-war sources of supply were to contribute their quota of manufacture, it will take some time to replenish the old

stock. Many countries, such as France and Germany, have been handicapped—the former because of the destruction of her factories during war, the latter because of the hopeless economic condition.

(ii) Inflated paper currency will take time to get itself deflated. It will take at least 3 or 4 years.

(iii) Labor will fight strenuously any decrease in their wages. As an instance of this may be cited the threatened strike in the coal industry of England in April last. A Triple Alliance of many unions was concluded. Had that strike taken place it would have meant national disaster. Mr. Lloyd George appealed to Railway unions and it had a good effect upon them. The alliance was broken. This strike of the mail week involved thousands of workers. Even now the settlement reached seems to be transitory and unsatisfactory. With the increase in wages there was an increase in the standard of living of the labour. This standard of living has come to stay as a permanent feature. Hence there will be resistance by labourers against any decrease in their wages. All these combined will allow the prices to come down only gradually. In January last Mr. Lloyd George, observed :

"The boom times are over for the time being and that we are getting into slack times, the depression. Whether it is going to be a short or a long one, there is no doubt it is going to be a serious."

In India boom period is still in swing as shown by the fact that 599 Indian companies of purely Indian capital were registered last year (1919—20).

The decline in prices has already set in, this is due not to over-supply of commodities but to depression, and when the exchange and currency have become more stable we "may expect to see buyers recover courage and such a healthy demand spring up as will prevent the dreaded slump." Thus from the above analysis one is driven to the conclusion that a downward tendency in prices is likely to continue, and we hope that in two or three years, prices may approach, though we fear it will never reach, the pre-war level.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MAHABHARATAN AGE—II.

IN this article we shall discuss the second, third and fourth sections of the Mahabharata, called the Sabha Parva, the Bana Parva, and the Virata Parva respectively. In the fifth chapter of the Sabha Parva there is a well-known passage in which the sage Narada, in the guise of a series of questions, teaches statescraft to king Yudhisthira. From these questions we find that among other things, the importance of regular payment to the army in order to keep it contented, and of restoring vanquished kings to their kingdoms, was well recognised, and agriculture was fostered by extensive irrigation as well as by timely advances to the cultivators, so that they might not, in the words of Narada, have to depend too exclusively upon the year's rainfall. Our modern administrators explain the frequency of famines in India by the aphorism that in India agriculture is a gamble in rain. The remedy for this state of things was pointed out by Narada long before the Christian era, and the stupendous irrigation works of Southern India testify that this remedy was availed of by the Hindu Rajas down to their last days.

It would seem that the doctrine of purity of race had ceased to have any hold on the minds of men in the Mahabharatan age, as we find from Krishna's own utterance to Yudhisthira in chapter 13 of the Sabha Parva, where he says that after the immolation of the Kshatriya race by Parasurama, those who have been born in that race are not true Kshatriyas, but conduct themselves as such. It is important to note that in connection with the great Rajashuya sacrifice, king Yudhisthira not only invited Brahmans and kings, but also Vaisyas and Sudras 'worthy of respect.'¹ Orthodoxy today will no doubt be shocked to learn that after Yudhisthira had established himself in the assembly hall prepared for him by the great demon Maya, he feasted the leading Brahmans who had come from all quarters with meats and drinks of various kinds, including ham and venison.² Nor was it a solitary instance. When the Pandavas went into exile, like good Aryans, they took a large number of Brahmans with them. The royal princes used to feed their honoured guests with the meat of various animals killed by themselves in the forests.³ Boar's flesh was then, as now, a favourite food with the kingly caste, and so also that of buffaloes (which are now killed for sacrificial purposes but not eaten), if we are to judge from Draupadi's offer of hospitality to Jayadratha the king of the Sindhus.⁴ The virtuous huntsman Dharma-byadha justified the killing of animals

by alluding to the well-known tradition that king Rantideva earned incomparable glory by feeding people with the meat of two thousand cows daily slaughtered for the purpose,⁵ and we find that on the occasion of the marriage of Uttara with Abhimanyu, hundreds of kinds of animals were slaughtered, and immense varieties of wines were collected.⁶

Now and then, a misalliance between an old man of sixty and a young maiden would take place even in those enlightened times, but human nature was not different then from what it is now, for we are told that such marriages were certainly not liked by the youthful partners.⁷ Royal ladies used to lead a life of partial seclusion. On being dragged out of the privacy of her inner apartments into the assembly hall, Draupadi bitterly laments her fate and boasts that never before, except on the occasion of her Swayambara (free choice of a husband), had she been exposed to the gaze of the sun. But the seclusion was anything but the complete immurement of later times, for we find that not only were platforms and stands erected for male visitors by the rich citizens, but galleries for ladies were also set up at the tournament where the royal disciples of Drona, the Brahman general and military instructor, displayed their feats of arms.⁸

Elsewhere we find a reference to the foundering of vessels in the sea, when navigated by inexperienced mariners.⁹ In chapter 31, Bana Parva, there occurs the following passage: "O Draupadi, even as ships are the only available means for merchants desirous of crossing the sea, so Dharma (Virtue) is the only vessel for those who want to go to heaven." In chapter 168, Bana Parva, Arjuna, in narrating his experiences, spoke of the mighty ocean, and of the thousands of ships, carrying rich loads of merchandise, sailing on its surface. Such graphic description can only proceed from the lips of an eye witness of a mercantile fleet.

The advantages of concord between Brahmans and Kshatriyas are pointed out in chapter 26 of the Bana Parva, where it is said that just as fire, aided by the wind, blazes into a mighty conflagration and destroys huge forests, so Brahminical power supporting or assisted by the power of the Kshatriyas, reduces the enemy to ashes. King Bali, it is pointed out by way of illustration, became with the aid of the Brahmans the sole ruler of the seagirt earth, but was afterwards ruined by adopting a hostile attitude towards them. In war, we are further assured, Kshatriyas

lose their strength when deprived of the support of the Brahmins. The career of king Nahusa, narrated in chapter 10-16 of the Udyoga Parva, is in the opinion of Muir,¹⁰ intended to exemplify the nemesis awaiting all resistance to the pretensions of the priesthood, and contempt of their persons or authority. Nahusa, as we have already said in our first article, was guilty of gross contempt to the Brahmins, and made them his chariot-bearers. He even aspired to the possession of Indra's wife, and insisted that in his adulterous designs he was no worse than the dissolute Indra himself. He pointed out, to Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, on being remonstrated with, that the renowned Ahalya, a Rishi's wife, was formerly corrupted by Indra in her husband's lifetime, and that many barbarous acts, and unrighteous deeds, and frauds, were perpetrated of old by Indra. At last, puffed up with pride, Nahusa summoned the great sage Agastya from the banks of the Saraswati and had him attached to his car; and even struck him with his left foot, when the sage Bhṛigu could endure it no longer, and cursed the king who was forthwith transformed into a serpent and fell to the earth, where, the legend continues, he was to expiate his sins till rescued by Yudhisthira, a descendant of his royal line.

This serpent, even when the moment of his deliverance came, would not give up his rationalistic tendencies, and the Mahabharata¹¹ records a famous dialogue between him and Yudhisthira on the true test of Brahmanhood. In reply to the serpent's question as to who is a Brahman, Yudhisthira says: 'Those qualities which are characteristic of a Sudra do not exist in a Brahman (and vice versa). Were it otherwise, the Sudra would not be a Sudra, nor the Brahman a Brahman. The person in whom the well regulated practices of a Brahman are found is declared to be a Brahman; and the man in whom they are absent is designated a Sudra.' The serpent replied: 'If a man is regarded by you as a Brahman only in consequence of his good practices, then birth is vain unless it co-exists with good action.' Yudhisthira said: 'O most sapient serpent, birth is difficult to be discriminated in the present condition of society, on account of the confusion of all castes. All sorts of men are continually begetting children on all sorts of women. The speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death of all mankind are alike. The Vedic text, "those who perform sacrifices are Brahmins" is authoritative among the Rishis. Hence those who have an insight into truth know that virtuous conduct [i.e. Vedic practices] is the thing chiefly to be desired.' Here it will be seen that the inquisitive serpent, not disposed like other people to take the supremacy of the Brahmins on trust, has the best of the argument, for Yudhisthira is unable to justify the Brahman's position by the fact of his birth, and has

to fall back on the authority of the Veda, which gives the Brahmins the special privilege of performing Vedic sacrifices, and thereby maintains his superiority over other castes.¹²

The following passage explains the decay of Vedic sacrifices and their substitution by pilgrimages to sacred places. "O king, the poor cannot perform sacrifices. They require vast materials, and an extensive collection of stores. They are (usually) for kings, and on rare occasions, for rich persons. They are not for those who are without riches, or assistants, or help of other kind. The religious exercise which is available even to the poor, and yields results similar to sacrifices, and is even superior to them in efficacy, is holy pilgrimage."¹³ We have here a reference to the historical fact that owing to the great elaboration of sacrificial rites, the large number of expert priests and the extensive collection of materials required for their performance, sacrifices (except those of the domestic order) gradually fell into disuse—a result to which the Buddhist attack on animal sacrifices largely contributed. The religious gap thus created was filled in by the multiplication of divinities and image-worship in the temples and pilgrimages to sacred shrines, all of which continue to this day, while Vedic sacrifices, which formed the religion and gave birth to the literature of the Indo-Aryans have been all but forgotten.

In the chapter on the Kali Yuga,¹⁴ it is stated that the longevity of man would decline in the present degenerate times. But in the Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads, the Grihya Sutras and the Mahabharata itself there are scores of passages in which the span of human life has been stated to be one hundred years.¹⁵ Chapters 165 and 312 of the Bana Parva end with benedictions to the effect that those who read them will live for a century. A man of sixty, as we have already seen, is regarded as an unfit mate for a young maiden, evidently on account of his declining vigour. And we may have to refer to other instances as we proceed, pointing to the conclusion that then, as now, a period of one hundred years was regarded as the usual maximum length of human life.

The righteous huntsman, Dharmavyadha, is held up in the Mahabharata as an exemplar of true morality in spite of his low profession. And he is made to say as follows: 'A man who is born of Sudra parents can attain to Vaishya-hood and Kshatriya-hood in succession provided he acquires good qualities; and by right conduct he can even attain to Brahmanhood.'¹⁶ 'A Brahman who is vain and guilty of bad conduct is degraded into the semblance of a Sudra, and a Sudra in whom self-control, truth, and virtue constantly reside, I regard as a Brahman. A man becomes twice-born by virtuous conduct (Britta).'¹⁷ In chapter 311, in the course of a conversation between Yudhisthira and Dharma (Virtue) in the shape of a stork, we

come across some very fine sayings : The wife is the house-holder's friend, his divinely given companion. Contentment is the greatest of blessings ; to purge the mind of uncleanness is the best of purificatory baths. Some of the answers of Yudhisthira to the famous four questions of Dharma (Virtue) in the penultimate chapter of the Bana Parva indicate a mental temperament which persists in the race through all the vicissitudes of centuries. For instance, 'the man who cooks a scanty meal of vegetables in his own house late in the day but is not in debt to anybody nor has to go out of his home to earn his living is the happiest of mortals.' This home-keeping tendency, and aversion to take part in the affairs of the great world outside is at the root of much of our insular prejudices and superstitions and national inefficiency and degeneration. In answer to the question, what path should one follow, the wise Yudhisthira replies : 'Nothing can be decided by discussion ; the scriptures are various ; there is not a single sage whose opinion is authoritative ; the mysteries of religion are buried in the cavernous depths of the mind ; hence the only path to follow is that which has been trodden by great men.' This is sound pragmatic philosophy, but unfortunately for us in India, we are all convinced that the line of great men became extinct with the legendary sages of antiquity, and in trying to follow in the foot-steps of great men, we are in the habit of confining our search to the ancient Rishis, forgetting Yudhisthira's judicious warning as to how much they differed among themselves. Finally we come to Yudhisthira's great saying, which embodies one of the greatest truths that has ever been conceived by mortal man in this imperfect world, viz., that righteousness, being destroyed, destroys us, and being preserved, preserves us from destruction. It is the same thought that Jesus uttered when he said that righteousness exalteth a nation. The modern world, with its aggressive industrialism and militarism seems to have forgotten this noble truth. Not till we make it the first axiom in international politics, can the world be saved from the doom which otherwise is sure to overtake it.

We get a rough general idea of the civilization of the times from the professions which were adopted by the Pandavas during their exile in the kingdom of Virata. Bhima was a wrestler and a chef in the royal cuisine ; Nakula was a past-master in equestrianism and the veterinary science ; Sahadeva was an expert cattle-breeder—he knew the points of bulls and cows, their habits, disposition, and diseases, and could take their census accurately ; Arjuna was proficient in the art of dancing, and taught the ladies of the royal household to dance, sing and play on

musical instruments, whereas Yudhisthira was an expert gambler and could throw the dice with a sure hand. Draupadi was a lady's maid, and could dress the hair, massage the limbs, anoint the body with unguents, and string beautiful garlands of flowers.¹⁸ The king had a large dancing hall, where the ladies used to dance in the day time, returning home at night.¹⁹ Queen Sudeshna, in order to further the nefarious designs of her brother Kichaka upon Draupadi, sent her to him for her favourite drink, as she was feeling thirsty.²⁰ This shows that royal ladies were not above taking an occasional glass of wine. On his return from the conquest of the Trigartas, the king ordered the musicians and public women of his capital to come out and receive him.²¹ He issued similar orders on the occasion of his son's victory over the cattle-raiders.²² Similarly, when Duryodhana went out on a hunting expedition to the forest of Dwaitavana, shopkeepers, merchants and prostitutes followed his camp in large numbers.²³ These unfortunate women had therefore a recognised part to play in the public life of ancient India.

X.

1. S. P., ch. 32.
2. S. P., ch. 4.
3. Bana Parva, ch. 50, and ch. 80.
4. *Ibid*, ch. 265.
5. Bana Parva, ch. 206.
6. Virata Parva, ch. 72.
7. Bana Parva, ch. 5 also, Sabha Parva, ch. 62.
8. Adi Parva, ch. 134.
9. Sabha Parva, ch. 61.
10. Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, p. 315.
11. Bana Parva, ch. 179.
12. Even the keen intellect of Sankaracharya, at a much later date, could not rise superior to the traditional authority of the Vedas and forbade their study to the Sudras in his discussion of the subject in I, 3, 34—38 of his great commentary of the Vedanta-sutras. The equitable or the humanitarian or the commonsense point of view, or even the Vedantic idea of the equality of all human souls, did not strike him as convincing. So slight is the influence of reason on even the highest minds in a country governed by authority from time immemorial.
13. Bana Parva, ch. 114.
14. Bana Parva, ch. 189.
15. To quote only a few out of many instances : Rig Veda, X, 85, 39 ; 161, 2. Ishopanishad, I, 2. Kaushitaki Upanishad, II, 7. Sankhālayana Grihya Sutra, I, 24, 4 ; Hiranyakeshin, I, 1, 4, 2—13.
16. Bana Parva, 210.
17. *Ibid*, 214.
18. Virata Parva, ch. 1—3.
19. Virata Parva, ch. 22.
20. *Ibid*, ch. 16.
21. *Ibid*, ch. 34.
22. *Ibid*, ch. 68.
23. Bana Parva, ch. 237.

MESSAGES FROM FRANCE

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

I. PREVALENT NOTIONS ABOUT FRANCE.

IN India as elsewhere France is known to the people at large as the manufacturer of perfumeries. A firm like the Parfumerie Lubin of Paris has an extensive market in India. It is as old as 1798 and is proud of its association with Empress Josephine a copy of one of whose orders the director would exhibit to the visitor. And he makes it a point also to emphasise that the stuff in



Crystal glasses made at Baccarat specially for the use of—(1) the King of Siam, (2) the King of Italy, (3) the Emperor of Japan, (4) the President of the French Republic, and (5) the Imperial family of Turkey.

which his firm deals is the essence of natural flowers worked up in the laboratory at Cannes in the Alpes-Maritimes province and is thus totally different in quality from the goods sold by other nations, say, by Germany.

Or perhaps the reputation of France consists in the glass products manufactured

by the Compagnie des Cristalleries which has its *usines* or factories at Baccarat, a town located in the east between Nancy and Strassbourg. In this instance at least the reputation is well justified. For to enter the museum of the company in Paris and visit the collection of vases and furniture, all crystal ware, in its spacious showrooms, is once more experiencing the interplay of forms and colours with which one is familiar in the halls of porcelain in the Imperial Palace at Peking. Not until you go again to Kyoto to watch the living art of silk embroidery can you realise how in the twentieth century conditions of mechanical industries the French people are maintaining the tradition of medieval aesthetics in a manner which might excite the jealousy of the cloister-protected calligraphists and fresco-painters.

All the same, Baccarat is a synonym for luxury,—the company-specializes in catering to the royalties and plutocracies of the world. But just as in regard to India the world has to come to identify it with the land of the Buddhas and the Chaitanyas and ignore altogether its Charlemagnes and Richelieus, in regard to France also the modern mind, especially the Anglo-Saxon puritan or rather the Anglo-American Cato, has created an impression that the French people are past-masters chiefly, if not exclusively, in perfumeries, table services, ladies' garments, pastries, culinary arts and such luxuries all along the line. Nay, in certain quarters French society,—“gay Paris,”—is alleged to be the nurse of questionable morals.

2. THE ATMOSPHERE OF PARIS.

Young India has need to be thoroughly disabused of these notions.

Come to “Comedie Francaise,” the theatre founded by Moliere (1622-1673) and see the *Maman Colibri*, a prose play in four acts by Henry Bataille, and watch how one touch of the pathos of contemporary French “comedy” (which, by the bye is steeped in the tragedy of *King Lear* or of *Othello*) makes the whole house sob like an assembly of

infants with streams of tears rolling down their cheeks. It is a drama of family life conceived in the setting of modern social conditions. But this French masterpiece in the conflict of emotions exhibits a profound grasp of the spiritual urge of life, beside which, as artist, Goethe is nothing but mediæval, Shakespeare too primitive and elementary, and Kalidas and Euripides simply archaic or pre-historic. And yet in his message Bataille is their peer. The playwright of Paris is a prophet like all great humanists of history.

The man in the street of Paris does not see only the advertisements of vaudevilles and cinemas. Lines like the following inscribed on the statue of Alfred de Musset (1810-1857) also arrest his attention on a foot-path at Palais Royal :

"Rein ne nous rend si grands qu'une grande douleur
* * Les plus desesperes sont les chants les plus beaux
Et j'en sais d'immortels qui sont de purs sanglots."

Here is the French passport to romanticism. It declares :

"Nothing makes us so great as doth a great sorrow
The most hopeless are the songs the most beautiful
And I know some immortal songs which are nothing
but sobs."

The world of which these lines from *La Nuit de Mai* gives a hint is Schiller's "einer andern Flur" and "einem andern Sonnenlichte, einer glucklichen Natur." Lovers of Shelley know how to "pine for what is not" and announce that "our sincerest laughter with some pain is ever fraught."

It is indisputable that nowhere else except in Paris can you find the stimulating atmosphere which one breathes in its art-galleries because nowhere else except in France have flourished the greatest painters of the present and the last generation. Today Bernheim-Jeune is exhibiting the new artistic anatomies created by Cezanne in his architectural grouping of colour-masses, and tomorrow one finds in the same Maison the dreamy violets "casting a dim religious light" over the floating flowers and nature's plenty of Claude-Monet's workmanship. Or, again, Renoir's sculpturesque construction of volumes in metallic red is presented to the public by Durand-Ruel, who on another occasion invites the city to view the peasants, meadows and towns in Pissarro's gouache and pastels.

In Paris, however, one does not have to visit the Louvre or the Luxembourg galleries

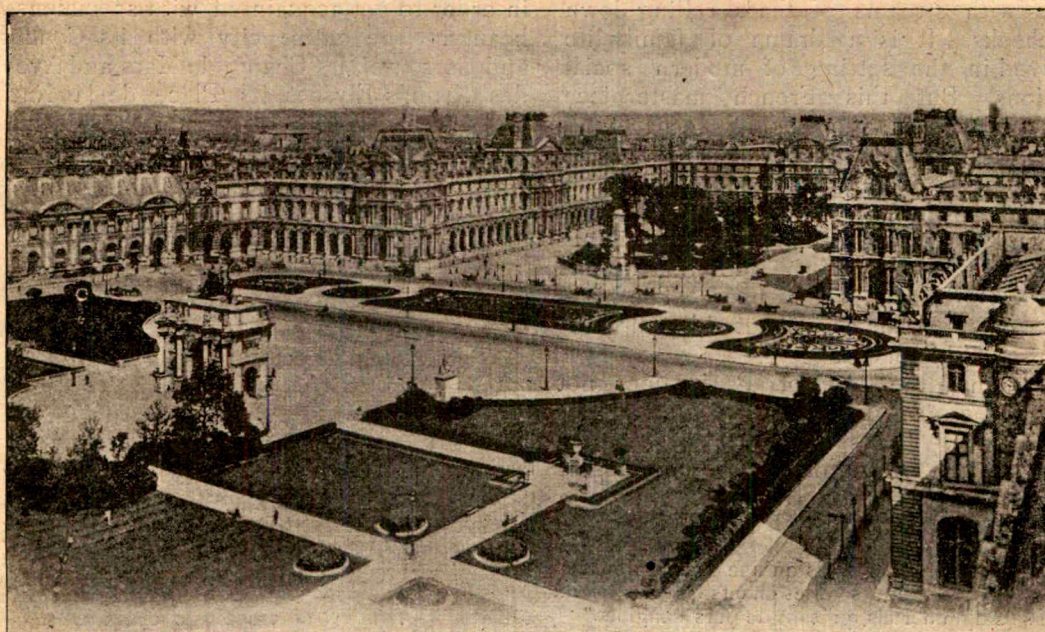
in order to get acquainted with specimens of beauty. The entire city with its Concorde and Carrousel, its Champ de Mars and Avenue des Champs-Elysees, its Place de la Nation and Trocadero, is one mammoth museum of living glories in sculpture and architecture. Paris is unparalleled from the point of view of the "city as art-gallery."



Decorated Glass Vases made at
Baccarat, France.

In the number of *librairies* selling higher literature and of stores dealing in *objects d'arts*, curios and antiquities, Paris seems to lead off all first class cities. In the Kiosks at the street corners the Parisian buys not only the women's magazines and the journals of dress, sport and travel, not only the bourgeois *Journal* and *Intransigeant* and the bolshevik *Humanite* and *Clarte* but also serious periodicals like the *Revue des deux mondes* and *Revue Bleue*, and magazines like the *Revue Scientifique*, *La Nature*, *La Science et la Vie*, *Revue Generale des Sciences*, etc. A Japanese will easily appreciate the significance of this observation. For an American also it will be a rare experience to come across the *Scientific Monthly*, *Science* or the *Journal of Industrial Hygiene* in the newspaper booths of New York streets.

If church going is a mark of religious life



Louvre Museum, Paris.

an occasional visitor may watch the kind of people who kneel down on their seats at the Notre Dame or the Madeleine to be satisfied that even the well-fed men and women of France,—bankers, journalists, lawyers, scientists,—have not yet bidden adieu to the conventional rituals of Catholicism. Notwithstanding the glare of cafes at night the home is still the centre of *la vie parisienne* almost exactly as it was in medieval Eur-Asia. And in the mentality of Young Paris such as one can size up in the *vers libre* of La Rochelle, the anti-militarist, one will come in touch with more genuine mysticism than in that of the professional mystics and traders in spirituality who often hail from the East to the West.

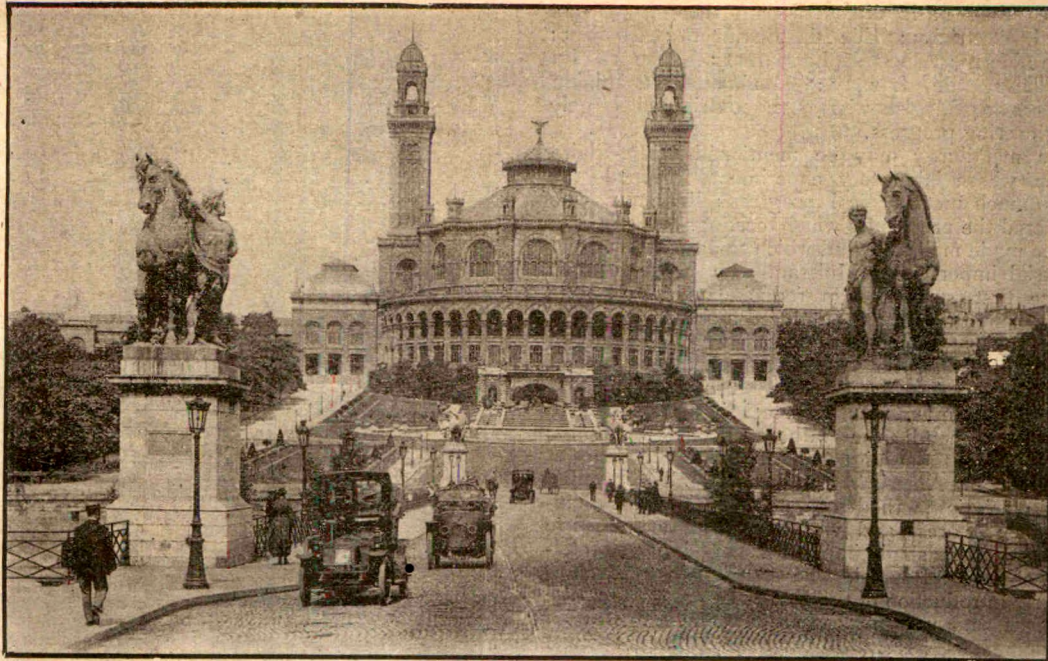
The standard of Paris is set by a Le Chatelier, the metallurgist, author of *Le Silice et les Silicates*, and inventor of apparatus which transforms industrial processes in mining, explosives and furnaces, but who still preaches with all the emphasis he can command the value of theoretical studies, or a Painleve, the mathematical genius, who was admitted into the *Institut de France* while quite young, and who was raised to the head of the war-office, nay, of the Cabinet during the most critical period in French history, in whom, moreover, not only Young China but all Asia can find a champion of independence.

Paris, again, is the city where Mercereau, the rising man of letters, in his small apartment draws once every week between 100 and 150 men and women representing the "seven arts" although he never offers the attractions of a salon, and where Gleizes, the most extreme of all cubists, lectures on the beauties of the novel forms in art which perhaps are hardly intelligible except to the initiated, with the enthusiasm of a discoverer of the "new Egypt" in Mars.

3. FRENCH DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS.

These are no doubt the superficial remarks of a casual traveller. But let us dive deeper. It is not necessary, however, to prepare an inventory of French achievements in modern culture from palaeontology to sinology by rummaging among the chapters of the two solid volumes of *La Science Française* (1915). We can sample out the general trend of life and level of thought in France by a much simpler process.

In 1907 a plebiscite was taken in France on the question as to who should be regarded as the greatest man of French history. Was it Victor Hugo? Was it Napoleon? Was it Rousseau? Was it Descartes? Was it Charlemagne? The verdict of the French Nation was "Louis Pasteur" (1822-1893),



Trocadero, Paris.

the biologist, who had died fourteen years previous to the popular appraisal of the country's heroes.

It is not easy to label with Pasteur the name of any single science because his investigations, each a discovery, have renovated every science from chemistry to zoology. His researches in racemic acid and crystalline dyssymetry gave birth to the science of stereochemistry. His theory of fermentation brought forth bacteriology. He is universally recognized as the father of the "scientific" study of medicine, inasmuch as he founded the germ theory of disease with all its applications in the problems of infection, anti-septic surgery, microparasitology, toxins, anti-toxins, serums and vaccines. Today not only physicians interested in the cure of rabies have to look up to Pasteur as one of the greatest benefactors of humanity, but every class of biologists, no matter whether botanists, physiologists or zoologists, have to remember him while developing the lines of investigation initiated by him in the studies on micro-organisms causing silk worm diseases and on the floating matter of the air.

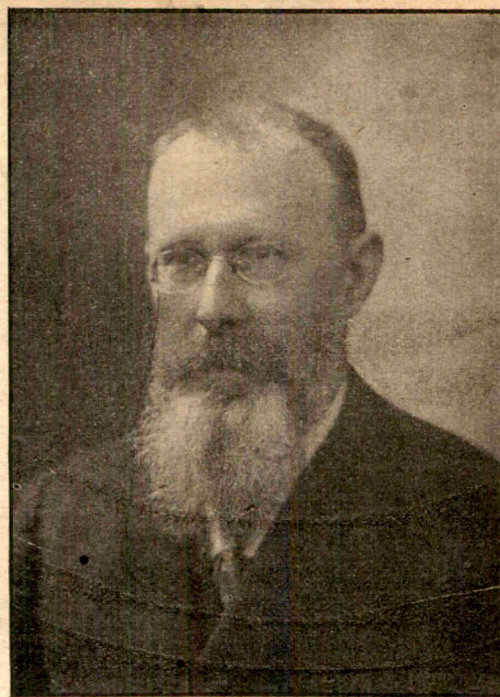
A nation which has sense enough to single out such a man as A. I. in its calendar of notables is certainly not a crowd of pleasure-seekers, materialists and sybarites.

We shall now speak of another phase in the civilization of France, namely, of French engineering feats. The engineers of the United States are noted for their achievements in this direction. So let us see what a committee of American experts has to say about their French comrades. Here follows a rather long extract :

"It will suffice for our purpose to name a few of the great French engineers whose achievements have made them famous. Such are Ferdinand de Lesseps the builder of the Suez Canal; Eiffel, who conceived and constructed the tower that bears his name; Perronet, Poncelet, Hennebique and Mesnager, civil engineers of world-wide reputation; Sauvage and Couche in railroad engineering; Sadi Carnot the discoverer of some of the most fundamental laws of thermodynamics; Etienne Lenoir; Beau de Rochas and Fernand Forest, who by their pioneer work in the development of the internal combustion engine prepared the way for the automobile and the aeroplane; Gramme, who developed the dynamo-electric machine, and took an important part in the discovery that dynamo machines are reversible, i.e., capable of being employed as motors; Baudot, the designer of a multiplex system extensively used; Marcel Depres, who was a pioneer in the electric transmission of power; Foucault, who first discovered the losses of power in dynamos due to eddy currents; Mascart; Joubert; Hospitalier; Andre Blondel and Maurice Le Blanc all of whom made important contributions to electrical engineering science and standards; the illustrious Ampere and Coulomb who, though generally classified as physicists, have powerfully contributed

through their basic discoveries to the progress of applied electricity; Elie de Beaumont; Combes; Callon; Houy; Albert de Lapparent; Haton de La Goupilliere; de Launay; Daubree, all mining engineers or geologists who have contributed largely to engineering progress.

"In metallurgy may be mentioned Sainte-Claire Deville, whose laboratory experiments opened the way to much metallurgical progress; Reaumur, who discovered the process by which castings of cast-iron may be made malleable and which to-day is of great industrial importance; Moissan, who in his electric furnace first succeeded in reducing oxides hitherto deemed unreducible, and produced a whole series of new carbides; Gruner, to whom we owe many of our scientific conceptions of the complex reactions of the iron blast furnace; Pierre Martin, who first succeeded in manufacturing steel in an open hearth furnace; Osmond, the father of metallography; Heroult, who (though ignorant of the work done at the time by the American metallurgist Hall) invented the electrolytic method of extracting metallic aluminum from its ores, and whose electric furnaces are playing an increasingly important part in the metallurgy of steel; Pourcel, who contributed so much to the early introduction of the Bessemer process on the Continent and was a pioneer in the manufacture of ferro-manganese; Henri Le Chatelier, eminent chemist and metallurgist, whose inventions of the thermo-electric pyrometer and numerous other contributions, have made possible much important progress in the art of treating metals; Schneider, of the Creusot



Paul Appell, President, University of Paris.



Louis Pasteur, the biologist.

Steel Works; Leon Guillet and George Charpy, productive workers of great talent."

The above report was drawn up by I. N. Hollis of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, H. M. Howe of Columbia University, A. C. Humphreys of Stevens Institute of Technology, and A. Saubeur of Harvard University and has been printed in *Science and Learning in France* (Chicago, 1917) edited by J. H. Wigmore.

4. KNOWING FRANCE.

To say that France is unknown in India will, however, be resented as an insult and surely condemned as a hyperbole. For, the civilisation of France from Descartes to H. Poincare, from Lamarck to Pasteur, from Moliere to Maupassant, and from Montesquieu to Jean Jaures conveys a distinct message which is as varied and complex as the different cross-sections of the Indian intelligentsia to which it is addressed.

But the objective experience of the past fifteen years has endowed Young India with an altogether new and a higher standard in the very conception of "knowing" and understanding a thing. Out of its titanic conflicts

MESSAGES FROM FRANCE

with the world-forces India has evolved a theory of knowledge which, although not quite original in modern psychology, was at any rate unknown in Asia previous to 1905.

In regard to France, for instance, thinkers have begun to interrogate her thus: "How much of our knowledge French civilisation is the result of o

Cabinet
du
Recteur

Paris, le 9 février 1921

Monsieur Benoy

Kumar Sankar,

C'est un grand honneur

pour moi, de vous adresser

salutations et aux étudiants

hindous, l'orgueilleux des

affectionnées sympathies

de professeurs et de

docteurs de l'Université de

Paris. Nous travaillerons

avec eux aux progrès

de la Culture humaine,

mise désormais au service

Paul Appell's Autograph Letter.

de la Liberté et de la
Justice

P. Appell

de l'Institut de France
Recevez, Monsieur,
Paris

Paul Appell's Autograph Letter.

activities? Which contributions of France to the progress of mankind have we been able to assimilate through the endeavours of our own path-finders, scouts, and star-gazers? How many great men or great discoveries of France has India discovered for herself? In other words, how much of French science and learning in India is *self-determined*?" Evidently this self-questioning attitude is but a corollary to the methodology of *swarajic* creation which is bound to belittle any consummation, however useful and lucrative at first sight, that is not conquered and possessed by dint of one's own *shakti* (force).

And certainly Young India is right in its self-criticism and in its doubts regarding the efficacy of the work accomplished by its immediate precursors. Because it is notorious that France has been made known in India almost exclusively by alien interpreters. The India of 1921 has to admit the defects of its great men of the recent past in so far as it has still to study the French revolution through British eyes and the French constitution in American translations. No Indian pioneer has yet been inspired to introduce French philosophy, science, or art to the attention of his compatriots. India's understanding of France is in consequence neither a creative process in her self-determined experimentations nor a product of her conscious

energizings to grasp the world at every point.

In the second place, the tyranny of the English language in modern Indian life and culture has definitely been recognized as inconsistent, with Young India's theory of knowledge. Knowledge is capture, conquest, possession, an intimate enjoyment of nature's secrets and mankind's glories. India cannot be said to possess France until the French arts and sciences are accessible in India's own language. India has long submitted to the despotic hegemony of a foreign tongue. In its attempts at understanding France, Young India cannot afford to continue that thralldom.

The problem is quite simple. If Charles Gide's book on economics is good enough to be swallowed line by line by the B. A. students of Indian universities when it is diluted in English and manufactured by a foreign publishing house, why should not the same material be considered equally palatable (perhaps even for the lower, the Intermediate, classes) once it is available in Telugu, Urdu, Marathi, Bengali or Hindi? The boycott of the foreign book-products is a most essential part in every scheme of *swaraj* in education.

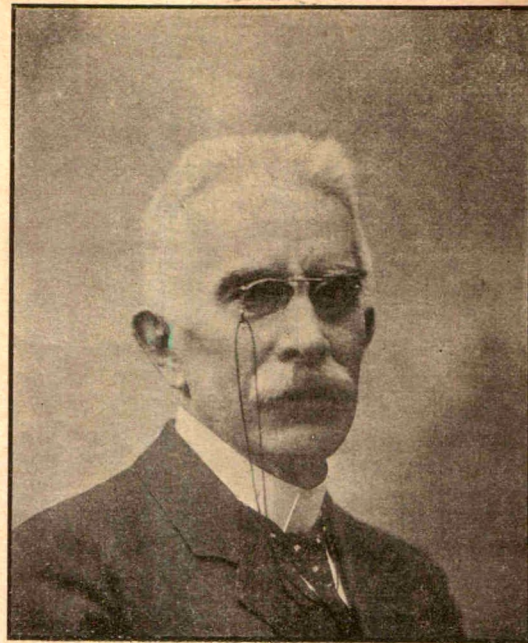
Young India is therefore seriously demanding such an educational policy as will take immediate steps to render de Quatrefage's

De la methode dans les sciences, Claude-Bernard's *Introduction a l'etude de la medecine experimentale*, Orthlieb's *L'aeronautique*, Moureu's *Notions fondamentales de chimie organique*, Moulon's *Puericulture*, Brunhes' *La geographie humaine*, Meillet's *Introduction a l'etude comparative des langues indo-europeennes*, Dwelshauver's *La psychologie francaise contemporaine*, Durkheim's *Les regles de la methode sociologique*, Levy-Bruhl's *Les fonctions mentales dans les societes inferieures*, Joseph-Barthelemy's *Le gouvernement de la France*, Raphael-George Levy's *Banques d'emission et tresors publics*, Faure's *L'Art Moderne*, Gide and Rist's *Histoire des doctrines economiques*, Pelliot's *Asie Centrale*, and other books available in the languages which the university students speak in their homes.

To defer this question of enriching the vernaculars to an indefinite future while concentrating all or a principal part of the energy on buildings and furniture, indispensable as they are, can but betray a lamentable lack of statesmanship on the part of India's educational leaders. The assimilation of French culture in India is ultimately only a quest on financial patronage to be extended by persons who are interested in national expansion to the compilers, translators, or authors of books in the Indian languages and to the publishing societies or scientific and literary academies.

The paucity of technical terms in the vernaculars is only an excuse of "politicians" who have no other weapon with which to combat Young India's theory of knowledge except sheer obstinacy and the Satanic will to retard human progress by any and every means. Japan did not wait for the evolution of scientific terms in the Japanese language before she proceeded to assimilate the standard European and American works on medicine, engineering, and metallurgy.

And yet the Japanese who know little English and less French, German, Dutch, or Russian, have learned how to direct the air-machines, sub-marines, and seismometres, conduct creditable experiments in biological chemistry, and play with financial statistics as nimbly as with the figures on the chessboard. But although Japan is a first-class power and has to her credit the event of Port Arthur, triumphs in the Yangtze Valley, and the famous "racial equality" doctrine



Henri Le Chatelier, Member of the
"Institut de France", Editor,
Revue Metallurgique.

broached at the Congress of Versailles, no philologist has yet ventured to assert that the capabilities of the Japanese language as an instrument of modern expression are richer than those of any of the Dravidian or the Aryan languages of India.

The day of bamboozling Young India is gone. Young India is thoroughly conscious that technical terms "grow" in exactly the same manner as the thought itself or the expression thereof tends to grow. It knows moreover that the vocabulary can be "made" to order, i.e., created by the fiat of a *parishat*, *sammelan*, *mandala*, to serve as conventional symbols for certain defined purposes. And finally, the technical terms can be revised and improved at will from year to year or from quinquennium to quinquennium, whether by the authors themselves or by learned societies.

The question of the Indian vernaculars thus occupies to-day a foremost place in the thought in connection with the problem of knowing and understanding or Indianizing the civilization of France. But the theory of knowledge as a function of linguistic *digvijaya*, as conquest of the world by means of one's own language, or as absorption of



Charles Gide, Editor, *Revue d' Economie*,
Politique.

the resources of human attainments in the *sarva-bhaumic* empire of one's mother-tongue, came into prominence with the birth throes of the National Council of Education, Bengal, in 1905. It remains for the stalwarts of the national education movement in its second phase, which is developing before our eyes, to place the "ideas of 1905" on the annual budget of Young India and systematically carry them out as one of the irreducible minima of its constructive educational policy. Not more than a sum of Rs. 500,000 is likely to be needed in order to make *within three years* any leading Indian vernacular initially fit for being the medium to be used in the highest instruction of the standard which the existing universities offer at the present moment.

5. A CHALLENGE TO YOUNG INDIA.

Knowing and understanding are not, however passive receiving, they involve reacting and reconstructing as well. For, knowledge is a function of life; it is a process in utilization, i.e., creation of values. This doctrine of life as self-assertion is Young India's distinctive contribution in contemporary social philosophy. It has been formulated in unmistakable terms in Jagadish Chunder Bose's comprehensive analysis of the "responses", which in its entirety is but the theoretic correlate of the modern Indian *sadhana* (striv-

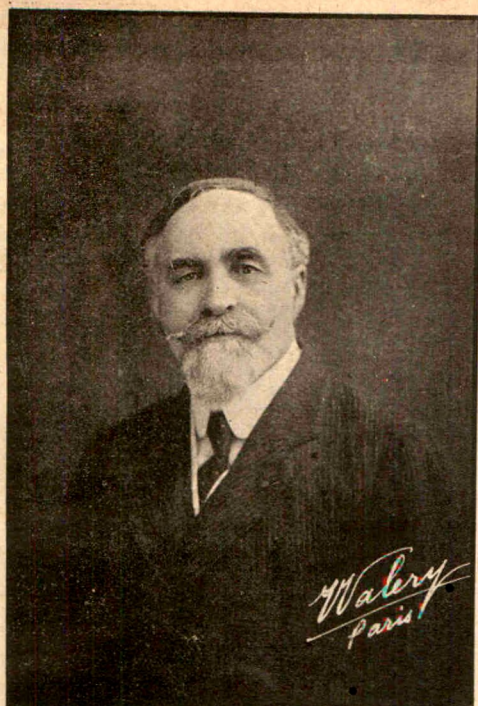
ings) for conquest and expansion. Young India therefore does not believe that one can be said to know or understand a thing as long as one is not in a position to exploit and transform it for one's own ends.

In examining Young India by its own standard France might therefore naturally ask: "What have the Indians done in the way of making use of French institutions, movements and ideals in order to promote their own vital principle; in order to advance the interests of India's own growth and development?" France has not as yet had palpable evidences of India's self-consciousness. Where in France are the French people to look for the manifestations of Indian energy and self-assertion, for the responses of India's life-force to the thousand and one stimuli of the world forces? France can feel the vital urge of Poland, Tchecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Yougo-Slavia, for they are all active and persistent in their pressure on French resources. But to France India is a cipher, an inert automaton, a geographical expression and not a living organism.

All that the French people know about the India that is dead has come to them through the antiquarian efforts of their own *indianistes* from Chezy, Bergaigne and Burnouf to Senart, Levi and Foucher. Their *Société Asiatique* does not seem ever to have felt the impress of an Indian "indianist". The economics and politics of India since 1857 have likewise found a place in French consciousness through the investigations of France's own consuls and diplomats like Valbazen, S. H. Barthelemy, Maindron, Aubin, Metin, Piriou, Chailley, Clavery, etc. Has any Indian publicist ever thought of addressing the French democracy on the question of India in world-politics?

Even the latest phase of the political movements in India (1905-1921) has been made known to France in *Le Monde Illustré*, a weekly, in as complete and succinct a manner as possible not by an Indian but by a Frenchman, Maurice Bourgeois. Finally, again, on the cultural aspects the nationalist activity in India is being interpreted by another Frenchman, Leantire Vaillat, who has been contributing a series of articles to the daily *Figaro*.

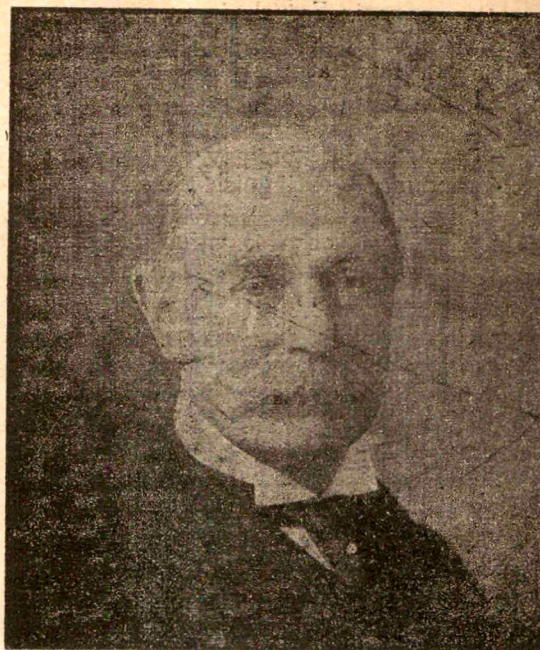
Altogether France has not learned a single thing about India or the world from the work of an Indian of the present age.



Charles Mouren, Organic Chemist, of the Institute, Editor, Revue Scientifique.

India has not declared herself in France, she has lacked self-expression. India has failed to take advantage of the French language in order to convey to the world what is her standpoint in science, arts, philosophy and international relations. India does not maintain in Paris a single bureau of information, commercial, political or cultural, in order to let the French *sociétés*, clubs, *réunions*, *maisons*, and *académies* feel that she is doing something to recreate mankind. India is not represented in France by a single delegation of responsible individuals who might collaborate with the leaders of French life on their own platforms in the field of thought or of social endeavour. In the French world of experience, therefore, India does not figure as a conscious unit.

The reproach is not unfounded. The world has indeed a right to say: "You Indians were forced to learn English virtually, if not ostensibly, at the point of the bayonet. Your Rammohan Roys had no alternative before them but found English colleges and thus adopt the ways and means of making a foreign domination over you easy



Senator Raphaël-Georges Levy, President, "Societe d' Economie Politique."

and perhaps permanent. Incidentally, of course, you have been able to assimilate something of the modern spirit owing to the education you have received in your English schools. And you have also been able to show a little sign of rejuvenation during the last three generations by literary, scientific or journalistic activity. But all these marks of new life in India manifest themselves chiefly in English. Altogether they indicate your own weakness and the strength of your alien master by whose administration and educational system you have been introduced to the larger world."

Undoubtedly India has yet to demonstrate before the bar of civilised humanity that like the people of Japan she has the virility in her to make use of western civilisation, or for that matter, the institutions and ideals of modern life, without the compulsion, tacit or open, from a western rule. For, a race that is alive and wishes to remain alive would know how to seek the best allies of its life and power from here and there and everywhere.

And the Frenchman may be pardoned if he throws out the same challenge in the following manner: "Let India show her mettle

to the world by displaying her strength in French language, in French institutions, and in French public life. Let India be determined to prove that at least in one instance she has learned to choose her love independently and through her own eyes. We shall then recognize that foreign subjection has not been able to extinguish the freedom of the Indian mind."

This challenge is an invitation to a trial of strength. It is worthy the serious consideration of those who represent and engineer the vital impulses of Young India. It is time that Indian intellectuals should begin to be in evidence among Latin, Slavic, Yellow and Semitic peoples.

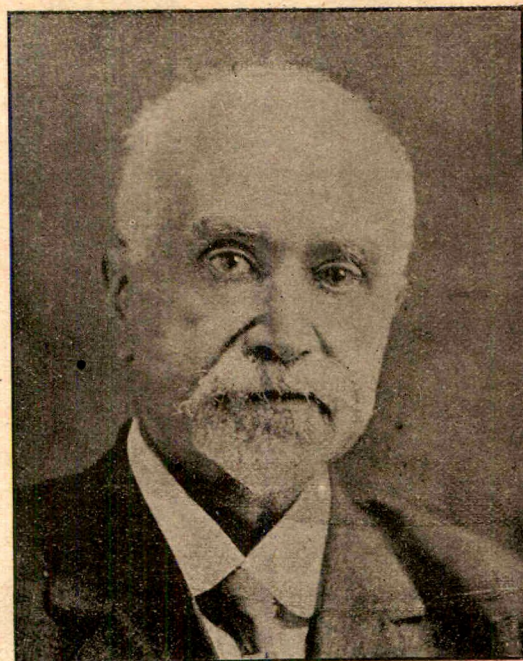
India has to give solid testimony to the fact that she does not claim her position in international polity on the strength of an English chaperon. India has to make known by her daily attitudes and reactions that she is a respectable colleague and peer of the other nations. Further, India is to demand her place in the sun on the ground that she is capable of interpreting herself in her own way and also of having herself heard in the standard dialect, whatever it be, of diplomacy and science.

It thus becomes absolutely necessary for several hundred Indians of distinction to experience equality and practise comradeship *not in an intermittent or casual fashion but from year's end to year's end*, with the other makers of current history and with the other founders of new landmarks in human civilisation. To establish this kinship with *vishva-shakti* (the world-forces) and to help reconstructing the world-structure are important aspects in the foreign policy of Young India which can no longer be overlooked by its leaders whether interested in the sciences, industries and arts, or in politics, public life and journalism.

6. A CALL TO COMRADESHIP.

The moment is opportune. For, Young India's achievements in diverse fields since 1905 have already won for it a recognition in Asia, Europe and America, — not only in council-chambers and in the lobbies of parliaments but also in scientific associations and among the people at large. The world is therefore now willing to know India "intensively" and meet her on terms of friendship and equality. Thus, on behalf of the Frenchmen of science Paul Appell, one of the most

renowned mathematicians of the present day, offers his greetings to Indian intellectuals and cordially invites them to co-operate with savants in France in the work of extending the bounds of learning and enlarging the domain of the rights of man.



Professor Levy-Bruhl, Editor, *Revue Philosophique*.

The letter of welcome, dated Paris, the 9th February 1921, is being reproduced in Appell's autograph :

"C'est du fond du coeur que j'envoie aux savants et aux étudiants hindous l'expression des affectueuses sympathies des professeurs et des élèves de l'Université de Paris. Nous travaillerons avec eux aux progrès d'une culture humaine, mise désormais au service de la Liberté et de la Justice."

The letter is signed by Appell in his capacity as member of the *Institut de France* and as rector of the University of Paris. The "French Insitute" is the central scientific organisation founded by Napoleon in 1795 to co-ordinate the activities of all the highest learned societies of France, called the *Academies* which are at present five in number. In the estimation of the world of savants the Institute of France corresponds to the Royal Society of Great Britain.

The Rector of a French University may be described as roughly equivalent to the

chancellor or president of English and American universities. But there is one important distinction. In France the head of a university is the administrator also of secondary instruction for one of the seventeen educational districts (technically known as *Academies*) into which France (including Algeria) is divided. In French official language Appell is *recteur de l'Academie de Paris*. Says President Appell:

"It is from the bottom of my heart, that I send to the savants and students of India (N. B. In France as in the United States the term '*hindou*' is geographical and therefore includes Mussalmans as well as those who are Hindu by faith) the warm sympathies of the professors and students of the University of Paris. We shall work with them for the advancement of a human civilisation which will be directed henceforth to the service of Liberty and Justice."

In these few lines as in everything that he has done in his life Appell is recognized by the representative men of France as a true child of the French revolution. And India finds her "ideas of 1905" fraternizing herein with the spirit of 1789, another instance of the elderly West lending a helping hand to the rising East.

There are universities and some very celebrated too where a man becomes president, chancellor or governor not because his scientific attainments, if fortunately he should happen to possess any, automatically raise him to the head of the Faculties, but because he commands a social pull, perhaps because he is a successful broker. Such presidents might as well have shone as directors of a brewery or of a cigarette-manufacturing company, for the simple reason that the accident of their birth

enables them to gracefully approach the moneyed aristocracy for funds;—a no mean qualification, however, in contemporary civilisation when the efficiency of instruction and the heightening of the educational standard are invariably dependent on the expansion of the budget.

But Appell owes his position entirely to his address in the world of science. Specialists in mathematics can judge for themselves the value of his *Theorie des fonctions algebriques et de leurs integrals*, *Principes de la theorie des fonctions elliptiques et applications* and *Traite de mecanique rationnelle* (in three volumes). In astronomy also his name is quite well known. And just as during the war another French mathematician, Painleve, rose to the highest political office in the state and came to be the most discussed man of France, so also the name of Monsieur Appell became a household word in the city and in *mofussil* in connection with his services as director of *Secour National* (or *Jatiya Seva Samiti*, to use the current Indian expression) which was instituted by the government to relieve the people in distress of all sorts.

The call to comradeship from Paul Appell is for the Hindus and Mussalmans a message of welcome into a life of expansion. It furnishes an atmosphere of co-operation between the East and the West on the one hand and of unhindered competition in brain-powers between India and the world on the other. And coming as it does from one of the first citizens of the French republic the noble message deserves a generous response from the apostles of Greater India.

PRACTICAL SWARAJ

By W. W. PEARSON.

"The evolution of humanity beyond its present level depends absolutely on its power to unite and create true social organisms."

"The beauty of great civilisations has been built up far more by the people working together than by any corporate action of the State."

"A. E."

I.

It is now no longer necessary to discuss whether Swaraj is attainable or not in India. Our observation tells us that it is already in being. Wherever a man or a woman refuses to be enslaved,

wherever inner freedom and self-mastery are highly valued, there we have true Swaraj. The people of India have at last realised that the old state of subjection was an intolerable form of slavery, and the desire for Swaraj can no longer be stifled either by a foreign bureaucracy which has lost its moral right to rule nor by those politicians who plead for caution and compromise.

It is, however, more than ever necessary to discover a practical policy which shall be an outward expression of that true independence which is a proof of character and is the outcome of self-respect and discipline.

The present flood of profound love and enthusiasm for the Motherland, which rejoices the heart of all true lovers of India, would be a dangerous symptom if it were not accompanied by wisdom of purpose and steadfast self-sacrifice. Nothing has encouraged me personally more than the action of the students in going out into the villages to work for the people and to serve the sick and uneducated. But enthusiasm alone is apt to wane, and in order that the noble work of these young men of Bengal may bear its fullest fruits it is necessary to find ways in which its effects may be made permanent.

Every contribution to this problem must be welcome, and it is for this reason that I am writing this account of a remarkable book which I feel has a message for India at the present time when her young men are seeking for ways of serving their country in the spirit of freeseif-surrender. The book is entitled "The National Being: Some thoughts on an Irish Polity." The author, Mr. George Russell, "A. E.", is one of the noblest living Irishmen. He has done much to help Sir Horace Plunkett in the development of the Co-operative Movement in Agricultural districts of Ireland, and is one of those rare idealists who is at the same time a practical man.

There is such a close parallel between Ireland and India, not only in the fact of her political subjection but also in the nature of her national problems, that the solution offered by "A. E." in this book

seems as if it were specially written for India. The problems of Ireland are largely agricultural, so are those of India. Her needs, as are those of India also, are the needs of the rural population and not those of the towns.

Early in this book the author deals with the danger among politicians of attempting to model their form of Self-government on lines borrowed from the "Mother of Parliaments". "A. E." points out that this danger should be strenuously avoided, for if there is anything in the theory of nationality then each country ought to apply to its national problems its own original principles, as they are from time to time discovered to be fundamental to the character of the nation in question. Further he argues that the parliamentary form of government has proved itself ineffective. There can be no doubt that India has its original contribution to make to the theory and practice of government, and that she has too long believed in government by parliament as truly democratic. She has discovered by bitter experience the hollow futility of Parliamentary rule, and it is time that she ceases to trust in a system which has, even in the country of its birth, proved itself bankrupt and self-condemned. For representative government has ceased to exist in England. G. K. Chesterton has said of it that,

"Parliament has abdicated in favour of the Cabinet, and the Cabinet has abdicated in favour of Mr. Lloyd George."

This age is often spoken of as the age of Democracy, but as "A. E." says:

"We have no more a real democracy in the world to-day. Democracy in politics has in no country led to Democracy in its economic life."

In fact in countries, such as England and America, which boast of their democratic principles, the people are the slaves of an oligarchy. Capitalistic and industrial interests rule. The old Panchayat system of India was more truly democratic in practice than either the republican system of America or the parliamentary system of Great Britain. And it may well be that the new form of Government in

India will revert to the Village Panchayat system while at the same time accepting some form of co-operation such as is outlined in "A. E."-'s book, and which has been carried into effect by "A. E." himself and by Sir Horace Plunkett.

But whatever form the new Government of India by Indians may take, it will be of far less importance than the positive work undertaken by the people who desire to serve her. An unbounded confidence in what its humanity can do is the necessary precursor of a nation's greatness. The fact that thousands of students in Bengal, and other parts of India, have this unbounded confidence is the most hopeful sign of the present times. But this confidence must be expressed in co-operation. Non-co-operation with the present Government is undoubtedly necessary as a preliminary act for freeing ourselves from the fettering shackles of the past, but "to be positive is always better than to be negative" and co-operation between those who desire to serve India will do more for the attainment of Swaraj than any amount of negative action.

In a leading article in "The Servant" early in January these words occurred:—

"We believe that the non-co-operation movement has now arrived at a point where the most pressing need is for a decentralized programme. The nation lives in the villages and not in the towns and cities; it is therefore among the villagers that the great work of national reconstruction must be begun."

There is nothing negative about this, and this need has been recognised by many ever since the Swadeshi movement many years ago. But until now every effort to serve the village communities has been frustrated by the suspicions of the police and the activities of the C. I. D. We can now look forward to a time when such obstacles will have ceased to exist, but the obstacles will now be internal rather than external, and possibly we shall find these even more difficult to overcome. Our efforts will have to be directed towards conquering our own weaknesses and sustaining our endeavour at the level of our first enthusiasm.

It is to the young men of Bengal that

we look for the regeneration of the country. They have the moving force of youthful enthusiasm and faith in the infinite possibilities of their country. But there lies before us a long road of effort and endeavour in which feelings alone will not be sufficient to carry us over the rough and toilsome places. Will and thought must take the place of enthusiasm, and excited political controversies must give way to persistent and constant effort.

"A. E." warns us of this danger when he writes as follows:

"What too many people in Ireland mistake for thoughts are feelings. It is enough to them to vent likes or dislikes, inherited prejudices or passions, and they think when they have expressed feeling they have given utterance to thought. The nature of our political controversies provoked passion, and passion has become dominant in our politics. Passion truly is a power in humanity, but it should never enter into national policy. It is a dangerous element in human life, though it is an essential part of our strangely compounded nature. But in national life it is the most dangerous of all guides. There are springs of power in ourselves which in passion we draw on and are amazed at their depth and intensity, yet we do not make these the master light of our being, but rather those divine laws which we have apprehended and brooded upon, and which shine with clear and steady light in our souls. Now the State is higher in the scale of being than the individual, and it should be dominated solely by moral and intellectual principles. These are not the outcome of passion or prejudice, but of arduous thought. National ideals must be built up with the same conscious deliberation of purpose as the architect of the Parthenon conceived its lofty harmony of shining marble lines, or as the architect of Rheims Cathedral designed its intricate magnificence and mystery."

What then, according to "A. E.", is the necessity laid upon all those who, whether in India or in Ireland, want to build up the new civilisation? It is to work so that "their external life correspond in some measure to their internal dream."

With regard to Ireland he writes:

"We may say with certainty that the external circumstances of people are a measure of their inner life. Our mean and disordered little country towns in Ireland, with their drink-shops, their disregard for cleanliness or beauty, accord with the character of the civilians who

inhabit them. Whenever we develop an intellectual life these things will be altered, but not in priority to the spiritual mood. House by house, village by village, the character of a civilization changes as the character of the individuals change. When we begin to build up a lofty world within the national soul, soon the country becomes beautiful and worthy of respect in its externals. That building up of the inner world we have neglected. Our excited political controversies, our playing at militarism, have tended to bring men's thought from central depths to surfaces. Life is drawn to its frontiers away from its spiritual base, and behind the surfaces we have little to fall back on. Few of our notorieties could be trusted to think out any economic or social problem thoroughly and efficiently. They have been engaged in passionate attempts at the readjustment of the superficialities of things. What we require more than men of action at present are scholars, economists, scientists, thinkers, educationalists, and litterateurs, who will populate the desert depths of national consciousness with real thought and turn the void into a fullness."

Apply to India what "A. E." says of Ireland and I think we shall see how timely his words are.

"Those who love India nobly desire for her the highest of human destinies. They would ransack the ages and accumulate wisdom to make Indian life seem as noble in men's eyes as any the world has known. The better minds in every race, eliminating passion and prejudice by the exercise of the imaginative reason, have revealed to their countrymen ideals which they recognised were implicit in national character. It is such discoveries we have yet to make about ourselves to unite us to fulfil our destiny. We have to discover what is fundamental in Indian character, the affections, leanings, tendencies towards one or more of the eternal principles which have governed and inspired all great human effort, all great civilizations from the dawn of history. A nation is but a host of men united by some God-begotten mood, some hope of liberty or dream of power or beauty or justice or brotherhood, and until that master idea is manifested to us there is no shining star to guide the ship of our destinies.

We have to do for India — though we hope with less arrogance — what the long and illustrious line of German thinkers, scientists, poets, philosophers, and historians did for Germany, or what the poets and artists of Greece did for the Athenians: and that is, to create national ideals which will dominate the policy of statesmen, the actions of citizens, the universities, the social organizations, the administration of State departments, and unite in one spirit urban and rural life."

Now this means not only arduous thought but strenuous and consistent action. Many years ago when I was speaking to a group of students in Calcutta I quoted from a book about Ireland. It described how a young Irish patriot, who had looked forward to a political career in the cause of his country's freedom, was told by his priest to serve Ireland by living amongst her people and serving them as their comrade. It meant giving up the fame and popularity of a political career of great promise, but this youth chose a life of daily drudgery in an obscure village because he realised that in that way he was helping to free his countrymen from what was far more fatal than political subjection, namely subjection to ignorance, indolence, and vice. In every country the attainment of true Swaraj can only be achieved by means such as these, and "A. E." shows us the way in which practical Swaraj is being attained in Ireland.

II.

"We do right to expect great things from the State, but we ought to expect still greater things from ourselves."

"The national idealism which will not go into the fields and deal with the fortunes of the working farmers is false idealism."

"A. E."

Let us now turn to the methods proposed by "A. E." for the development of this new civilisation. It is clear that the means are *not political*, but economic and educational.

The Irish Agricultural Organization Society is in Ireland the organ of effective action. It is described as "a swing back to Ireland's traditional and natural *communism in work*." This means that it is rooted in the best traditions of Ireland's past. Instead of attempting to introduce a poor copy of an alien system the desire has been to apply to modern conditions the principles original and fundamental in the Irish nation.

Now just as in Ireland the main industry is agriculture so is it in India, and therefore the chief problem of India is the same as that of Ireland, namely, "how to

enable the countryman, without journeying, to satisfy to the full his economic, social, intellectual and spiritual needs."

The means, we have said, are twofold: first economic, secondly educational. Of these apparently the economic is the more urgent. In a recent conversation I had with Sir Horace Plunkett in America we discussed the work of the co-operative movement in Ireland. He stated that we have to recognise the need of persuading men of the economic benefits of co-operation before we can induce them to co-operate on other matters. Over and over again he has found that when men in a country district in Ireland have discovered the economic advantages of co-operation they have begun to co-operate for educational and social welfare. His invariable experience has been that co-operation for selfish ends leads inevitably to co-operation for mutual advantage. Altruism follows when a firm basis of economic prosperity has been established, simply because the very act of co-operating for a common end unconsciously leads to a desire to combine for the benefit of all.

The considered opinion of a man of such long experience in co-operation as Sir Horace Plunkett is one that we would be wise not to neglect. It is therefore important for those who wish to serve India, and to develop amongst her people the spirit of co-operation, to study the best methods of introducing co-operation into her economic life.

The political motive must be replaced by the economic. When a whole people lives on the very verge of perpetual starvation it is useless to appeal to them on the plane of politics. However much they may believe that their miserable condition is due to a defective political system or an alien form of government, so long as they need food and are in a state of economic servitude no amount of political propaganda will be of any use in alleviating their condition. It is therefore more important to teach the village communities of India how to co-operate for their mutual benefit than it is to preach to them the duty of non-co-operation with the present

government. Establish in the villages strong and self-respecting communities founded upon a firm basis of mutual trust and economic prosperity, and inevitably Swaraj will follow. The mere departure of the British from India does not mean Swaraj though it is an essential preliminary, for with an alien government we have found that freedom of action is impossible. If the British were to leave India to-morrow Swaraj would not necessarily follow. *Swaraj means more than a change of masters, it means that we learn to master ourselves*, and that can only be achieved by a long process of self-discipline.

In Ireland this process of self-discipline has been going on in various districts of the country ever since the founding of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society thirty years ago. Although it may seem as if at present all the fruits of those years of labour are being destroyed by the armed and undisciplined forces of the Crown, it is not so in reality. For it is almost certain that the members of this Society, as a result of their training in co-operation, will prove to be the most efficient members of the new Irish Administration. British soldiers may destroy the Society's creameries, but they cannot destroy the spirit of co-operation which has been developed during the years of the Society's existence.

Outside this movement the Irish are unorganised and helpless. They are separated from each other and are weak because they cannot act together.

Before this Society was founded the Irish farmer produced, but for himself alone and not for the community in which he lived. This was false economy as it is also in India, for it meant that instead of combining with his neighbours for the purchase of his necessities and the sale of his produce he paid more for what he bought than he need have done because he bought in small quantities and had to pay carriage on small parcels, and got a lower price for his produce than he might have done if he had been organised with his neighbours. He never realised that if he combined with his neighbours he could

purchase his seed, for example, at wholesale prices and have it brought in bulk from some wholesale market. Instead of buying his household necessities at a central Store he had to buy them at one of the host of small shops which existed in every district of Ireland and which, because they themselves had to buy in small quantities, charged more than the real value of the goods to the consumer. When he sold eggs, butter or bacon he had to sell them to a local dealer and he rarely knew where his produce went to, so that his horizon was limited to his own district and he knew little or nothing of such things as world markets. The acts of the Government which ruled over him did not interest him, for he did not realise the effect they had on his own life, on the price of his farm produce or of his daily necessities. His methods of agriculture differed little from the traditional methods which prevailed in the 18th century, and he was never told how, by combination with his neighbouring farmers, he could use improved machinery for his ploughing, sowing, and reaping.

But with the coming of the Agricultural Organization Society all this was changed. Those who came into the orbit of this Society's activities learnt for the first time that *isolated and individualistic agricultural production is wasteful and false economy*. But further than this they came to learn that "The difficulty of moving the countryman, which has become traditional, is not due to the fact that he lives in the country, but to the fact that he lives in an unorganised society."

Let "A. E." describe the change which comes to the individual.

"The co-operative movement connects with living links the home, the centre of Patrick's being, to the nation, the circumference of his being. It connects him with the nation through membership of a national movement, not for the political purposes which call on him for a vote once every few years, but for economic purposes which affect him in the course of his daily occupations. This organization of the most numerous section of the Irish democracy into co-operative associations, as it develops and embraces the majority, will tend to make the nation one and indivisible and conscious of its unity. The individual, however meagre

his natural endowment of altruism, will be led to think of the community as himself; because his income, his social pleasures even, depend on the success of the local and national organizations with which he is connected."

"We can imagine him as a member of a committee getting hints of a strange doctrine called science from his creamery manager. He hears about bacteria, and these dark invisibles replace, as the cause of bad butter-making, the wicked fairies of his childhood. Watching this manager of his society he learns a new respect for the man of special or expert knowledge. Discussing the business of his association with other members he becomes something of a practical economist. He knows now where his produce goes. He learns that he has to compete with Americans, Europeans, and Colonials—indeed with the farmers of the world, hitherto concealed from his view by a mountainous mass of middlemen. He begins to be interested in these countries and reads about them. He becomes a citizen of the world. His horizon is no longer bounded by the wave of blue hills beyond his village. The roar of the planet begins to sound in his years. What is more important is that he is becoming a better citizen of his own country. He meets on his committee his religious and political opponents, not now discussing differences but identities of interest. He also meets the delegates from other societies in District conferences or general congresses, and local co-operation leads on to national co-operation. The best intellects, the best business men in the societies, meet in the big centres as directors of federations and wholesales, and they get an all-Ireland view of their industry. They see the parish from the point of view of the nation, and this vision does not desert them when they go back to the parish. They realise that their interests are bound up with national interests, and they discuss legislation and administration with practical knowledge. Eyes getting keener every year, minds getting more instructed, begin to concentrate on Irish public men. Presently Patrick will begin to seek for men of special knowledge and administrative ability to manage Irish affairs."

Having described the change to the individual let us see what change comes to the community. He writes:—

"More changes often take place within a dozen years after a co-operative society is first started than have taken place for a century previous. I am familiar with a district in the north-west of Ireland. It was a most wretchedly poor district. The farmers were at the mercy of the traders and the agricultural middlemen. Then a dozen years ago a co-operative society was formed. I am sure that the oldest inhabitant would agree with me that more changes have taken place since the co-operative society

was started than he could remember in all his previous life. The farmers control their own buying and selling. Their organization markets for them the eggs and poultry. It procures seeds, fertilizers, and domestic requirements. It turns the members' pigs into bacon. They have a village hall and a woman's organization. They sell the products of the women's industry. They have a co-operative band, social gatherings, and concerts. They have spread out into half-a-dozen parishes, going southward and westward with their propaganda and in half-a-dozen years, in all that district, previously without organization, there will be well-organized farmers' guilds, concentrating in themselves the trade of their district, and having funds, or profits, the joint property of the community, which can be drawn upon to finance their undertakings. I assert that there can never be any progress in rural districts or any real prosperity without such farmers' organizations or guilds. Wherever rural prosperity is reported of any country, inquire into it, and it will be found that it depends on rural organization. Wherever there is rural decay, if it is inquired into, it will be found that there was a rural population but no rural community, no organization, no guild to promote common interests and unite the countrymen in defence of them."

Wherever in Ireland a Co-operative Society has been started there we see that farmers are able to do things which as individuals they would have found it impossible to do. The Society is in the first place a better buyer than the individual. It can buy an expensive threshing machine and let its members have the use of it, thus saving enormous labour. The individual farmer would not be able to purchase such a machine even with the savings of years. It can also buy the seed required by its members at wholesale prices and also the fertilisers for their fields. The Society is also a better producer, for in the same way it can afford to buy expensive plants for making butter, etc., which would be entirely beyond the purse of the individual farmer. I believe that in a certain zemindary in Bengal the ryots have combined to purchase a rice-husking machine, and that they have already saved the original cost of the machine by the saving effected by husking their own rice in bulk. The co-operative idea is capable of infinite variation, the most attractive of its many-sided influence being that which affects the social life of the village communities,

bringing brightness and interest into the lives of those whose lives have hitherto been notoriously dull and uninteresting. Let "A. E." give in his own words his vision of the future possibilities of the co-operative movement in Ireland :

"The organized rural community of the future will generate its own electricity at its central buildings, and run not only its factories and other enterprises by this power, but will supply light to the houses of its members and also mechanical power to run machinery on the farm. One of our Irish societies already supplies electric light for the town it works in. In the organized rural community the eggs, milk, poultry, pigs, cattle, grain, and wheat produced on the farm and not consumed, or required for further agricultural production, will automatically be delivered to the co-operative business centre of the district, where the manager of the dairy will turn the milk into butter or cheese, and the skim milk will be returned to feed the community's pigs. The poultry and egg department will pack and dispatch the fowls and eggs to market. The mill will grind the corn and return it ground to the member. The community will hold in common all the best machinery too expensive for the members to buy individually. The agricultural labourers will gradually become skilled mechanics, able to direct threshers, binders, diggers, cultivators, and new implements we have no conception of now. They will be members of the society sharing in its profits in proportion to their wages, even as the farmer will in proportion to his trade. The co-operative community will have its own carpenters, smiths, mechanics, employed in its workshop at repairs or in making those things which can profitably be made locally. One happy invention after another will come to lighten the labour of life. There will be, of course, a village hall with a library and gymnasium, where the boys and girls will be made straight, athletic, and graceful. In the evenings, when the work of the day is done, if we went into the village hall we would find a concert going on with the village choir or band. There would be a committee room where the council of the community would meet once a week. In years when the society was exceptionally prosperous, and earned larger profits than usual on its trade, we should expect to find discussions in which all the members would join as to the use to be made of these profits: whether they should be altogether divided or what portion of them should be devoted to some public purpose. We may be certain that there would be animated discussions, because a real solidarity of feeling would have arisen and a pride in the work of the community engendered, and they would like to be able to outdo the good work done by the neighbouring communities.

One might like to endow the village school with a chemical laboratory, another might want to decorate the village hall with reproductions of famous pictures, another might suggest removing all the hedges and planting the roadsides and lanes with gooseberry bushes, currant bushes, and fruit trees, as they do in some German communes to-day. The teaching in the village school would be altered to suit the new social order, and the children of the community would, we may be sure, be instructed in everything necessary for the intelligent conduct of the communal business. Intelligence would be organized as well as business. The women would have their own associations, to promote domestic economy, care of the sick and the children. They would have their own industries of embroidery, crochet, lace, dressmaking, weaving, spinning, or whatever new industries the awakened intelligence of women may devise and lay hold of as the peculiar labour of their sex. The business of distribution of the produce and industries of the community would be carried on by great federations, which would attend to export and sale of the products of thousands of societies. Such communities would be real social organisms. The individual would be free to do as he willed, but he would find that communal activity would be infinitely more profitable than individual activity. We would then have a real democracy carrying on its own business, and bringing about reforms without pleading to, or begging of, the State, or intriguing with or imploring the aid of political middlemen to get this, that or the other done for them. They would be self-respecting, because they would be self-helping above all things. The national councils and meetings of national federations would finally become the real Parliament of the nation; for wherever all the economic power is centred, there also is centred all the political power. And no politician would dare to interfere with the organized industry of a nation."

As there is nothing to prevent such communities being formed in Ireland so there is nothing to prevent the formation of similar communities in India. We have here a practical policy of Swaraj which has been actually applied in Ireland and which could equally well be applied in India. There would no doubt be slight differences of detail in the co-operative organisations which would have to be started in rural districts of Bengal and other Provinces of India, but the main lines would be similar to those which have been successfully started in Ireland, in Germany, and in Denmark. The rural

community needs to be helped in its growth and the seed which must be planted is the seed of Co-operation. For whatever purpose a Co-operative Society may be started it has proved in Ireland to be an omnivorous feeder. It exercises a magnetic influence on all agricultural activities. It will do the same in India. From the wide experience of men like "A. E." and Sir Horace Plunkett it has been proved that the appeal has first to be made to the farmer and agriculturist on economic grounds, and it has to be proved that it is to his advantage financially to co-operate. The rest will follow. The idealist will come into his own when the economist has built the foundations. What ought now to be done in India is to start, in every district where workers can be found, Co-operative Societies based on the natural desire of the people to buy cheaply what they need for the success of their farming and to sell their produce at the highest price possible. To do this workers must be trained and taught the elements at least of co-operation by those who have studied the subject either theoretically or practically. Would it not be possible for classes to be started in Calcutta and other great centres where students anxious to serve the rural population could study "Principles of Co-operation"? Where possible trained economists and those who have had some practical experience of the needs of the agricultural population should be employed to teach.

Already the seed of co-operation has been planted at Shantiniketan, Bolpur, for there is a co-operative store there, and an attempt is being made to extend the influence of the co-operative idea to the villages near by so that the agricultural population of the neighbourhood may learn by practical demonstration the economic advantages of co-operation.

Wherever such an experiment is started there would be an expression of practical Swaraj, for there we would have men trained in that spirit of independence which is the only real independence because it is the independence of the spirit.

MASS EDUCATION

(AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION, BANKURA, BENGAL, DECEMBER 1920.)

BY PROF. JOGESCHANDRA RAY.

AS a humble co-labourer I stand here after finishing my day's toil to compare notes with you. Arduous is the path of duty, and more arduous is the duty of fashioning a nation's mind at the impressionable period of life, which requires delicate handling and constant vigilance, and the responsible work of determining its character and raising a lasting edifice, at once beautiful and useful, which calls for the imaginative genius of a master architect. It is profitable to meet and discuss the problems which beset the path, the problems which are indeterminate in nature and admit of partial answers only. For, these shift their conditions as time and place change. We cannot, therefore, follow the time-honoured practice of the country, nor can we borrow with advantage the ideals and methods from another country. For, education must take full account of the genius and civilisation of the people for whom it is intended, and the environment which influences them as surely as the inborn capacities. We have, therefore, to think out our problem in our own way which may differ from that of others as poles asunder. The problem of education will therefore continue to tax the brains of our educationists, philanthropists, and statesmen. The subject of mass education is vast, and the difficulties are great. I shall content myself with an outline of the principles which appear to me to underlie mass education as we want it.

Everyone of us is what we are on account of two factors,—the factor of heredity, and the factor of environment. The first factor is to all intents and purposes beyond our control; the second is also to a large extent inexorable. Education is a fragment of the environment and will thus appear to play a secondary part in the making of a man or woman. Criminology and study of neurotics and imbeciles have shown how limited is indeed the effect of education. But it is only here that we can step in and guide the stream of national life in channels which we most desire.

At the outset we must guard against the confusion between literacy and education. Unfortunately the confusion is very common; and whenever the question of mass education is raised, people generally think of *Pathshālās* or Primary schools, and spread of education conveys to them a network of *Pathshālās* where the children may be taught the art of reading,

writing, and counting. We have been long accustomed to associate education with the knowledge of the three R's. This was true in Europe until recent times, and is true in this country even now. This is a part of the relic of an old institution, the convents and monasteries of the middle ages of Europe, and the *Vihārs* and *Maths* of India. But while the public schools and residential colleges of Europe have been the direct descendants of the old line, making residence of students in them a *sine qua non* of education, our *Gurukuls* and *Tols* have been replaced by day schools and day colleges where intellectual equipment only is provided. We are thus led to forget the fundamental fact that a mere scholar is an incomplete man, and that a country cannot progress with only scholars as citizens. So also in the primary stage the knowledge of the three R's, however valuable, is not the end in itself but only a means, undoubtedly an efficient means, by which the fruits of knowledge may be gathered. The absurdity of the proposition that literacy is education becomes apparent when we remember that out of 100 persons in Bengal only 7 or 8 know how to read and write. Does it follow that the remaining 92, though illiterate, have no education? It would be impossible for any country, any society, to go on if 92 per cent. of the population are uneducated, and do not think for themselves. The complex mechanism of society will stop working and cease to exist if such a state overtakes it. The fact is, education is imparted in the school of the environment, the home, the hamlet, the country, the society with the numberless operations furnishing the lessons. It may be defective and even bad, and when it appears to us so, we raise the cry of mass education in order to cure the defect or remove the evil.

Then, again, assuming for a moment that education and literacy are convertible terms, let us see where we stand. In 1916-17 the total number of scholars, both male and female, in all institutions was only a little over 19 lacs out of a population of 453 lacs, i. e. 4, per cent. It is generally assumed by Anglo-Indian officials* that 15 per cent. of the population of a country

* This assumption is wrong, and a very low estimate, as we have shown repeatedly. See our Hundredth number. Ed. M. R.

are of school-going age. We find, then, that 11 per cent. of the boys and girls who ought to have been at some school are receiving no education.

If all the 15 per cent. could enter school now, we might hope to find illiteracy disappearing in the course of a few generations. It is true there has been a gradual increase in literacy; but the rate is unfortunately exceedingly slow, not one per cent. a year but one per cent. in 10 years. If this rate be continued it will take more than a hundred years—the life-time of four generations—before Bengal will have her children learning the three R's. The slow pace is due to want of funds. But have we any reason to expect abundance in the near future? Should we stand aloof looking forward to the millennium when the darkness of the land will disappear?

Then what about the unfortunate 92 who had no opportunity of entering a school? Yet these constitute the body of the society for whom some arrangement ought to be made to enlighten them. They are ignorant of many things which they ought to know, and knowing which they will be better able to live and to live well. The situation is gloomy enough to make one unhappy. It is sad to contemplate how human life, so sacred in itself, is made so cheap and hardly worth living. The men and women have been left to merciless nature and hide-bound usage, neither understood nor followed intelligently. There has been gradual deterioration in physique, and some affirm that the Hindus are a dying race. Don't blame malaria and hook-worm; and don't place the responsibility on the economic pressure. There has been also a general deterioration in character. A man's word, for instance, carries less obligation to-day than it did, say, fifty years ago. Look at the number of litigants who flock to the law courts and say whether the country is happy. Yet in this land of ours Rama relinquished his kingdom for a forest life, not because he had made a promise to any one, but because his father gave a word to one of his step-mothers. In my younger days I witnessed how words of mouth carried more weight than the deeds duly registered before officers of Government to-day. The economic pressure will not disappear of itself, nor will malaria, cholera and influenza cease to kill thousands every year. The remedy lies in our hands. Do you think these calamities will disappear with the introduction of free Primary schools with compulsory attendance of our children?

I beg you not to imagine that I decry these schools. They are doing good, and when introduced in larger numbers in various types they are sure to be fertile seed-beds from which vigorous sprouts will grow up and bear in time beautiful blossom and luscious fruit. At the same time I want to remind you that it is time

that we begin the work of preparation, the tedious work of tilling the soil and exposing it to the sun and air for mellowness and productiveness. Happy is the man who can look with complacency at the condition of the country and say with light heart that he is doing his part of the work well. I confess I am not. I am impatient, impatient of the dreamy slumber, the long hybernation which knows no awakening. Patience is a virtue when the possessor is strong and able to remedy the evil. In our case it is weakness, like the senility of age which frets and curses the evil days but does nothing.

Charaka, the great Hindu physician of old, has classified our desires into three categories. Our first desire is to live well and long; our second desire is to earn money, for without it we cannot procure the necessities of life and medical treatment if we happen to be ill; and our third desire is to be at peace in the next world. These are the primary desires, and, I take it, the business of education is to enable us to satisfy these desires. If it fails to help us in attaining any of these objects, it is bad or incomplete. Whatever the scheme may be, the masses ought to have such instruction as may directly appeal to their primary cravings. If one is neglected, the harmony of life is disturbed, and the balance of understanding, now leaning to the intellect, now to the emotions, finds no rest. Judged by this standard, the scope of the Primary schools is indeed very limited. Of what avail is the knowledge of the three R's in the actual battle of life? It may be contended that the intellect is sharpened, the faculty of observation quickened, and the stamp of education impressed on the mind. Perhaps this is true in a few cases, but the majority are just allowed to bud, and cut off from the moisture prematurely. You give a key to the temple of knowledge; but the temple is far off, the journey long and tedious; and the key rusts and ultimately crumbles away into dust. This fact is borne out by census figures, which shew that the percentage of literates decreases as age increases. It is obvious there is much waste of time, and energy and money in the present method of making the people educated and literate. Something is wrong somewhere, and it behoves every well-wisher of the country to enquire why this is so, and why the people forget what they are taught so carelessly at their early age. This is due to the want of continuity of the system of education, which appears to me disjointed and divorced from the realities of life. At present it is nobody's business to see that the young lads are tempted to apply the precious key to the store-house of wisdom which is collected in books of all nations of all climes past and present. This is a question of vital importance in every scheme of mass education.

It is also certain that few care to read books

in order to be learned. The books should be efficient aids in the satisfaction of the three primary desires. The lawyers read law books and law reports, because the information contained therein pays them in their trade. The village folk read the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, not merely because of the stories related therein, but chiefly because there are high moral principles woven into them. The press is producing a huge mass of fiction every year; but just enquire who the readers are. They are in most cases the artificial creations of modern times, the victims of neurasthenia who find solace in the poison concealed in the attractive garb. Publishers of books complain that there is yet no reading public; while every thoughtful and observant person will complain that there are few books, save the old ones, which are suited to the needs of the country, the masses who want such literature as will help them with ennobling thoughts, and with information calculated to better their condition. Artificial and pedantic style has no place in such literature, nor the ill-digested and ill-assimilated effusions borrowed from others.

Besides the Department of Public Instruction, there are a few philanthropists and enthusiasts who are engaged in mass education. It is, however, curious to find that with a few exceptions all agree to tread the beaten track, the track chalked out in every detail by the Government Department. There is one type of schools, one type even in the designing of the school house; while the truth is, nature abhors sameness much more than she does vacuum. Barrenness of ideas, born of the habit of slavish imitation, is visible everywhere, as if the final word on the methods and ideals of education has been pronounced. Our young men, mostly college students, in their youthful enthusiasm for the diffusion of knowledge open night schools. The object is praiseworthy, but it does not extend beyond what is usually found in the *Pathshalas*, of which at best they are poor imitations. I do not blame the young men, who can impart only what they have themselves received. Some Municipal and District Boards maintain night-schools, and are apparently quite satisfied with the result. Do the pupils, who are drawn from the labouring classes, wish to be scholars? There may be a few among them who aspire after elevation to genteel society; but the majority, I believe, want bread for their body and butter for their mind, while the Night Schools, alas, give them stone! I have grave doubts as to their utility, in spite of coloured reports as to the number of pupils who attend them. The basis seems to me wrong; they should rather be vocational or training schools in which the knowledge of the three R's comes in as aids rather than as principal subjects.

There is, however, the risk of going to the other extreme. I may be pardoned if I illustrate this

point with a personal experience. The late Maharaja of Mourbhanj, father of the newly installed Maharaja, wished to open a weaving school in his capital; and one day I was surprised to find one of his Private Secretaries coming all the way from the State with a request from the Maharaja to have a syllabus drawn up by me. I may add a word here. Both the Maharaja and the Secretary had been students of my classes at the college to which I had the honour to belong, and we kept up the friendship after separation. Nevertheless, I was not prepared for this request, which appeared to me entirely novel. For I had not bestowed much thought on the training of our artisans, much less of weavers. Yet the Secretary would give me no rest, and I had to yield after a week's obstinate refusal. To frame a syllabus was not difficult; but the attempt to put the spirit into black and white so that another might properly imbibe it, frightened me. The Secretary would be put in direct charge of the school and assured me that he understood the object of the course, which extended to three years. Yet I could not conceal my apprehension that my scheme of three years would not be accepted. And it was not. Soon after the school had been opened, I met the Maharaja, and our conversation naturally turned on the proposed school. The Maharaja was apologetic, but maintained on the authority of some gentlemen connected with a weaving school in Calcutta that a three years' course was too long and that he would not be justified in keeping the weavers in his school so long when they could learn weaving (in a fly-shuttle loom) in six months. I remember the rejoinder: "Maharaja, unless the weavers of your State are dullards, they can easily learn the manipulation in less than six days." I am sorry to narrate that the school did not last long; there were few pupils who would come voluntarily, though the cost of their maintenance was paid by the State.

The fact is, there was a fundamental difference in the conception. The Maharaja's Calcutta adviser thought of imparting the skill only, while I conceived the school to be a centre of education for a particular class of his subjects. I considered the expense and the trouble in getting a continuous flow of pupils, and prepared a course which would turn out both men and masters of the craft, who would in their turn teach the weavers of their villages by life and example what the latter could be. When money is a consideration, and it is the weightiest consideration with us, and we have to combat stolid indifference, we cannot but choose right materials and give them a training which may act as beacon-lights to the wayfarers in the ocean of life. I could give other instances of failures of so-called Industrial Schools and also of classes of agriculture. It is a question of point of view. Narrow your

vision, lose sight of the fact that men and women are intelligent and living beings endowed with all the faculties inherent in mankind, and your experiment is bound to fail. I have often heard with regret that our cultivators, our artisans and craftsmen are incommunicable; while the fault lies more with those who approach them, who do so often with superior airs and idle curiosity as if they are an addition to the Zoo to be observed and minutely described and illustrated to enrich the Fauna. The secret of success lies in mutual good understanding. It is a pity that those who wish to be teachers often carry with them a whole lot of made-up manners. This is fatal to success.

Any scheme of mass education to be effective needs take due note, not of the materials merely but also of the surroundings. During the few months I have been in this town, nothing has amused me so much as the interrogative regarding my home which has invariably followed any query I might have made either to a shop-keeper or an artisan in the street or the workshop. The searching look of curiosity and the ejaculations following it that I am a *bideshi*, a foreigner, have given me much food for reflection. Why do they want to know my residence, when they can understand that I belong to the same species and same variety as they do? What do they mean by calling me a *bideshi* when I am in all appearance one of them? Undoubtedly the answer that I come from another District gives relief, for pre-judgment finds a verification. The curiosity is educative; but it is, alas, satisfied as quickly as awakened. There is no patience to observe first and form judgment afterwards. The mind is sluggish to receive fresh impressions and relies on what is already known or imagined to be known. It refuses to recognise anything new, but delights to chew the cud of what is old. It has been mistaken for conservatism, which is good and beneficial, as it relies on a stable basis and fights shy of the untried and unknown. It seems to me this trait, which is common to the unthinking multitude, is the result of wilted mind. Every teacher has, however, to face the dreary aspect and labour hard in clearing the weeds which have choked up the channels of thought and in sustaining curiosity and provoking thinking at every step.

For the purpose of mass education the population may be divided into three classes, viz., (1) the class of little children who have nothing to do at home and can therefore be taken to schools; (2) the class of young boys and girls who have to take part in the occupation of their parents or to do household duties and can attend schools only in the afternoon; and (3) the general population who have neither spare time except in the evening and at irregular intervals, nor the inclination to learn

anything unless it be entertaining or conducive to their material welfare. The three classes require three kinds of treatment. For the first class there are the *Pathshalās* and Primary schools, and if they are not sufficient in number at present, (less than a third of the number required), the rolling ball is expected to gather momentum as years roll by. They may not be ideal institutions, and there are certainly many defects, but with enlightened public opinion these will gradually disappear. In passing, I may just call attention to the paramount importance of observation. Our children are generally lacking in the faculty of observation, which cannot be made up by book learning. After all, words are symbols of natural facts which must be first known, and the symbols will follow them as a matter of course. The inversion of the process is unnatural, and every good teacher knows how fatal is the result. The cut and dried syllabuses of the Education Department which are made applicable to all schools are no doubt chilling to the real teachers, who are thereby turned into automata. They require more freedom from rules which impoverish thinking, ignore diversity and aim at a dead level of uniformity which is contrary to the laws of vigorous growth of a living institution. While it is possible to formulate the common elements of education, such as the training of the senses and the brain, the exact method of applying the principles should in my opinion, be left to the individual teachers. I should not attempt to define the undefinable, the subtle working of children's mind. But it is a fact worth repeating that the receptive and retentive power of a child varies with the healthiness of his body, and that health, happiness and good discipline are no less important than education. And, lastly, the statement that the more you read, the less you know, though it sounds paradoxical, is nevertheless true.

These few observations are applicable to the schools for the second class. There need not, however, be separate schools. For the first class the school will sit in the morning, and for the second in the afternoon. The same staff of teachers, the same house accommodation will thus serve a very large number. It is not mere economy, but the necessity of health and the fact that the pupils cannot spare the mornings dictate this course. Time must be given for cooking and eating breakfast, which is not found in the early morning. A mid-day rest after breakfast is also essential for health. Moreover, it has been found by actual trial that a person's efficiency varies with the times of day. There is a drop in efficiency between 12 and 2 noon, the curve rising once in the morning up to 10 and 11, and again up to 3 and 4 in the afternoon. This fact should be borne in mind not only by teachers, but also by all employers of labour. The Indian system of holding school classes and courts of justice

and employing labour twice a day has a scientific basis, and requires reintroduction.

We have seen that the second class of pupils have to help their parents either in the field, the workshop, or in the kitchen. They should thus require varied training in accordance with the occupation each is destined to follow. The provision for their education is, from a practical point of view, exceedingly difficult. Where are the teachers able to educate this class of boys and girls through their callings? A general education whose fruit is remote and indirect will not draw the pupils out of their homes. The training given must be attractive, and the only attraction which can be at all effective relates to the earning of bread. "Give bread to eat, and beat" is a Bengali adage full of commonsense. Why should the boy of the cultivator attend your school, if the lessons learnt are not directly profitable? The son of a carpenter, a smith, a weaver learns the trade at home and earns something while he learns. It is worth remembering that the occupations and the trades are capable of giving what is meant by *liberal* education. Advocates of manual training assert that it is a step to liberal education. For first experiments, agriculture which forms the mainstay of the majority, may be taken in hand. It easily lends itself to the purpose.

I now take up the third class of persons, who are grown up and even old. They cannot and will not come to your schools, however good your intention may be, and whatever facilities for learning you may give. Therefore the schools should go to them. The travelling schools will consist of peripatetic teachers or rather preachers of the gospel of enlightenment, which is another name for true education. Equipped with models or actual specimens, where possible, and the other appliances, such as charts, lantern and slides, cinema and films, and practised in the readings written by talented teachers who are masters of their subjects as well as of chaste but persuasive diction, these preachers will roam about the country in their campaign against darkness and bring inspiration and information to the silent and barred doors of the people. Whether the latter flock to hear the preacher will depend upon the right choice of subjects, the right handling; and no less upon his character and manners which are sure to be mercilessly scrutinised. For, first the man and then his profession reveals to our view. Similarly, in your preaching think of the man or woman as a link in a long chain entwining and intertwining the elements of social life. Do not dissociate the man or the woman from their activities. Each is to be regarded as a complete whole, a system in itself, like the solar system with the sun in the centre sending forth radiations and pulling towards itself the revolving orbs resplendent in its light. The light which you

give should pervade the whole life, so that the impulses may, like those of the sympathetic nerves of our body, travel to the vital organs and quicken the ductless glands to pour out hormones of right quality and right quantity. To be a teacher of the masses is undoubtedly difficult; but the difficulty once realised should be the measure of your preparation. If you wish to educate the cultivator, do not please call him to your farm full of pomp and extravagance which irritate manhood. Go to his village, visit him at his mud house, with his cattle and plough and a train of children behind. Do not pretend to be a teacher; perhaps he knows more than what your theories will tell you. Try to grasp the whole situation, and little by little enter into his heart and then through his intellect into the problems of life. For, these problems are various, and unless these are seen as a whole the adjustment of the parts cannot be readily effected. There is no harm if there be separate preachers, one on hygiene, a second on agriculture, a third on manhood and morals, and so on. But there must run a string to bind the lessons together and a purpose to co-ordinate them so that they may be easily accepted.

One thing which is particularly noticeable is lack of information. This information is no other than knowledge of geography in the widest sense, which broadens the mental horizon, rouses curiosity, unfolds opportunities and gives a sense of proportion to our dealings with men. For next to the fact that I exist, there is the other fact that I exist in some place and in some time. That is to say, I and my environment make up the total of myself. The other day while I was glancing at the contents of the publication, mis-named "Calendar of the Bankura District Association," I was agreeably surprised to find how useful information can be easily scattered among the people, and how the publication will be more and more useful as it is continued year after year with fresh information added to the old. This is a step in the right direction. What an amount of geographical knowledge can be diffused if every District undertakes similar publication and sells it at a nominal price!

Happily the Hindu medical works and the codes of conduct known as *Smritis* furnish excellent rules of hygiene which are as true today as they were before. The grand epics and a host of Purans enunciate high ideals of morality. They point out how the actors chose consciously the good in distinction from the bad, regardless of consequences. It is a matter for regret that these national sources of inspiration are not utilised as freely and as frequently now as they used to be before. Perhaps we want interpreters somewhat on modern lines in order that the truths may be readily understood and applied in the practical affairs of life.

Lastly, it is to be constantly borne in mind

that education is not worth the name, if it does not help me in living well. The number of persons in every society who want mere culture is extremely limited. We had our Pandits and Preceptors who used to learn for the sake of learning. There were others, the bulk of the population engaged in various trades. The case is the same now; but unfortunately our outlook is clouded with the dust of Western civilisation, the germs contained therein are flying about in prodigious numbers in every bazar and infecting people with a mad rush after material comforts at the expense of the spiritual. These are good within a certain limit, and immunity against attack is impossible and undesirable. But the sequelæ are particularly dangerous, which have the tendency to turn a beautiful man into an ugly beast. The preachers should therefore be provided with enough anti-toxins prepared of *dharma* with the serum of Indian civilisation.

With a view to ameliorate the condition of the masses, a co-operative movement has been set on foot. Agents are instructing the people in the benefit of co-operation. This is good, though it is not a novel idea. Every cultivator knows the utility of what is called *ganta* in Bengali, clubbing together for a common purpose, from Sanskrit *grantha*, a union, a common purse. The Sanskrit words, *sreni*, *nivi*, *nikshepa* and a host of others remind us how ancient India valued combination. The very system of caste is no other than a system of

co-operative societies. But the co-operations were interwoven with *dharma*, and not allowed to be engines of oppression. There were laws administered by King's officers to check the greed of the societies dealing in the necessities of life, lest one benefit itself beyond a limit at the expense of the community. But the recent co-operative movement, as introduced from the West, has not been, to my knowledge, based on eternal verities, the brotherhood of man and the wheels of *dharma* which none can escape, but on the sordid principle of greed. This may easily degenerate into monopolies, combines and trusts, and the bitter antidote of which has resulted in Bolshevism in Europe. If I have read the history of my country aright, co-operation based only on material gain is alien to our civilisation. In my humble opinion, a preacher of true co-operation cannot but be a religious man.

But while co-operation is good, self-reliance is better. As you preach the gospel of enlightenment, invoke the power of the will before which mountains quake, billows and tempests quail, fire becomes a galley-slave, and mighty torrents of water bottle up the lightning of Indra. This will is no other than the Will of the Mother Who sustains us with milk out of grass and corn out of earth, and at Whose will the whole of the human family are ministering to our wants.

AUSTRIA UNDER THE ENTENTE

THE conquering Entente are still at work in Austria. After having divided, under the Versailles Treaty, the old Austro-Hungarian empire into a number of small nationalistic states (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia, and a part of Roumania), the small state of German Austria has been left economically crippled and politically crushed. Because German Austria is an industrial territory which formerly drew its raw materials, coal and food from Hungary and other provinces, furnishing them in turn with manufactured articles. Now these new states have adopted all the vices of petty capitalistic nationalism, with rigid tariff restrictions, with national hatred, with political and military ambitions copied from their friends and masters, the En-

tente. They refuse to sell food to Austria, they refuse coal for Austrian factories, and they still live upon memories of the injuries which they—and Austrians as well—suffered under royalty.

As in Germany, the Entente pursues two obvious lines of activity in Austria. One is to "destroy militarism" by taking all Austrian war material for their own use, and the other is to prevent the country from adopting Communism and thereby abandoning the civilization of the Entente. In Austria, in order to realize this latter desire, the Entente finds itself face to face with the necessity of furnishing the necessary capitalistic props.

Two of the large Entente Commissions—the Reparation Commission here now, and the Interallied Military Control

Commission which left on February 20,—are the most outstanding examples of Entente activity and morality in Central Europe. The Commissions came as conquerors; they came with all the hatred which conquerors feel toward a proud people who have resisted their onslaughts until starvation alone forced them to surrender. They came with hatred for the nations which for centuries have produced, conscious of their greatness, most that Europe has of inspired music and philosophy, and much of its great literature and art. The conquered nations do not admit a greater guilt than that of the Entente. And it is because they do not and will not, that exactions are all the more rigid.

The expenses of the Entente Commissions in Austria are paid by the Austrian State, which is admittedly bankrupt. When the Interallied Military Control Commission withdrew on February 20, after ten months of occupation, it had spent from Austrian State funds the modest sum of 710,050,000 kronen,—a staggering sum for Austria. It then left behind a "Liquidation Committee", composed of 16 British, 6 French and 3 Japanese officers, in case any little shred of Austrian resistance had been left. The Reparation Commission has been in Vienna since June of last year, and is still "going strong". It has already spent more than 500,000,000 kronen from the Austrian treasury. There were 112 military officers and 437 soldiers with the first Commission; there are some 500 members with the latter.

The Reparation Commission started its work in the magnificence worthy of conquerors. They immediately took possession of 400 rooms in the Austrian War Ministry and not satisfied with the luxurious furniture which the pretentious generals of the luxurious Hapsburgian regime had used, they ransacked the other offices in the building, taking carpets, easy chairs and furniture from beneath the feet of the State officials. Finding that their rooms were still unworthy of warlords, the Commission ransacked the Hofburg, or former Emperor's

Palace, and took from it rugs, chairs, hangings and furniture. They then shipped furniture and knick-nacks from Paris, at the expense of the Austrian Government. By the time they were satisfied, the Austrian Government had spent four million kronen for the adaptation of officers to their needs. To-day they have confiscated three of the four elevators in the building, for their own use.

Now the Reparation Commission is at work to see what the six million inhabitants of Austria can be forced to pay for having sinned against the sinless Entente. What they are doing few Austrians are permitted to know. "We do know," one Austrian Socialist official said, "that they are at work with a number of pretty Entente stenographers, the lowest paid one receiving a salary equal to more than the President of the Austrian Republic. And then we know that all the Czech members of the Mission are the Entente spies. The Czechs, you know, since the war, have set up their own State under the protection of the Entente."

The Austrian spoils, however, have not been so rich as was expected. The Commission soon learned that if they plundered too much, Communism would result. The people would take the country into their own hands, establish their own government, and defy the Entente. In order to prevent this tendency from spreading, capitalistic props had to be found to keep the State in a position to be bled, year by year, by the Great Powers. Thus, from June down to February, the 500 representatives of civilization had managed to hatch a British scheme by which the Great Powers would grant Austria credit of 250 million dollars, coal and raw materials. But this plan was rejected by London. The plan now proposed and favorably considered is a French one, to induce private capitalists to grant credit and to invest in Austrian enterprises. In this way, many capitalistic countries would have influential citizens interested in keeping Austria from adopting Communism, and concerted pressure could be brought upon the State which tried to disturb

their profits. Other plans for the solution of the Austrian misery consist of a Danubian Confederacy, and for making Vienna the "ward of the Entente". The Danube Confederacy is much opposed by the Austrians, because to them it means the restoration of the monarchy, backed by the terroristic Horthy regime in Hungary, and backed by France. The French, in particular, are said to be working for this scheme, and the Austrian Christian Socialists, the clerical party now in power, are suspected of favoring it, despite the fact that *on paper* they accede to the popular demand for union of Austria with Germany. Then, the plan to make Vienna the seat of the League of Nations and the "ward of the Entente," is a British proposal. In this way, a few Canutes would sit in Vienna and raise restraining fingers when necessary to stop the oncoming tide of Communism. But here in Central Europe the British are not suspected of having so very much to do with affairs, as have Italy and France. France, in particular, is feared; because it is known that either a secret treaty, or an understanding, exists between France and England, whereby France is given a free hand to do what she wishes on the Continent, and England is given a free hand to subject the Near East and to advance her imperialism in Asia. It is a sort of a "50-50 game," as it were: France takes Europe; England takes Asia and the routes to Asia.

It can be said without exaggeration that every scheme for the reconstruction of Austria, even the relief work of the American and British religious or government groups, is a conscious plan to counteract Communism. The Entente knows that their own capitalism is doomed if Central Europe adopts a communal form of government. They are certain that reactionary Hungary, Czech-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania and Poland (the children of the Entente) will remain true to their capitalistic masters. But the spirit of Austria and Germany is not yet quite crushed.

The Austrians themselves appear to be

absolutely helpless beneath the hands of the Entente. The Socialists, the second strongest party in the State, talk a lot and issue manifestoes against the Communists, the capitalists and the Entente alike. The Christian Socialists, the clerical conservatives now in control of the Government, sit tight taking orders from the Entente and holding their power. The Communists, but 300,000 strong, smile a bit as they watch the struggle, while they continue to hold classes, public meetings, and issue newspapers and a magazine propounding the doctrines of the Communist State. The dreaded Communists are fairly young men and women. "We are weak," they say, "in comparison with the other parties. But that is because the Socialists keep telling the workers and peasants that if they follow us, the Horthy regime in Hungary will be extended here; or, they hold up the spectre of an Entente army. But we know that if Germany makes a move to form a Communist State, and we follow, the workers of Austria will follow us almost to the last man. But we are too weak to act without Germany; we already starve; we would be starved to death within a week."

Dr. Frederick Hertz, the famous historian and authority on nationalities of Central Europe, briefly sketched the problems facing Austria:—

"There are many vicious circles consisting of questions mutually interdependent, which do not admit of isolated treatment. For instance, the depreciation of money leads to trade restrictions, and these again depreciate still further the value of the currency. Vienna cannot get coal because she cannot pay in goods, and she is not able to produce sufficient goods because of the lack of coal. Scarcity of rolling stock hinders the transport of coal; and the lack of coal prevents the production and repairing of rolling stock. The insufficiency of agriculture supplies leads to state control of food, and the effect of this control still further restricts the supply. It is impossible to raise the value of the currency as long as the budget shows a big deficit which must be covered by continually printing new notes, and in turn the deficit arises chiefly from the low value of money which raises state expenses to an enormous degree and particularly for foreign food. Austria is now living on

foreign credit and foreign food. Economically this is ruinous to the country and detrimental to the givers. Austria, with the lowest monetary value in the world, has to buy its food in the market with the highest exchange, and at the furthest distance, that is, America. But I think that with all our difficulties, if the Entente and the foreigners who come here would only leave us to work out our own problems, that we could, in some way, muddle through."

Many of the State officials consider it indiscreet to speak of the actions of the Entente representatives in the country; they fear more suffering. They fear the guns of the "civilized" nations, if they raise a voice of protest against their extortions. When asked if the report of a newspaper man, concerning the grotesque salaries which the Entente Commissions paid themselves from the Austrian Treasury, were true, an official in the Foreign Office tried to evade the question.

"Newspaper men are indiscreet," he said. "We can't say anything; we can't afford to say anything. But—of course—for your own information you may know that the newspaper man was right and that his report is absolutely correct."

The report had charged that the leader of every department of the Reparation Commission now in Vienna, receives an annual salary of 6,000,000 kronen, or sixty times the salary of the Secretary of State; that each leader's substitutes receive 3,000,000 kronen each, and his secretaries 2,400,000 kronen yearly. The General Secretary of the Commission receives 3,300,000 kronen, and the lowest salary of one of his many stenographers or typewriters, amounts to 300,000 kronen—the salary of the President of the Republic. The lowest paid functionary in the Commission receives 300,000 kronen; the financial expert 4,000,000 kronen and his three under-experts, 2,000,000 kronen; his secretary 750,000 kronen. The judicial authority, 4,000,000 kronen. The special experts in industry, trade, agriculture, supply, and so on, over 2,000,000 kronen, and their secretaries and stenographers from 300,000 to 500,000 kronen.

The Interallied Military Control Commission, which left February 20th, was no less magnificent than the present

Reparation Commission. They also came as war-lords and they lived like conquerors of the middle ages. Their true attitude found expression in the action of Colonel Fletcher, Englishman, the President of the Aeronautics Department of the Commission. Just before closing his work, Fletcher made a last visit to the aeroplane factory at Wiener Neustadt, a short distance from Vienna, to see if the many fine engines had been destroyed. The chief engineer argued that the engines could be used for industrial purposes. Fletcher replied by striking him across the face with his hand.

It may have been, indeed, that the engines could have been used for Austrian military purposes; and perhaps the chief engineer thought that an Englishman, representing a world empire built upon militarism, could sympathize.

Other war material has been divided up between the conquerors, Italy taking 70 per cent, France 11, Great Britain 8, the United States and Serbia 4 each, and Japan 3 per cent. Much raw material, necessary to Austrian industrial life, was taken, such as leather, brass, copper and aluminium. Then, in a further effort to effect a peaceful solution of the world's problems, France sold her share of the spoils to Poland, and Austria, in violation of her peace with Soviet Russia, is compelled by the Entente,—respecters of treaties!—to ship these war materials to Poland, which, under Entente guidance, is planning a war against Russia in the spring.

Representative Austrian officials, whose names cannot be given here for obvious reasons, charge that the members of both Commissions here mentioned, have found their associates with the high reactionaries and decadent Austrians, exploiters like themselves, and that they have strengthened the reactionaries in the bordering states. They with thousands of other foreigners, have come to Vienna, to live cheaply; they jam the most expensive hotels, live in the greatest extravagance, ruin the valuta, and keep the prices of food and clothing at prices beyond the reach of any Austri-

an. Only the new-rich profiteers and the thousands of unfortunate Austrian girls who have learned the value of the American dollar and the English pound, now can buy the necessities of life. Their moral life becomes of secondary importance—as is always the case everywhere—to their economic necessities. And of Vienna, perhaps the most beautiful, artistic and cultured city of Europe in the past, you gain the impression that it is now a city of parasites who have come in swarms and settled down upon its magnificent boulevards to live as cheaply as possible upon the ridiculously low valuta.

Two pictures may be shown of Viennese life—one the side of the foreign life here, where an Englishman or Frenchman or American spends thousands of kronen in one night; and the other the life of the very poor Austrians, to whom 1,000 kronen would mean wealth. Yet in showing these pictures, one is not unaware of the fact that the same or worse scenes may be witnessed in India as well.

In the first week of February, when a notorious and extravagant Vienna dance hall and cabaret became even too odorous for the Viennese police, the place was raided; of 76 men and women arrested, only 12 were Austrians (perhaps all girls) while 15 were members of official foreign missions, who were released because of "diplomatic immunity".

The following day, the writer, in company with some relief workers, and an Indian as well, visited a number of Austrian homes. In one hole they found a 19 year old girl lying under an old red covering, waiting for her mother to come home. Her mother, they learned, was out washing, for which she earned 30 kronen a week. The girl had walked the streets for weeks and months in search for work; but the factories, cut off from their source of supplies, are running at less than 6 per cent. of their former efficiency. The girl was in bed to keep warm. In Austria, it is very cold, yet the girl had no underwear whatever; one ragged skirt, one rag for a blouse, one pair of stockings and some rags for shoes, con-

stituted her clothing. The room contained not one piece of clean cloth, no sheets, no towels, no fuel for heating, no food. In other rooms we found even worse scenes; of half-clothed mothers who, like animals, had crawled into corners and given birth to children doomed to death, while no physician, no person attended them; of half-starved children with legs so twisted and deformed from malnutrition that they will be crippled for life; of tuberculosis everywhere.

The relief workers have sent out their calls for help to the furthest corners of the globe; it is inhuman, they say; nothing has ever existed like it. Yet the Indian recalled them time and time again to their senses.

"We in India, have suffered this on a national scale for one hundred years," he said, "and you have not been horrified. We have witnessed such scenes as this all our lives. Yet one little corner of Europe, suffering what we have suffered for ages, arouses a world to frantic tears."

Yet the relief workers say that the misery must be relieved. And why? They give as their first answer, "because Communism will spread if you don't help the Austrians"! So the various British, French and Italian and American representatives here issue calls for relief. And always one is convinced that it is not because they are torn by the suffering, but because they fear for their own skins; they fear that Communism would destroy capitalism in their own countries if it is permitted to establish itself in Austria. And thus it is that the American Relief Administration is feeding 300,000 Austrians a day, the British are feeding 58,000 in Vienna; the Swedish, the French, the Danes and the Hollanders are feeding the Austrians. Feeding them on the one hand, and on the other permitting their Military and Reparation and other Commissions to drain the Austrian Treasury, when sums paid for their salaries alone would keep thousands of Austrian families from starvation and charity.

The following costs of the Interallied Military Control Commission are of inter-

est, particularly in view of the cries of the starving for food, and in view of the fact that the Austrian state has a rapidly increasing annual deficit, amounting now to more than 42 milliard kronen, and a total debt of 105 milliards, while its industrialized territory is entirely cut off, by the many new surrounding national boundaries, from the sources of raw materials, coal and markets upon which it previously existed.

In connection with the following figures, let it be remembered that the Austrian Secretaries of State (or ministers) receive annual salaries of 172,000 kronen a year, that a few skilled workers are able to earn 12,000 kronen a month at the outmost, and that 1,000 kronen a month would keep a starving baby in all that it needs.

These are *monthly* salaries of the Inter-allied Military Control Commission, as shown by documents of the Austrian State. Kronen are used, instead of French francs, as in the documents, estimation being made on the present rate of exchange, or 50 kronen to one French franc.

*Salaries of Italian Military Section.
(Monthly)*

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| One General (Cusari, Pres. of Com.) | 532,500 kronen |
| Chief of the Sub-Commission | 390,000 |
| 4 Colonels | 1,225,000 |
| 3 Lt. Cols. | 645,000 |
| 9 Majors | 1,800,000 |
| 7 Captains | 1,260,000 |
| 9 Second Lts. | 1,530,000 |
| 40 petty officers | 3,400,000 |
| 150 Corporals and soldiers | 11,250,000 |
| Total, 35 officers, 190 men | 23,822,500 kronen. |

Salaries of French Military Section.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| 1 General | 425,000 kr. |
| 2 Colonels | 550,000 |
| 3 Lt. Cols. | 637,500 |
| 9 Majors | 1,800,000 |
| 7 Captains | 1,225,000 |
| 1 Administrative officer | 200,000 |
| 2 lower officers | 330,000 |
| 30 petty officers | 2,700,000 |
| 65 Corporals and soldiers | 3,575,000 |
| Total, 25 officers, 95 men | 11,442,500 kr. |

Salaries of English Military Section.

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1 Colonel | 425,000 kr. |
| 2 Lt. Cols. | 650,000 |
| 7 Majors | 2,000,000 |

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| 4 Captains | 1,000,000 kr. |
| 1 lower officer | 225,000 |
| 20 petty officers | 3,000,000 |
| 36 Corporals and soldiers | 2,700,000 |
| Total, 15 officers, 56 men | 10,030,000 kr. |

Salaries of Japanese Military Section.

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Lt. Col. | 350,000 |
| 1 Major | 200,000 |
| 3 petty officers | 300,000 |
| 7 Corporals and soldiers | 437,000 |
| Total, 2 officers, 10 men | 1,287,500 kr. |

The Americans did not participate in the work as a part of the Commission, it seems, so the Austrian State fund shows no salaries paid them. (The Americans have also withdrawn from the Reparation Commission.) It will be noticed that Englishmen drew larger salaries than the others. This was perhaps upon the well-founded theory that one Englishman, because of international experience, could do more damage than two Italians. Then, enter Japan. At least it provokes thought to see Asian faces helping to determine the fate of Europe; and to realize that they are tolerated only because they have adopted European methods and represent the only spot in Asia not subjected by the Entente.

But the above figures represent only the *salaries* of one of the *three* sections of the Military Commission. This Military Section had the following further expenditures:

For each of the 72 officers, 250 kronen a day each was allowed for lodging. Counting 30 days to the month, this amounts to 7,500 kr. each month per man. Or, for the 72 officers, 540,000-kr. Other expenses of the Section were:

| | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Light | 125,000 kr. |
| For chancellery | 125,000 |
| Automobiles | 3,750,000 |
| Transportation | 450,000 |
| Miscellaneous | 750,000 |
| Total | 5,200,000 kr. |

Thus, the total *monthly* charges for the Military Department of the Commission were:

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| Salaries | 46,582,500 kr. |
| Apartments | 540,000 |
| General costs | 5,200,000 |
| Total | 52,322,500 kr. |

Although Austria has no marine, there

was also a Marine Department, which came to Vienna, remained for four weeks, and drew its salary from the State. It consisted of 5 Italian officers, 3 English, 3 French and 1 Japanese, drawing combined monthly salaries of 3,750,000 kronen. There were also 14 marine soldiers drawing combined monthly salaries of 782,500 kr. The total costs of the Section were :

| | |
|---------------|---------------|
| Salaries | 4,532,500 kr. |
| Apartments | 325,000 |
| General costs | 750,000 |
| Total | 5,607,500 kr. |

The Aeronautics Department consisted of the following men, with salaries :

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| 10 Italian officers and 27 soldiers | 3,615,000 kr. |
| 7 French officers and 26 soldiers | 3,050,000 |
| 5 English officers and 14 soldiers | 2,830,000 |
| 12 Japanese officers and 5 soldiers | 775,000 |
| Total | 10,270,000 |

Thus, the total costs of the Aeronautics Department were :

| | |
|---------------|----------------|
| Salaries | 10,270,000 kr. |
| Apartments | 650,000 |
| General costs | 2,000,000 |
| Total | 13,120,000 |

The total summary of the expenses of the Commission, as paid by the Austrian State follows :

| | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Military Department | 52,332,500 kr. |
| Marine Department | 5,607,500 |
| Aeronautics Department | 13,120,000 |
| Monthly total | 71,050,000 kr. |

Thus, for the ten months, this one Commission cost the State 710,360,000 kronen. If one should estimate the number of children this sum would have fed, the results provoke thought. It may be said that the money might have been spent for food. But Austria is too weak, too small, and without the desire, to use it for militarism. And even if it were so used, it could not spread the disaster and the devastation which is being spread by the Entente today in every country throughout Europe in an effort to make

themselves supreme on earth and crush Soviet Russia. It cannot be too often emphasized that the struggle in Europe today is between the Entente and Russia —Russia to maintain itself against the onslaughts of all the powers, and the Entente to destroy every vestige of strength or hope of Communism. It is in this struggle that Austria occupies a strategic position, *the* strategic position in Central Europe. Because it opens the door not only to Italy, but to all the Baltic States and thence to the Near East and the Mohammedan countries.

But what Austria does will depend upon Germany. A union of the two countries may delay any change for a time, since that will give Austria food, raw materials and coal. But France will not permit this union, fearing additional strength of Germany. The Austrians and the Germans wish the union. The time may come when they will take the affairs of their countries into their own hands. If the reactionaries or nationalists lead in such a movement, the Entente will crush them. But if the Communists attempt it, they will be successful, because they will be supported by the working classes of France and Italy. Under the present social-democratic governments, nothing will be done ; because these governments are bowing their heads to the Entente. They are the "moderates." And, strangely enough, one finds developing in them the same slave traits of subject countries, the same resignation, evasion of facts, and *the same use of their intellects to manufacture excuses for their inactivity and slavery*. They may call it politics ; but it is cowardice and slavery ; and while they may remain a little longer in power, they do so at the expense of their souls and the soul of the nation.

Vienna, Austria.
March 8, 1921.

ALICE BIRD.

QUOTATIONS FROM TERENCE MACSWINEY'S "PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM"

The Basis of Freedom.

"NO physical victory can compensate for spiritual surrender. Whatever side denies, that is not my side."

"A spiritual necessity makes the true significance of our claim to freedom: the material aspect is only a secondary consideration. A man facing life is gifted with certain powers of soul and body. It is of vital importance to himself and the community that he be given a full opportunity to develop his powers, and to fill his place worthily. In a free state he is in the natural environment for full self-development. In an enslaved state it is the reverse. When one country holds another in subjection, that other suffers materially and morally. It suffers materially, being a prey to plunder. It suffers morally because of the corrupt influences the bigger nation sets at work to maintain its ascendancy. Because of this moral corruption national subjection should be resisted as a state, fostering vice; and, as in case of vice, when we understand it we have no option but to fight. With it we can make no terms. It is the duty of the rightful power to develop the best in its subjects: it is the practice of the usurping power to develop the basest."

"It is a spiritual appeal, then, that primarily moves us. We are urged to action by a beautiful ideal. The motive force must likewise be true and beautiful. It is love of country that inspires us; not hate of the enemy and desire for full satisfaction for the past."

"We fight for freedom—not for the vanity of the world, not to have a fine conceit of ourselves, not to be as bad—or if you prefer it so, as big as our neighbours. The inspiration is drawn from a deeper element of our being. We strive for self-development individually and as a nation. If we don't go forward we must go down. It is a matter of life and death; it is our soul's salvation. If the whole nation stand for it, we are happy; we shall be grandly victorious. If only a few are faithful they must be the more steadfast for being but a few. They stand for an individual right that is inalienable. A majority has no right to annul it, and no power to destroy it. Tyrannies may persecute, slay, or banish those who defend it; the thing is indestructible. It does not need legions to protect it nor genius to proclaim it, though the poets have always glorified it, and the legions will ultimately acknowledge it. One man alone may vindicate it, and because that one man has never failed, it has never died."

"The end of freedom is to realise the salvation and happiness of all peoples, to make the world, and not any selfish corner of it, a more beautiful dwelling-place for men."

"Neither kingdom, republic, nor commune can regenerate us; it is in the beautiful mind and a great ideal we shall find the charter of our freedom."

Moral Force.

"A man of moral force is he who, seeing a thing to be right and essential and claiming his allegiance, stands for the truth, unheeding any consequences. It is a first principle of his, that a true thing is a good thing, and from a good thing rightly pursued can follow no bad consequence."

"The soldier of freedom knows he is forward in the battle of Truth, he knows his victory will make for a world beautiful, that if he must inflict or endure pain, it is for the regeneration of those who suffer, the emancipation of those in chains, the exaltation of those who die, and the security and happiness of generations yet unborn."

"One armed man cannot resist a multitude, nor one army countless legions; but not all the armies of all the empires of earth can crush the spirit of one true man. And that one man will prevail."

"A true soldier of freedom will not hesitate to strike vigorously and strike home, knowing that on his resolution will depend the restoration and defence of liberty. But he will always remember that restraint is the great attribute that separates man from beast, that retaliation is the vicious resource of the tyrant and the slave; that magnanimity is the splendour of manhood; and he will remember that he strikes not at his enemy's life, but at his misdeed, that in destroying the misdeed, he makes not only for his own freedom, but even for his enemy's regeneration."

"In a state enslaved every mean thing flourishes. The admission of it makes clear that in such a state it is more important that every evil be resisted. In a normal condition of liberty many temporary evils may arise; yet they are not dangerous in the glow of a people's freedom, they waste and die as disease dies in the sunlight. But where independence is suppressed and a people degenerate, a little evil is in an atmosphere to grow, and it grows and expands; and evils multiply and destroy. That is why men of high spirit working to regenerate a fallen people must be more insistent

to watch every little defect and weak tendency that in a braver time would leave the soul unruffled."

"Now, and in every phase of the coming struggle, the strong mind is a greater need than the strong hand. We must be passionate, but the mind must guide and govern our passion. In the aberrations of the weak mind decrying resistance, let us not lose our balance and defy brute strength. Let the cultivation of a brave, high spirit be our great task; it will make of each man's soul an unassailable fortress. Armies may fail, but it resists for ever. The body it informs may be crushed; the spirit in passing breathes on other souls, and other hearts are fired to action, and the fight goes on to victory. To the man whose mind is true and resolute ultimate victory is assured. No sophistry can sap his resistance; no weakness can tempt him to savage reprisals. He will neither abandon his heritage nor poison his nature. And in every crisis he is steadfast, in every issue justified. Rejoice, then, good comrades; our souls are still our own. Through the coldness and depression of the time there has lighted a flash of the old fire; the old enthusiasm, warm and passionate, is again stirring us; we are forward to uphold our country's right, to fight for her liberty, and to justify our generation. We shall conquer."

Brothers and Enemies.

"Our enemies are brothers from whom we are estranged."

"If Ireland is to be regenerated, we must have internal unity; if the world is to be regenerated, we must have world-wide unity, not of government, but of brotherhood. To this great end every individual, every nation has a duty; and that the end may not be missed we must continually turn for the correction of our philosophy to reflecting on the common origin of the human race, on the beauty of the world that is the heritage of all, our common hopes and fears, and in the greatest sense the mutual interests of the peoples of the earth."

"When internal unity is accomplished, we are within reach of freedom."

The Secret of Strength.

"We have, then, to develop individual patience, courage and resolution. Once this is borne in mind our work begins. In places there is a dangerous idea that sometime in the future we may be called on to strike a blow for freedom, but in the meantime there is little to do but watch and wait. This is a fatal error; we have to forge our strength in the interval. There is a further mistake that our national work is something apart, that social business, religious and other concerns have no relation to it, and consequently we set apart a few hours of our leisure for national work, and go about

our day as if no nation existed. But the middle day has a natural connection with the beginning of the day and the end of the day, and in whatever sphere a man finds himself, his acts must be in relation to and consistent with every other sphere. He will be the best patriot and the best soldier who is the best friend and the best citizen. One cannot be an honest man in one sphere and a rascal in another; and since a citizen to fulfil his duty to his country must be honourable and zealous, he must develop the underlying virtues in private life. He must strengthen the individual character, and to do this he must deal with many things seemingly remote and inconsequential from a national point of view."

"Every act of personal discipline is contributing to a subconscious reservoir whence our nobler energies are supplied for ever."

Political Life.

"In a political assembly men fight bitterly but most frequently for nothing worth a fight; and, again, those rightly judging the situation must resolve not to be tempted into a wrangle even if their restraint be called by another name. What in a political assembly is often the first thing to note? We begin by the assumption, "this is a practical body of men," the words invariably used to cover the putting by of some great principle that we ought all to endorse and uphold. But first, by one of the many specious reasons now approved, we put the principle by, and before long we are at one another's throats about things involving no principle. It is not necessary to particularise. Note any meeting for the same general conditions: a chairman, indecisive, explaining rules of order which he lacks the grit to apply; members ignoring the chair and talking at one another; others calling to order or talking out of time or away from the point; one unconsciously showing the futility of the whole business by asking occasionally what is before the chair, or what the purpose of the meeting. This picture is familiar to us all, and curiously we seem to take it always as the particular freak of particular time or locality; but it is nothing of the kind. It is the natural and logical result of putting by principle and trying to live away from it. Yet, that is what we are doing every day. It means we lack collectively the courage to pursue a thing to its logical conclusion and fight for the truth realised. If we are to be otherwise as a body, it will only be by personal discipline training for the wider and greater field. We must get a proper conception of the great cause we stand for, its magnitude and majesty, and that to be worthy of its service we must have a standard above reproach, have an end of petty proposals and underhand doings, be of brave front, resolute heart, and honourable intent. We must all understand this each

in his own mind and shape his actions, each to be found faithful in the test. In fine, if in private life there is need for developing the great virtues requisite for public service, even

more is it necessary in public life to develop the courage, patience, and wisdom of the soldier and the statesman."

PEACE AND LIFE

BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.

A NUMBER of my countrymen are opposed to the movement for freedom, because they believe that it is likely to disturb the peace of the country and cause disharmony and disorder. It seems that there is a great deal of confusion about the relative value of peace and freedom or peace and life. Peace is by no means an end by itself while life is. Peace is a condition of mind or a condition of things which contributes to the enjoyment of life, or which helps in progress towards freedom. There can be no nobler ideal for individual life than a state of freedom in which one can make the best of life. Anything that hinders this progress and prevents people from making the best of life and getting the most out of life is unhealthy and undesirable, whether it is peace or disorder.

Now, there are conditions of life in which peace is as harmful to progress as disorder, or perhaps even more. A condition of peace which prevents people from making the best of life and getting the most out of it, is not a desirable condition, and under such circumstances it will not be making a great sacrifice to try to change that condition. Applying this principle to the life of a nation, one has to see whether the condition of peace prevailing at a certain time enables the bulk of the nation to make the best use of life and to get the most out of it. If progress towards freedom is a test of individual progress, the same must hold good in the case of a nation. Only such conditions of peace are desirable for a nation as contribute to progress towards freedom. Here, by way of elucidation, it must be made

clear that the nation does not consist only of men of property, of landlords, bankers and of government servants and pleaders. The nation consists of these as well as those outside of this circle who constitute the bulk of its population. It is the conditions of the latter, their opportunity of progress towards freedom, their chances of enjoying life and making the best of it which should determine the desirability or otherwise of certain conditions of peace or disorder. The wishes or the interests of the privileged few do not provide the real test. Let us go into a few details.

(1) The rajas and maharajas of India do not, of course, like a disturbance in the present conditions of peace, because the latter ensure them, without any effort of their own, princely incomes which they can squander at will in the enjoyment of their life. It is an anomaly of the present condition of peace that all these rajas and maharajas should be in a position where they can defy the will of their subjects, and where the subjects can be treated as helots without any remedy to better their condition. A condition of peace which enables the ruler of a state to squander the income of his subjects in a life of debauch lived in foreign countries without the least care about the welfare of his subjects, is certainly not a desirable condition of peace from the subjects' point of view, though the ruler, of course, must consider it a blessing and a thing never to be changed.

(2) Men who have taken possession of vast areas of land and do not want to be disturbed in their possession thereof, re-

gardless of what their possession means to the actual cultivators of the soil and to millions of others who depend for their life upon the produce of the soil, would naturally prefer the existing condition of peace and would not like to take the risk of a change.

(3) The same is true of manufacturers, mill-owners and other men of property, including Government servants drawing high salaries, and eminent lawyers, etc. The present condition of peace may not mean absolute bliss to them and some of them may have chance of bettering their condition by a change, but the vast bulk of them will naturally prefer not to take any risk; their present condition of security and ease is sufficient to prevent them from desiring uncertain changes.

But the nation does not consist of these classes only. What of the hundred millions or more who, in the words of Lord Sinha, do not know how to satisfy their hunger fully? What of the ninety-four per cent. who are absolutely illiterate? In short, what of the vast bulk of the people of India who own no property, have no fixed incomes and who live a precarious life of semi-starvation and semi-nudity? A condition of peace which takes no account of the latter cannot certainly be a desirable condition of peace to be maintained and to be continued under any circumstance.

Peace under these circumstances is a negation of life to a vast bulk of the people. By what canons of ethics and morality can these people be kept out of life and its uses and enjoyments in the interests of the few who ride rough-shod over their lives? It is thus clear that peace has a different meaning and is of a different nature according to the condition of life in which each individual is placed, but from a national point of view no peace is desirable which denies the vast bulk of the people the right and opportunity to get the best out of life and of progress towards freedom.

The propertied classes and the privileged few who by virtue of vested interests enjoy the same advantages as propertied classes, have always in the history

of the world decried changes which might disturb them in the enjoyment of their existing privileges. Their class interests are opposed to a change. In their eye every change desired by the masses or by the dispossessed or depressed classes is a revolution. They can only see disorder and anarchy in a change of the present system. While this is true of the propertied and privileged classes, it seems strange that some of the reformers also should be opposed to change and should constantly see the spectre of anarchy in a radical change of the present system of government. The fact is that these reformers also have by association and self-interest allied themselves with the propertied classes. Any reforming work that is carried on with the fund supplied by and with the active help of the propertied classes becomes tainted with the hopes and fears of the latter. It affects the outlook of the reformer very sensibly. Take, for instance, the case of a reforming agency which has been maintained and is kept active and alive by funds supplied by a certain group of capitalists. It becomes impossible for them to entertain a point of view which might harm their patrons and thus deprive them of the help so far received from them. We see it exemplified in the life of the West. Churches are maintained by rich people and the preaching in these churches is deeply coloured in the interests of the rich classes.

Socialism is opposed by the whole host of Christian missionaries, because it cuts at the very root of the supplies by which the established churches are maintained. Similarly in India we find that men ostensibly poor, pledged to a life of poverty in the interests of public good, actually leading a life of poverty and engaged in public service, are unconsciously taking sides with the propertied classes and opposing movements for freedom which they think likely to end in revolutionary changes in the condition of society.

They are making a fetish of peace and ordered progress. They fail to see that what is peace in their eye may be death for millions of their countrymen, and what is ordered progress for them

is an unlimited continuance of pangs of hunger, of want, of ignorance and humiliation of the bulk of their nation. Ordered progress is very good in an ordered society; but where the conditions of society are abnormal and unnatural, there to talk of ordered progress is mere sophistry. There is no order in a society which is unnatural. The order, there, is the will of the few. It is a condition of anarchy by which many are kept under submission by the few in possession. To raise the cry of anarchy is an interested cry for them. In their eyes the rule of the few over the many is order, while the rule of the many

over the few will be disorder. To them the peace that secures them in the possession of all the advantages of life is a most desirable thing to strive for and to maintain at any cost. It is not so for the many who, exploited as they are from day to day and from hour to hour, cannot appreciate such a peace. These latter do not want the peace of the graveyard or the peace of the milk compound or of a regiment under drill. They aim at real substantial peace, which will secure them equal opportunities of life with the rest of their fellowmen.

THE NEW CIVIL MARRIAGE BILL

I HAVE ventured to place my Civil Marriage Bill on the Imperial Legislative anvil in the hope that it will merit the support of the country it deserves. As I will presently show, the prejudice aroused by its predecessor from a certain class of persons was due to the avowed reasons of the measure, which are not the primary consideration that has actuated me in introducing it. As every student of law knows, in all European countries and in America marriage is a civil contract, and as such may be contracted by any two persons without reference to their religion and subject only to the prohibition against consanguinity. This does not necessarily deprive marriage of its religious element; for, in practice, many parties thereto prefer to follow up the civil contract by a religious ceremony in church and thus law and sentiment are both satisfied. Now, in India Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists, Brahmos and other advanced Hindus regard marriage in the same light. And still there is no Civil Marriage Act to enable them to intermarry. The result being that they are denied their birthright to marry whomsoever they like, because the Legislature has not enacted a law for

the performance of civil marriages similar to those which are to be found in all other countries. The position is then this. Suppose a Christian wishes to marry a Mahomedan, there is nothing in their religion or their personal laws to prevent such marriage, but since a Mahomedan *Kazi* will only marry a Mahomedan and a Christian a Christian, there is no means for the performance of such marriage; and even if the priests of the two communities were to agree to solemnize it, there would be practical difficulties as to the ritual which should bind the contracting parties. In other words, the ecclesiastical authority does not provide means for the making of secular contracts. But if the parties in our illustration repair to any part of Europe the civil law will assist them to register their contract and a marriage so contracted will hold good anywhere. They need not, in fact, go as far; for, since the ships on the high seas are supposed to be floating parts of their own country, such marriages are conceivable even beyond 3 miles of the Indian coast.

So far then as these communities are concerned, they have a just grievance in that they are free to contract such marriages in every country except their own.

Why should India suffer from this serious territorial disability? A Civil Marriage Law for such communities would seem to be a necessity. And the only reason why the public have not so far clamoured for it is that intercommunal marriages were so far few and far between and public opinion had not been so far roused to a sense of its own wrong.

Ignorance and religious and racial prejudice have kept all the Indian races apart, and the British Government, pledged as it is to religious neutrality, has studiously abstained from taking any action which might savour of interference with their religion, with the result that it has refrained from passing even a law which the civilized sense of all communities elsewhere regards as common law and as essential for social progress.

An attempt in this direction was no doubt made in 1868 when Sir Henry Maine as Law Member of the Government of India introduced a measure similar to my Bill now before the Legislature. In a learned minute published in the proceedings of the Council of that year Mr. Maine (as he then was) pointed out the necessity for such a measure. But before it could be enacted Mr. Maine's term of office came to an end and he was succeeded by another jurist of eminence, Sir James Stephen, whose conservative instincts rebelled against a measure for which, as he then opined, there was no public demand. Mr. Stephen argued the issue back to its origin and refused to enlarge its terms. The Brahmos of Bengal had asked for a Civil Marriage Bill for the use of their own community who objected to contract marriages by following the idolatrous rituals of Hindu marriages, and submit to the dictates of the Hindu priestcraft. Stephen argued that as the Brahmos had moved the Legislature to pass a Civil Marriage Bill, it should not be enlarged by its terms into a general Civil Marriage Bill in anticipation of public opinion. He also pointed out that with the exception of a Maharaja (who was usually absent) the Imperial Council was then composed

exclusively of Europeans and was not representative of the people. It could not therefore introduce a measure of social reform, however necessary, without consulting them. The select committee appointed to consider the Bill readily yielded to this view and decided to confine it to the Brahmo and other similar dissenting sects. The followers of other revealed religions were then to be excluded from the operation of the Bill. But how were the Hindu dissenters to be described—Hindus, or Non-Hindus? The Brahmo leaders were consulted and they agreed that they had no objection to being classed as Non-Hindus and were ready to make a declaration to that effect.

The Bill was then limited to those "neither of whom professes the Christian, or the Jewish, or the Hindu, or the Mahomedan, or the Parsi, or the Buddhist, or the Sikh, or the Jain religion." It was enacted as Act III of 1872.

But both the Legislature as well as those for whom the Act was intended had reckoned without their host. The term "Hindu" had nowhere been defined by the Legislature and the question remained whether the Brahmos, Sikhs and the other Hindu dissenters, though they might call themselves Non-Hindus, were in reality Non-Hindus.

This question arose in 1908 in a case which went up to the Privy Council, who held that a Sikh or a Hindu by becoming a Brahmo did not cease to be a Hindu. (31 C 11 at page 33.) This decision, since followed in other cases, has created a new situation by rendering the Act of 1872 obsolete so far as it was intended to apply to Brahmos and the other Hindu reforming sects. Brahmos and the rest must perform marriages. They cannot conscientiously do so now under the Act, which requires them to sign a declaration that they are Non-Hindus. Such marriages as have since taken place under the Act must of necessity have ignored the view of the Privy Council and in doing so the contracting parties run a risk which might prove fatal to the enjoyment of their matrimonial rights and the legitimacy of their issue.

The situation is serious and called for the immediate intervention of the Legislature. But unfortunately the Legislature has refused to act. In 1911 Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu sought to revive Maine's Bill in the Imperial Council, on the ground that the growing consciousness of the Hindu community would welcome such measure. But Mr. Basu soon ceased to be a member of the Imperial Council, and the Bill which he had introduced lapsed for want of prosecution. A somewhat similar fate awaited a narrower, albeit more controversial measure, which Mr. V. J. Patel introduced in the same Council in 1918. Mr. Patel's Bill was intended to legalize intercaste marriages amongst Hindus. It is needless to state that the form in which both these measures were presented and defended aroused keen controversy from those champions of orthodoxy who represent the latent conservative instinct of the populace. The Select Committee appointed to consider Mr. Patel's Bill took advantage of the coming reforms and recommended that it should be relegated for legislation to the reformed councils.

I was elected to one of these last year, and I took an early opportunity of examining the whole question, with the result that my Bill drafted on the lines of Maine's and Basu's Bills is once more before the Legislature.

That it is a measure of paramount national necessity will be readily conceded by those who have made themselves acquainted with the matrimonial laws of other civilized countries.

I have already pointed out that of the population of India a considerable portion consists of those who regard marriage merely as a civil union. There is no reason why these people should be deprived of the advantage of a Civil Marriage Act.

Even amongst Hindus a large growing body of intelligent public opinion favours such a measure. The reforming sects, such as the Brahmos, Prarthana Samajis, Theists, and Theosophists would all welcome it. And so should those who are interested in the happiness of our children.

Hindu law regards marriage as a

sacrament, but the results of this sacrament are serious to the woman. Manu counsels the marriage of girls almost before they leave their cradles. Such marriages often lead to lifelong misery. If the husband dies, the wife is consigned to lifelong widowhood and lifelong torture from her husband's relations. Happy marriages in the caste are becoming daily more difficult. The dowry scandal in Bengal had led many a girl to commit suicide.

The dearth of women in the Punjab has led to the wholesale conversion of castes. Everywhere the cry is that eligible husbands within the narrow circle of one's caste are limited and available only at a prohibitive price. Marriage had become a profitable industry with *Kulin* husbands. Its scandals are only too obvious to need expatiation.

Intercaste marriages will at least open a door to competition. No one need marry outside his caste, unless one chooses. The measure only recognizes the theoretical equality of all men for which all India is at the present moment struggling.

It will assist the most orthodox of Hindus in that it will afford indisputable proof of marriage in every case where it is registered under my Act. The Hindu law of marriage is uncertain and is mostly customary. Marriage customs vary in different castes and the law reports furnish many examples of cases in which the factum of marriage and the consequent legitimacy of the issue has failed to be proved for want of reliable evidence. The Civil Marriage Act will furnish an indisputable contemporaneous record of marriage of which every sensible person in Europe knows the value.

With the advance of education the necessity for registration of all marriages will soon become established. It is only a question of habit and I know my countrymen will readily avail themselves of the opportunity which this new Act of the Legislature will give them to perpetuate the evidence of a solemn act upon the proof of which may depend the honour

and happiness of their own progeny and the preservation of their estate.

But the immediate advantage of such measure is not to be looked forward to in the number of intercaste or inter-racial matches but rather as marking a stage in the intellectual advance of a people for ages caste-ridden and priest-ridden, submissive and obsequious to the command of authority and oblivious of their own right to pick and choose their lifelong friends.

Such is the social thralldom that even educated men shudder at the thought of a change involving their own emancipation. They know that the old order is wholly unsuitable to the present requirements of society.

I have hitherto considered the measure as of first necessity to meet the requirements of those who view marriage as a social contract. I will now consider it as a measure of social reform. It is one of the fictions of law that everyone is presumed to know law; but I doubt with all sincerity whether in reality even many professional lawyers know all about the law of marriage. That Mahomedans, Christians, Jews, Parsis, Brahmos, Buddhists and Hindu dissenters can intermarry with one another is an unquestionable fact; but it is equally unquestionable that very few intermarriages have in fact taken place within living memory. I have stated one reason for this communal exclusiveness contributed by Government, namely, the absence of a Civil Marriage Act. But it is not the sole reason; for communal conservatism is another. Take, for example, the continents of Europe and America, where international marriages are legal. But how often do such intermarriages take place? Even in the United Kingdom, we have small compact races, such as Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, who, as a rule, do not intermarry. If they had so intermarried, the four distinct races as such would have disappeared.

These facts must afford some consolation to those pillars of orthodoxy who apprehend a complete corruption of blood

of their respective communities if my Bill becomes law.

They need not be reminded once more that it is merely an enabling Bill and the popularity of intermarriages must always remain a matter for communal consciousness, controlled by the ever gathering forces of education and to some extent modified by the law of supply and demand.

It is not in the actual result that the Bill is fraught with great potentialities. Its value rather lies in its recognition of the theoretical equality of all races and the possibility of intermarriages and inter-relationship between them. This will greatly reduce the natural sympathy. A few intercaste and intercommunal marriages will also take place mostly amongst the educated classes. And these will cement the bond of sympathy between the two castes and communities. At present our lives are spent in watertight compartments. We may have, it may be, our bosom friends amongst Mahomedans and Christians, but our friendships cannot develop into alliances. Each race preserves its exclusiveness by a fancied notion of its own superiority. It is jealous of the progress of another race. These interwarring races have for ages thrown India open to the attack of foreign powers. And India is as weak today as it ever was before in its history. The fact that British guns protect us from external aggression and internal strife is entirely due to the presence of a superior power, the withdrawal of which will immediately bring into play those disintegrating forces which have made India a prey to foreign invasions. All lovers of our country must realize this essential source of its weakness. Nationalism means unity. Unity is not possible without the recognition of equality. Equality implies the enjoyment of that elementary freedom in the matter of food, friendship and marital alliance which is the birthright of every civilized being.

It is a curious fact that we Hindus have no history in the modern sense and I am not surprised that we have profited

so little from the events of history of the past.

I have no doubt, then, that my Bill will greatly strengthen the forces of nationalism and give to that movement a turn for reality, for want of which it must perish. But it will do more. It will add to the stock of individual happiness. Marriage involves a life-long union, friendship and companionship; but how many marriages amongst us answer this test? Both Hindus as well as Mahomedans marry their children young—wives are allotted to the sons by parental arrangement. They have no choice in the selection of their life-partners! Amongst Hindus their affinity is determined by an examination of their horoscopes by the family astrologer. But why not determine it *ambulando*? The husband never sees his wife till it is too late. And a companionship forced on one is seldom enjoyed. When the husband and wife were both uneducated, the former received the latter as a divine dispensation. But education has greatly altered the outlook. If the husband is educated, he expects his wife to be educated also and education amongst the orthodox is taboo. Educated men naturally look in their wives for other qualities than identity of caste and stellar affinity. They expect them to be helpmates and companions, which is only possible if courtship precedes marriage. True love not only laughs at locksmiths but also at caste restrictions. The growing tendency of the *intelligentsia* is to follow the dictates of reason and the natural bent of one's mind.

True marriage implies a love-match. This is not possible within the narrow vinculum of caste. The Civil Marriage Act will be a great social emancipator. It will add to the individual happiness by enlarging the field of selection by destroying the artificial barriers raised by religion, sect or caste.

Biologically, love marriages have proved to be superior to marriages arranged by third parties, as racial experience has shown the superiority of the progeny of the former.

The love-match will produce a national solidarity not otherwise possible. It will transfuse a new life into the scattered and antagonising bodies, thus transforming them into a new organic whole, strengthening and solidifying the confused and chaotic mass into a homogeneous whole.

An India so strengthened can challenge the world. An India so populous and yet so weak as she is at present as to be the target of every filibustering adventurer is a pitiable object; and all patriots recognize the fact though they dare not wound the ignorant prejudices of the people by daring to suggest the only true remedy which will revivify and strengthen it.

"Unite", says the patriot. But how to unite? Not by loud declamations about national grievances. Indians have in their long and chequered history suffered from greater and more intolerable wrongs than they are suffering now. But how have they been able to defend themselves? In order that the nation should unite, there must be first a union of hearts, and this is only possible when the Indians overthrow their parochialism and recognize the equality of all men.

Both Hindu and Mahomedan marriages are in theory polygamous, though the evils of polygamy are guarded against by the Mahomedans by fixing heavy, in many cases prohibitive, dowries. The effect of registration of such marriages under the Act, which is strictly monogamous, will be a direct and an effective safeguard against polygamy.

It will further tend to minimize the evils of early marriages, since all marriages under the Act can only be contracted between parties who are both adults at the time of marriage. I need hardly dwell on the evil of early marriages and child widowhood. Those who still cling to this ancient usage need not feel alarmed at the advent of a reforming measure which will not interfere with their practice. But nevertheless it will set a new standard of social life which those who so desire may profit by.

One great effect of this measure of national reform would probably tend to

improve our religion, for, a new nation will need a new religion. We can never reconcile political progress with religious stagnation. What is Hinduism?—I ask. Echo answers, "What it is not?" I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I write in no spirit of denunciation. But truth is truth and we can never advance unless we indulge in occasional introspection. Hinduism—as we know it—is the observance of caste and subservience to the Brahmins.

The reforming sects which are getting daily more numerous are a protest against this social thralldom. The two great principles of Brahmoism are monotheism and an anticaste social ideal. And they are the underlying principles of other reforming sects, too. Their fusion into a single body will greatly strengthen their value and power. My Bill will furnish one more link to unite them all.

Much of what I have said might perhaps pass unchallenged except by those stern and unbending religious Tories whose fanaticism and ignorance cannot tolerate any innovation, however necessary. Them I cannot hope to convince. I address this only to those who will listen to reason, not to those who have stuffed their ears with wax lest they should be convinced against themselves.

Some of the former would welcome the measure, but ask me to solve the question about succession. Suppose, they argue, a Hindu boy is married to a Mahomedan girl, what law will the issue be subject to? To which I reply: Such marriages are possible now and have in fact taken place. Many Hindus and Mahomedans have married European ladies; what is the law of succession applicable to their issue? It will continue to be the law applicable to those who contract such mixed marriages under my Act.

The question of inheritance was solved as far back as 1850 by the Removal of Caste Disabilities Act under which the forfeiture of caste no longer entails the forfeiture of inheritance.

I do not wish to unduly lengthen out

this article, and I can only refer to my Hindu Code in which I have set out at some length the law of inheritance applicable to such cases. I can only sum up here, what I have there stated at some length, that Act III of 1872 has been in operation for some years and mixed marriages have been contracted for a large number of years, but the law of succession has not presented any insuperable difficulties in practice.

The second objection which I have heard raised to my Bill is that it will undermine the purity of race and religion. I have already adverted to this objection before. The English, the French, the Germans, the Americans continue to be great nations inspite of their freedom of marriage, and I do not see why our nationality should be any more in danger. It is true that, as in the case of other nationalities, our nationalism will tend to be more and more territorial, and this is what every one desires.

A nationality based upon religion or caste stands upon a very shallow foundation. That based upon the love of one's own country, stands upon a foundation which time and distance cannot destroy. I hope my little Bill may tend to create such true nationality.

I have thus every reason to press forward my measure as launched in the true interest of the nation. To a large and important section of the community it is a necessity. To the rest it should be unobjectionable, if not useful. If passed, it will afford certain evidence of marriage, promote love matches, reduce the scandal of dowry and marriage expenses, ensure better selection of mates, promote domestic happiness, reduce racial antipathy, create a new bond of mutual sympathy, consolidate the strength of the educated classes, ensure monogamy and discourage infant marriages, remove them from the baneful influences of middlemen and remove the anomaly that Indians are in this matter more free in all other countries than their own.

H. S. GOUR.



Sold Per Force *versus* Soul Force.
By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore.

SEGREGATION IN EAST AFRICA

By K. M. KHANDWALA.

AT a time when India is engaged in a life and death struggle with a foreign Government to cut the gordian knot of her slavery, her dutiful sons living in far off lands in the benumbing atmosphere of humiliation and degradation are not inclined to relate the story of their woes and miseries, because theirs would be a cry in the wilderness. But man lives on hope. And it is with a hope to attract the attention and draw the sympathies of my countrymen towards the humiliating conditions in which their fellow countrymen are compelled to live in a colony like British East Africa under the protecting wings of the British Government that I propose to bring to their notice some provisions of a Public Health Bill passed by the Legislative Council of the Kenya Colony.

It must be remembered that in last December in answer to a question by a member of the House of Commons, Col. Amery, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies had replied that the policy of segregation, on which Lord Milner had set his seal in his despatch on the grounds of sanitation and social convenience before knowing the views of the Government of India, who are believed to be the custodians of the interests of Indians in British Colonies, was under reconsideration. The Government of India despatch had been published in the Press of British East Africa before discussion took place on the segregation clauses of the Public Health Bill in the Kenya Legislative Council. The Councillors knew that the Government of India had expressed very strong and emphatic views on the question of segregation and rejected it both in theory and practice. In the despatch the Government of India say :—

"It is unfortunate, however, that the policy of segregation as advocated by Europeans in East Africa is animated by the racial feeling which marred the Economic Commissioner's report and it is not easy for Indians to appre-

ciate that the reasons for which Lord Milner has accepted this policy are wholly different. Nor it is a matter of mere sentiment. They fear that in practice the policy of segregation will be administered in a spirit of racialism rather than evenhanded justice. They further say: "It (segregation) seems to us to be a reversal of the principle for which His Majesty's Government have always contended in the parallel case of South Africa" and that "legislation on racial lines, so far from mitigating, will stimulate hostility and ill-feeling. It will, we fear, gratuitously provoke a conflict which may have grave political consequences in the country and throughout the Empire."

The Government of India despatch and Col. Amery's statement in the House of Commons had raised a fear in the minds of Europeans of this Colony that perhaps the policy of segregation will be abandoned. This led them to support the segregation clauses in the Public Health Bill of the Kenya Colony introduced in the Council in the end of January. The full text of the clause as passed in the Council is as follows :—

The Governor-in-Council may from time to time by proclamation reserve any area or areas within any district,

- (a) As a European reservation or reservations,
 - (b) As a non-European reservation or reservations,
 - (c) For commercial area either for Europeans or for non-Europeans,
- and may from time to time alter the boundaries of any such reservation or reservations or locations.

It must be noted that the Principal Medical Officer voted against this clause and the Select Committee to which the Bill was referred had also recommended that it should be dropped from the Bill. But during the debate in the Council some members made such fiery speeches condemning the Indians as a "menace to health" and "incapable of carrying out the laws regarding sanitation, that even the members of the Select Committee who were for dropping the clause voted in favour of it. It is to be borne in mind

that the clause is directed against Indians and is the outcome of race hatred and trade jealousy and not of social convenience or sanitation. Sir Edward Northey advanced some very absurd arguments while voting for the clause. He said that he himself was going to vote for the inclusion of the section in the Bill. The matter had been very fully considered by the local Government, and had been reported on in despatches Home, and the speaker himself had discussed the matter with the Secretary of State when in England. As a result of this, a policy had been enunciated, and if they deleted part 15 from the Bill, *it would practically mean that they now refuted that policy.* On the other hand, the Under-Secretary of State had said that the policy might be reconsidered and it had been publicly stated that the speaker would take the chair at a proposed Round Table Conference, but that should not make any difference in their vote as to the inclusion of part 15. This statement of the Governor is on the face of it absurd. He knew that the policy of segregation was under re-consideration and still he allowed his Council to pass a measure which established segregation and voted for it. I must say, that Sir Edward Northey has acted, in this case, in a very irresponsible manner. But bureaucracy is everywhere the same. It is seldom honest, it is seldom straight. To say one thing and to act otherwise is a characteristic of bureaucrats throughout the world.

So, the Europeans of Kenya Colony have been successful in defying the Colonial Office. In face of Col. Amery's statement they have established the principle of segregation in the Public Health Bill of the

Colony. To Indians, segregation has ever been hateful and will remain so, so long as they are human beings. As Mr. Jeewanji said in his Congress speech, the policy of segregation is a policy of antagonism to the Indian community advocated and pressed against Indians in every possible way by the members of the white community for whose benefit all their restrictions operate. "The segregation of races is based on racial discrimination and preference."

I cannot but further recall the bold and courageous words of Mr. Jeewanji that

"If our European fellow-subjects are not prepared to live on terms of equality, if it does not suit their social convenience to live here on such terms, if their physical strength is not equal to the strain of the climate without appropriating to themselves the most desirable areas to the exclusion of those who are equal subjects of the Empire and come here before them, let them go elsewhere among people who are prepared to tolerate their arrogant claims to preferential treatment or return to their own land, for we will not tolerate them. Their presence here is not essential to the economic life or the material prosperity of the colony and they could make room for others with less lofty ideas of their own superiority, or else put up with things as they are and take their chances on terms of equal opportunities and equal conditions for all. One cannot accept the plea that this policy of segregation of races in township areas is based either on sanitation or on social convenience. I feel convinced that trade jealousy and the desire to benefit one community at the expense of other are at the bottom of the policy."

The only way to make the position of the brave sons of India self-respecting in the world, is to get independence. British Citizenship is a sham and a snare for Indians, and the sooner we are disillusioned, the better for us and our country.

THE BRAVEST BIRD OF ALL

[By an American boy of 10 or 11 years of age.]

The little English sparrow is the bravest bird of all.
It stays here summer and winter
And it stays here spring and fall.
It has no trace of beauty, and it has not any song;
It does a few things right,
But it does more things that are wrong.
You can see it in the morning looking for its food.
It is the earliest creature in our neighbourhood.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This Section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, intentional or unintentional misrepresentation, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. We are unwilling to lay down any rigid limit, but four hundred words at the longest ought to suffice.—Editor, "The Modern Review."]

"Suggestions of an Approach to Reality Based on the Upanishads".—A Reply.

The Reviewer, who has devoted his entire criticism to the last chapter of Professor Radhakrishnan's book on "The Reign of Religion," in the April number of the Modern Review, evidently seems to have approached the subject with the preconceived notion that the Professor in expounding the philosophy of the Upanishads, is only following one or the other of the old traditional schools and has, consequently, failed to catch the spirit of the work. This perhaps accounts for the predominantly verbal, rather than the philosophical, character of his review.

I.

To Mr. Ghosh's remarks under the head of language, a quotation or two from the English reviewers will be a sufficient reply.

Dr. McTaggart of Cambridge writes, "In the whole book there is scarcely an unidiomatic expression." (Cambridge Review). Professor Margoliouth of Oxford says, "Though this work bears the name of an Indian Professor at an Indian University, many an English Professor at an English University might envy its author's command of clear and appropriate English, his choiceness and even daintiness of expression and the high intellectual ability to which every page bears evidence." (Church Family Newspaper). Dr. Urquhart of Calcutta writes, "A book of such high literary quality written by one for whom English is probably an acquired language, will undoubtedly excite the admiration of many for whom the language is a vernacular." (Calcutta Review). Mr. Ghosh's views on Mr. Radhakrishnan's use of 'shall' and 'will' do not, therefore, detract from the estimate made by Englishmen of his knowledge of English language.

II.

No one who has had any acquaintance with the variations of Sanskrit readings and the difficulties of Sanskrit printing in England would seriously make the remarks which the critic has ventured to, about diacritical marks, etc., and

rushed to conclusions on their basis. Apart from these difficulties, there does not seem to be any point in the attacks under the second head.

(a) "All beings form his foot" (*Padah asya Viswa-Bhutani*) (page 446) cannot suggest that 'these beings are his foot and not any other limb' since it occurs immediately after the passage from the Bhagavadgita to the effect, "this whole world is sustained by one part of myself" (*ekamsena*). It cannot mislead any except those who want to misread it.

(c) Taking the author's statement "they (the Absolute and *Mulaprakriti*) are indiscriminately called *Avyakta*", the critic writes "our author's assertion is wrong and misleading." This observation of the critic is in itself misleading. He seems to mean that the two are unmanifested in different senses. Evidently, the author knows it as well as the critic. Otherwise the author would not have used the word 'indiscriminately' which the critic conveniently ignores.

(d) Referring to the Aitareya Aranyaka passage (II, III, 2-4, page 424) the reviewer says, "the author has thoroughly misunderstood the section. The Rishi does not say that the 'Atman is expanded only in man'; on the contrary, he says that the Atman is manifested not only in man but also in animals, in herbs and plants. But it is manifested more in animals than in herbs and plants, more in man than in animals. Professor Radhakrishnan explains the whole point thus: "The dead mechanism of stones, the unconscious life of plants, the conscious life of animals and the self-conscious life of men are its expression at different stages. The ultimate reality sleeps in the stone, breathes in the plants, feels in the animals and awakes to self-consciousness in man. It (the Absolute or the Atman) progressively manifests itself in and through these particulars" (page 442-3). The author interprets the passage even as his critic wishes him to do and yet the latter is not satisfied. We need not pause to distinguish between "He speaks what is known: he sees what is known" and "He speaks what he has known: he sees what he has known". It is a distinction without a difference—"visible and invisible

worlds' is at least as good a rendering of 'loka-loka' as 'heaven and hell'. 'To see' in the context is the same as 'to know'. The means 'appropriate' to the struggling man can only be human. The passage in the context in which it occurs is not misleading at all and the author's direction in the brackets "see Aitareya Aranyaka" is meant that he is giving out the purport of the section referred to and not literally translating it.

(e) "Matter decays without life. Life dries up without matter" (*Brih. V. 12. 1*). The author quotes it to indicate that the Upanishad writers understood the mutual dependence of matter and life. He has nothing to do with the ethical inferences which Pratida develops from it and which are rejected by the Upanishad.

(f) As for the passages which the author cites from the Taittiriya Upanishad and the critic is unable to find in it—for he says, 'These sentences do not occur in the Taittiriya Upanishad or the author has mistranslated passages which have altogether different meanings'—we have only to set down the originals on which the author's statements—not literal translations are based.

i. Matter is rooted in life and life in matter. *Prane sariram pratishtitam, 'sarire pranah pratishtitah.'*

ii. 'This prana is the soul of the body.' *Tasyaisha eva sarira atma. (II. 3).* On this, Sankara writes, "*Tasya purushasya, annamayasya esha eva sarire annamayeh bhavassarira, atma, kah pranamayah.*"

iii. 'Vignana is the soul of manas.' *Tasyaisha eva sarira atma (II. 4).* See Sankara's commentary on it.

It is strange that in his eagerness to smash the author, the critic could not trace these relevant passages.

III.

We pass now to the section where the critic proves that the author is ignorant of the fundamental principles of Hindu Philosophy.

(a) Purusha and Prakriti are terms used by the author to indicate subject and object. He is not expounding the Sankhya philosophy, in which case, he should employ the terms in their technical sense. There is nothing to prevent the author from using them in the sense of subject and object. Even in Indian philosophy, the words are variously employed in the different systems. Purusha of the Purushasukta is different from the purusha of the Bhagavadgita, which is different from the purusha of the Sankhya system. It is the same story with Prakriti. In western Philosophy, the word 'subject' means sometimes the thinking substance (Descartes), sometimes the unity of apperception (Kant). It does not follow that wherever we use the word we should use it in the Cartesian or the Kantian sense. Because Professor Radhakrishnan uses Purusha

and Prakriti in the sense of subject and object, it does not follow that his knowledge of Hindu Philosophy is 'lamentably defective'.

(b) Next, we come across a good deal of criticism which has little bearing on the subject matter. The reviewer does not want to understand the distinction between Vedantism which is more philosophical and Vaishnavism and Saivism which are more religious; (2) the explanation of the world is traced to Iswara and Maya in the Sankara Vedanta, though all these are declared phenomenal; (3) the author is describing the general features of all these systems and argues that when once we give up the standpoint of the Absolute and seek to present it as Iswara as subject, then an object opposing it has to be posited. The interaction of the two accounts for the play of the universe. I do not want to commit myself to any view on this question which is more philosophical than historical. The author seems to be of opinion that the several systems he has mentioned will on examination reveal an interaction of the two elements answering to the Iswara and Maya of the Advaita Vedanta.

(c) The same point is urged in the statement that in Indian Philosophy the Absolute becomes the self-conscious Iswara facing the other.

(d) Regarding the relations of change and growth to the Absolute, the critic does not care to understand the author's view, which entirely differs from Sankara's and which is clearly stated that "The Universe is the Absolute dynamically viewed. If eternity is a circle, then the process of the Universe may be viewed as a straight line. The Universe of finite objects gives us, in the words of Plato, a moving image of eternity" (page 446). The eternal perfection of the absolute is different from the endless process of the world.

(e) According to the author, if I have not misunderstood him, the world of individuals, with Iswara at its head is not absolutely real. This does not mean that it is absolutely unreal. Absolute non-being is an impossibility. The world is not a Sunya; nor is it a mere mental figment. Even Sankara is up in arms against those who incline to such positions: An extra-mental existence is granted to the world; only ultimate reality is denied to it. This seems to be the view of the author for he says, "If we make absolutely real what is only relatively real, we are bound in the chains of maya" (page 445). "The finite is not truly existent" (page 445). It is also the meaning of the sentence quoted by the critic from the author. "The Maya theory simply says that we are under an illusion if we think that the world of individuals, the pluralistic universe of the intellect is the absolute reality." There is no justification for the comment of the critic that 'historical facts cannot be manufactured out of imagination to fit one's own philosophical ideas' we need not labour the point that in this

pluralistic scheme of the universe presided over by a personal God or Iswara, Maya becomes the Swabhava or the nature or the might of the personal God, inseparably connected with him.

(f) The criticism under this head occupies the standpoint that the author is interpreting the Upanishads from the orthodox point of view. Any reader, careful or even casual of the last chapter, will feel that the interpretation, the author puts upon the dialogue between Varuna and Bhrigu, is not identical with any of the classical interpretations. By the very title "Suggestions based on the Upanishads" the author makes out, that he is not giving a word for word representation or repeating any old view but is only working up certain points suggested by the Upanishads. None can say that the suggestions set forth are not contained in the Upanishads. I do not say I agree with his view, but a philosophical estimate of his position should attempt to test its internal coherence and exhibit its logical value. Our critic does not come even near this task. His criticisms are all textual. Annam should not be translated by earth. He himself admits that in other contexts it is taken to mean earth, though this rendering does not do justice to the Taaittiriya sense. Yet he himself at the close of the paragraph translates '*annamaya*' self by 'physical body' thus perpetrating the mistake he charges the author with. (*Physis*—nature.) '*Prana*' is often translated as life. The critic objects to the author's interpretation of Manas as preceptual consciousness and agrees with his view of Vignana as intelligence. He must either agree with both or object to both. '*Vignana*' can be intelligence only if manas is perceptual consciousness; if the latter becomes intellectual, then the view of Vignana as intelligence cannot be "substantially true." Ananda is used as a name for Brahman. It is true that Sankara does not support it in that context. But to say that ananda is not bliss, "as far as *this* Upanishad is concerned" (the italics are in the original) is absurd. There are ever so many passages where *ananda* means bliss in this very Up. if "*Koh yavyath kah pranya'h yadesha akasa anando na syat.*" On this question of *ananda*, the author sides with the Vrittikara, Ramanuja and their followers and differs from Sankara. The ultimate reality is not *annam* because it is perishable (*vinasitvam*); not *prana*, because it does not account for consciousness (*achetanatvam*); not *manas*, since it does not give us knowledge (*anischayatvam*); not Vignana because it involves the duality of truth and error, good and evil, pleasure and pain (*sukhaduhkha*) but the non-dual absolute *ananda*.

(g) From what has just been said, it must be clear that for the author, morality which is based on the distinction of self and not-self belongs to the Vignana level or the pluralistic

stand-point. It is transcended in the ultimate condition. The author very clearly brings out the relativity of moral distinctions. "The sciences belonging to the intellectual level are sciences of struggle and endeavour and not sciences of fruition or fullness of attainment. Logic with its impulse toward totality demands a complete and consistent world; love struggles for union with the whole, and life attempts to realise the all perfect in conduct. We have demands, struggles and attempts. We are in the striving stage. The human self which belongs to the intellectual level.....is only a grade of reality to be transcended in something higher.....If intellect should be the highest phase of reality, then morality, law and justice become the ultimate terms" (page 425). The author recognises that morality will be taken over into something higher. "Our knowledge aspires to something more than knowledge, an intuitive grasp of the fundamental unity, our morality to something more than morality, viz., religion; our self to something more than personality, viz., God or the Absolute" (page 434). If we are content to remain in the intellectual level only, then does morality become a ceaseless growth, even as nature bound in space and time is an endless process. Morality belongs to the world of Samsara, one without beginning or end (*anadi*). The individual soul, according to the author "will revolve in the wheel of births and deaths, until it reaches the highest when it gives up all subjection to time" (page 449). To tear the passage out of its context and commit the author to a position which he frequently repudiates is, to say the least, very unfair. A misunderstanding of this central position of the author is not possible for one acquainted with the first principles of Philosophy, Indian or European.

(h) Subject and object, man and environment are relative terms in the world of Maya. The Ego and the object would in spite of appearance to the contrary, grow and feed upon each other and are appearances of the same Absolute. The critic confuses the relative categories of self and not-self with the Absolute and the world and proceeds in his usual vein..

PANDIT CHANDRASEKHARA SASTRI.

Suggestions of an Approach to Reality based on the Upanishads :

A Rejoinder.

Professor Radhakrishnan wrote the Reign of Religion. The well-known theologian and Vedic scholar, Babu Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, reviewed the last chapter of the book in the April number of the Modern Review. And not Prof. Radhakrishnan but 'Pandit Chandra Sekhar Sastri' (?) has come forward with a

reply. This is not on all fours with the Professor's grammar because he was determined to be drowned without permitting anybody to come to his rescue. If any one cherishes any doubt, he is referred to the 'shall and will' chapter in Rowe's Hints. However to continue the anomaly, I, a fourth party, join, and that necessarily, the scuffle. But my rejoinder will not occupy much space. The review was divided into three parts: (i) The author's language, (ii) His knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature, and (iii) His knowledge of Hindu Philosophy and Religion.

(i) From what other motive than simply to discredit the Reviewer thereby hitting him on the back, that Pandit Sastri has added a list of testimonials from English critics conveniently for himself ignoring altogether that the reviewer has given a bitter certificate on the score of the Professor's language. Does not Mr. Ghosh say—"The author can write with facility and his language and style are eloquent and charming"? Is not this the fallacy of "No case, abuse the plaintiff"? But this does not take away a jot from the force of the censure passed by the reviewer on the author's use of 'shall and will.' Pandit Sastri himself has not failed to betray his awareness of the 'Irishmanism' in the Professor's grammar.

So in this section Mr. Ghosh's position remains unshaken and has, in fact, been strengthened. However the reviewer has spent his breath in vain. Professor Rowe is no longer an authority in the Calcutta University.

(ii) Mr. Ghosh said—"His knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature is defective and superficial."

In defence Pandit Sastri vaguely speaks of 'variations of Sanskrit readings.' Pray, what are those variations? Empty words carry no weight. He speaks also of 'the difficulties of Sanskrit printing in England.' Then let us take an article of Professor Radhakrishnan, printed in India. It is an article on 'The Metaphysics of the Upanishads' published in numbers 3 and 4 of vol. iii, 1920, of the Indian Philosophical Journal edited by Professors Widgey and Ranade. In this article our author commits ludicrous mistakes in Sanskrit.

(A)

He writes,

(i) Upaithi (उपैथि) for upaiti (उपैति) No. 3, p. 220.

(ii) Swapithi (स्वपिथि) for swapiti (स्वपिति) p. 225.

(iii) Apitha (अपिथ) for apitah (अपीतः) p. 225.

(iv) Prathyaya (प्रथ्यय) for pratyaya (प्रत्यय) p. 226.

(v) Thrishu (त्रिषु) for trishu (त्रिषु) p. 226.

(vi) Pasyanthi (पश्यन्थि) for pasyanti (पश्यन्ति) p. 229; and many more.

Are all these to be attributed to the Printer's Devil? Then the Printer's Devil must be a veritable Devil, because there is a method in it? Some will say, in our Professor's country 'th' (थ्) is written for 't' (त्). But how would then the Sanskrit 'th' (थ्) be written? That plea may be set aside, for the author has written 't' (त्) correctly in many places, as in the following words:—tad, amritam, and vibhati (p. 229); satyam and anantam (p. 236); tameva, bhantam, anubhati, tasya and vibhati (p. 346), etc.

Our author then knows that 't' is 't'; how is then the 'th' (थ्) for 't' (त्) to be accounted for?

(B)

In that article our author has given an original derivation of the word 'Atman' (आत्मन्). According to him, the word comes from the root 'vyap'—to cover all (page 230).

Note—'Atman' from 'vyap'. Original with a vengeance! Grim, Bopp and Max Muller must have turned in their graves when the publication saw the light.

According to Panini, Atman (आत्मन्) = the 'at' (अत् to go) + manin (मनिष्). Unadi, iv. 152. It has been derived by other authorities from (i) the root 'ap' (आप्), (ii) a + da (आ + दा), (iii) ad (अद्) and (iv) tan (तन्). The following verse quoted by Sankara and Anandagiri gives the various roots and root-meanings of "Atman".
yaccapnoti yadadatte yaccatti Vishayaniha
yaccasya santato bhavastasmadatmeti kirtyate.

यच्चाप्नोति यदादत्ते यच्चात्ति विषयानिह ।

यच्चास्य संततोभावस्तस्मादात्मेति कीर्तयते ॥

(Vide Sankar on Katha, II. 1. 1 and Anandagiri on Sankarabhasya on Aitareya Up. I. 1).

The curious reader may ask 'how has our author hit upon the root 'vyap'? A Psycho-Analyst will show him the process. In our country there is a proverb—Madhva-bhave gudam dadyat मध्वभावे गुडं दद्यात्.

'If honey be not found treacles will do.' As no expert Psycho-Analyst is available, I, though a novice, may, with your permission, step into his shoes.

In connection with the root of 'atman' our author has read somewhere 'apri vyaptau' आप्लु व्याप्तौ, which means, the word comes from the root ap (आप्), the meaning being vyapti (व्याप्ति).

To our author 'apri' आप्लु was unintelligible. All its syllables must be 'indicatory' and must therefore be elided. So the principal word is 'vyaptau' (व्याप्तौ) which, according to our

author, comes from 'vyap' (व्याप्). This then is the root of 'atman'.

If my readers are not satisfied, I beg to apologise. I am not a Freud or a Jung.

So in this article also—I mean the article which was printed not in England but in a respectable Indian philosophical journal—we find that our author's knowledge of Sanskrit is superficial and lamentably defective. Poor Doctor Hiralal! Your claim was set aside on the excellent plea of the ignorance of Sanskrit.

Now let us revert to Pandit Sastri's remarks :

(a) Professor Radhakrishnan quoted a sentence which, he thought, was taken from the Taittiriya Aranyaka, III, 2. Mr. Ghosh said, its original was to be found in the Purushasukta of the Rigveda and that it was mistranslated. The defence, determined on committing a palpable 'ignoratio elenchi,' says that when this translation is read with other quotations, it will not be misunderstood. It may or may not be misunderstood. But that is not the question. The question is (i) whether the author was not ignorant of the very existence of the Purushasukta which every tyro in Sanskrit should know and (ii) whether the sentence was correctly translated. A scholarly translation is self-sufficient and requires no artificial prop.

(b) A Svetasvatara text was mistranslated. According to the Professor, Vidyat (विद्यत्) = I know. Even a school boy will be ashamed of such a mistake. Pandit Sastri is silent on the point; and why?

(c) Professor R. says that Avyakta (अव्यक्ता) is indiscriminately applied to Purusha and Prakriti. Our reply is an emphatic 'No.' The mistakes are (i) grammatical and (ii) factual (vide II. c of the review). Our Pandit seems to take 'indiscriminately' in the sense of 'discriminately'.

Again the mistake is laid at the door of the Printer's Devil (vide introduction, II. of the defence). Throughout the book, the diacritical marks are conspicuous by their absence, that in Avyakta (अव्यक्ता) being the only exception. There are no such marks in Prana, Vijnana, Ananda, Paryalochanam, Samkhya, Vedanta, etc. Does our Sastri mean to say that here also it was the self-same Devil that introduced in 'avyakta' a mark the very existence and meaning of which were unknown to him? How could he know? He was not Indian Devil.

It is an Augean stable that is to be cleansed but Herculeses are not as plentiful as blackberries.

(d) Mr. Ghosh said that II. 3. 2-4 of A.A. was misunderstood and mistranslated, the principal mistake being in the rendering of the word avistaram (आविस्तराम्). Pandit Sastri says nothing about the mistranslation of this important word. He defends the translation of the whole passage not by taking the primary or even the secondary meaning of the words and

sentences but by taking a tertiary or a quaternary meaning. For example the translation of 'martyena' (मर्त्येन) by "appropriate means" is defended by saying that the "perishable means" which is the meaning of the word 'martyena' (मर्त्येन) is also an "appropriate means". If this method of procedure is followed, every sentence may be made to mean anything and everything.

Pandit Sastri further argues that Professor R. has given only the purport and his reason is that the word 'see' is written before the reference (Please note—when a purport is to be given, the word 'see' is to be used).

The reviewer had anticipated the answer and wrote: "The author has written the whole passage within quotation marks and every sentence has been translated, so he cannot say that he has given only the purport."

One may give the purport of a passage when it is too long or when it is too difficult to translate. Here the passage is not too long. Then why is he alleged to have given the purport? Again does "giving a purport" mean "giving a wrong meaning"? Why does he write "Atman is developed *only* in man" instead of "Atman is developed *more* in man"?

Does not the substitution of 'only' for 'more' make a world of difference? Does it mean 'giving a purport'?

Another argument of Pandit Sastri is that the "author has interpreted the passage as his critic wishes him to do." No, that is not the case. He has misunderstood the passage. But if the passage were rightly interpreted, it would support our author's own philosophical position if he had any. Had he known it, he would have caught at the idea and said, "Lo, here is the passage which is the corner stone of the theory of Brahman's growth and development."

It should be noticed here that the passage occurs in an Aranyaka and this idea was rejected by Yajnavalkya and other seers of the Upanishads.

But we have taken the valuable space of the M. R. for nothing. I should have said at the outset that the author has turned his coat. He no longer believes in the theory of Brahman's growth. He writes in the article referred to above, that "though the principle of all growth, it does not itself grow" (p. 349).

All's well that ends well.

(E)

Here Pandit Sastri has suppressed the principal point. The author thinks that according to the Upanishad, the unity of life and matter is Brahman. Mr. Ghosh's contention is that this idea was finally rejected in that very section of the Br. Up. Pandit Sastri is silent on the point, which speaks volumes. The contention is not, as Pandit S. professes to

think, whether food and life are interdependent which even ordinary mortals are not unaware of.

F (1)

Pandit Sastri gives the text of this section. But does it occur in F. U., II. 3? Why does he suppress the reference?

F (2)

The author's translation as quoted in this section is "The 'prana' is the soul of the body." The text supplied by Panditji is:

Tasyaisha eva sarira atma (तस्यैव एव शरीर आत्मा)

We quote the full sentence "Tasyaisha eva Sarira atma yah purvasya" (तस्यैव एव शरीर आत्मा यः पूर्वस्य) which means "The embodied self of this (consisting of breath) is the same, as that of the former (consisting of food). Does it mean even tertiary or quaternarily that 'this prana is the soul of the body'?"

The corresponding portions of II. 4 and II. 5 have been similarly mistranslated.

But Pandit Sastri says, these are not literal translations but are statements based on the texts of the Upanishads. It is strange that (i) the statement should misrepresent the text on which it is said to be based, (ii) that the statement should be given within quotation marks followed by reference and that (iii) the word 'See' should not be written before the reference. (Note: According to Pandit S. the word "See" is to be written when the author gives the purport).

One of the complaints of Pandit Sastri is that Mahes Babu's criticism is 'verbal' by which he means 'textual'. How can it be otherwise? Instead of writing an independent one, our Professor bases his philosophy on the texts of the Upanishads, the meaning of which he does not understand. Does Pandit S. expect that misinterpretations should not be pointed out. The fact is that our author's philosophy cannot be based on the Upanishads. It cannot be so based when the Upanishads are misunderstood and this is what Mr. Ghosh has successfully shown, thereby exposing the superficiality of the author's knowledge of Sanskrit literature and philosophy.

(iii) Now we come to the third part of the review and the reply.

(G)

The Pandit says—"Purusha and Prakriti are terms used by the author to indicate 'subject' and 'object'. He is not expounding the Samkhya philosophy in which case he should employ the terms in their technical sense. There is nothing to prevent him from using them in the sense of 'subject' and 'object'."

It is a misrepresentation of the fact. The author has actually used these and similar

words in describing the Samkhya and other systems (Vide p. 431 and 444, etc.).

Pandit Sastri admits that the technical meaning of Purusha and Prakriti is not 'subject' and 'object'. We also admit that an author is perfectly justified in using any word in any sense, however arbitrary it may be. He might have used even the word 'Self' for 'Prakriti' and 'Not-Self' for Purusha. In that case he would be 'original'; that would also be 'method'. If his book be intended for mortals like ourselves, he should give a glossary explaining his use and must stick to it from the beginning to the end. But what shall we say when the word 'subject' is used in one place for 'Purusha' and in another place for 'Prakriti'. Is not our author's case a similar one? Does he not use 'Purusha' and 'Prakriti' in his own arbitrary sense as well as in connection with the Samkhya and the Vedanta Philosophy in the same book? Here, the 'method' also fails. Pandit Sastri admits that our author's sense is different from the technical meaning. Then what will be the meaning of the words when used in expounding Hindu Philosophy?

But all these are irrelevant. The point of contention is not whether Purusha and Prakriti should be used for 'subject' and 'object'. The question is whether Purusha is an active agent. [Vide the review III (a) and (b) p. 458].

Pandit Sastri has the peculiar tact of committing the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*.

(b and c) Here Mr. Ghosh has shown how lamentable is our author's ignorance of Hindu Philosophy (M.-R. pp. 458-459). Our Professor does not know how many fundamental principles are there in different systems of Hindu Philosophy. He has committed egregious blunders in the exposition of Vaishnavism and Saivism. Pandit S. is silent on all these points and what he says has nothing to do with points raised in the review.

(D)

In this section Mr. Ghosh criticises the author's assertion that the Upanishadic Brahman is growing. The defence argument is silent on the point. Pandit S. simply says, "the author's philosophy is different from Sankar's." The author may have a philosophy and that philosophy may or may not be different from Sankar's philosophy. But that is not the point of contention. The point at issue is—"whether the Brahman of the Upanishads may be said to grow." Our author's Absolute as explained in his book may grow but this idea should not be fathered upon the Upanishads and the Vedanta systems.

But we have already seen that the author has changed his opinion and does not now believe in the growth of Brahman [Vide supra II (d)].

(E)

In this section Mr. Ghosh criticises the

author's exposition of the Maya theory. Here he has shewn that the author has manufactured historical facts in his own interest. Pandit Sastri has not met Mr. Ghosh's argument. Nor has he quoted any text to defend his friend.

(F)

Here Mr. Ghosh has shown that the author has misunderstood the meanings of the words 'annam' and 'prana' on which his philosophy stands. He has conclusively proved that 'prana' represents the 'animal world' and not the vegetable world as the author asserts. Pandit S. evades the question and raises irrelevant issues as to whether Brahman is bliss or not and whether it is accepted by Sankar or not.

Ignoratio elenchi again.

(G)

Here the question of the Vedantic morality is discussed. According to the author the Vedantic morality is 'a ceaseless growth' (p. 449) and the morality is the life of the soul (p. 441).

In reply Pandit S. expounds the moral philosophy of our author and shows that his philosophy also leads to the same conclusion as pointed out by Mr. Ghosh. Then the conclusion is that morality is not the soul of life. This means that the author's position about the Vedantic morality as expounded in his book is wrong. Here Pandit Sastri strengthens the position of Mr. Ghosh throwing his friend overboard.

(H)

Here the question is raised as to whether according to the Vedanta the saint is to live in the world or leave the world. Prof. R. says, that, according to the Vedanta, the world glows with God and must not be renounced. Mr. Ghosh has shown that renunciation is the Vedantic goal and has quoted chapter and verse to confirm his position. Pandit S. is silent on the point.

The cumulative effect of all this is that Prof. R's knowledge of Sanskrit, if any, is to be detected by a microscope and that superior

persons can also be duped and deception can be played on a stupendous scale and that in higher spheres of life.

The following Sanskrit text quoted by Pandit Sastri is significant :—

Kohyavath (कोह्यवथ्) kah pranyath (कः प्रणथ्) yadesha anando nasyat.

The correct text is :—

Kohyevanyat (कोह्येवान्यात्) kah pranyat (कः प्राण्यात्) yadesha akasa anando na syat.

Here Pandit Sastri writes, 'Kohyavath' (कोह्यवथ्) for 'Kohyevanyat' = कोह्येवान्यात् = Kah hi eva anyat कः हि एव अन्यात्.

There are more than one mistake but the point to be noticed is that 'th' (थ्) is written for 't' (त्). Again pranyath (प्रणथ्) is written for 'pranyat' (प्राण्यात्). Here also 'th' is written for 't'.

Who is the author of the reply? The mistake is a tell-tale. This shows that the voice is Jacob's voice but the hands are the hands of Esau. This is quite in keeping with the Mendelian law of segregation, a special trait reappearing intact in the third generation.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOUDHURI.

Editor's Note.

Prof. R. D. Ranade of Fergusson College, Poona, had also sent us a defence of Prof. Radhakrishnan's book; but as one was enough, we returned it with thanks. Besides, as very varying estimates of a book are often found in different journals, it is not usual to publish criticisms of book reviews. Prof. Ranade regrets that Mr. Radhakrishnan's whole book has not been reviewed. If we cannot get the whole book reviewed early, we shall reproduce its review from some famous journal. Prof. Ranade also points out that Prof. Radhakrishnan's book on the Philosophy of Tagore has not yet been reviewed. We are sorry for the delay. It was placed in the hands of a competent reviewer long ago. We hope he will enable us to publish a review of it ere long.

FREEDOM

By GAVIN D. BONE

[An American boy 10 or 12 years of age]

The wood cannot hold the blackbird's song.
Like the wind which comes and is fled away
The blackbird's song escapes to the sky;
The wood cannot hold it, though the wood's
high
With fir trees and oak shutting out the day.
Into the light it floats away
From a tangle of bushes underneath,
Ivy and moschatel are there

And over the maples everywhere
Old man's beard* makes his grey wreath.

The blackbird's song floats up to the sky,
The wood cannot hold the blackbird's song.

* Note. "Old man's beard" is the name given to a kind of mossy lichen which grows on the branches of trees.

LANCASHIRE'S ATTACK UPON INDIA'S FISCAL AUTONOMY—I.

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

AS I anticipated in my article—"Lancashire's Defeat And After"—in the *Modern Review* for May, 1917, Lancashire took the earliest possible opportunity to re-open its attack upon India to prevent her making financial and fiscal arrangements, which may not suit it. In the course of that article I had written :

".....The fight is not yet over. It is merely suspended for the duration of the war. Lancashire will return to the charge when hostilities are about to cease, and after-war trade policies are being formulated. Every sign extant shows that it will resume the struggle with redoubled energy."

The opportunity to re-open the campaign came to Lancashire not towards the end of the war, but early in March this year, when a summary of the new budget proposals, including those relating to the cotton duties, arrived in Britain. So vigilant is Lancashire, and such resources does it command, that it wasted no time in opening its batteries. That news first appeared in the newspapers printed on the morning of March 2. On the same afternoon, by "Private Notice," a question was asked on the subject. Sir J. Randles, a Lancashire M. P., in whose name the question stood, must have secured the facilities to put it down as soon as he read the news. His question read :

"Is it a fact that increased duties on imports to India are imposed from today, following the new Indian Budget; and are any steps being taken or likely to be taken by which Empire goods will receive preferential treatment in India?"

Mr. Montagu replied :

"Increased duties were imposed as from yesterday. Simultaneously an announcement has with my approval been made in India that a Commission will be appointed to examine, with reference to all the interests concerned, into the future fiscal policy of the Government of India, including the desirability of adopting

the principle of Imperial preference. The House will realise that no decision regarding Imperial Preference can be taken until the Commission reports."

Sir W. Joynson Hicks, whose advocacy of Dyerism no Indian can ever forget, immediately rose and asked :

"Can we have an assurance from my right hon. friend that he will be a whole-hearted supporter of Imperial Preference?"

Mr. Montagu is too old a bird to be caught with chaff, and he replied guardedly :

"I am very anxious that in any fiscal arrangement devised for the Empire, India will take her place as a free partner in the British Empire following the general Imperial practice."

There the matter rested, for a few days, so far as Parliament was concerned. This was, however, only the lull before the storm. Manchester was gathering the forces to attack the Government action. A meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was hurriedly called and it was decided to ask the Secretary of State to receive a deputation on the subject, if possible the next Wednesday.

The views which the Chamber of Commerce were to put forth were set out in a resolution passed on March 4th by the Executive of the India Section. Briefly summarised it was a condemnation of the addition to the import duty and of the "total disregard by His Majesty's Government of the interests of the cotton industry of this country and of its present deplorable condition." In any case, it said, the import duty should not exceed the Excise duty.

Meantime a meeting was called of the merchants who ship to India to give them an opportunity of voicing their opinions. The mood of the shippers was reflected in a letter which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 5th, in the course of which "A Shipper" declared that :

".....It is the weak points in the Government's case that we must concentrate upon, and we find a striking one in the comparative lowness of the Excise duties upon Indian-woven cloth. Previous Parliaments, including several which had Conservative majorities, have insisted that no protective duties should be levied in India on Lancashire goods, and it would be fair to say that the present Coalition Government especially has no right to accept a policy which is highly injurious to this country (Britain). One wonders how many supporters Mr. Lloyd George would have got from Lancashire at the last election if he had announced that he intended to sanction a heavy blow at the county's greatest industry, and to do that at a time when the trade was so depressed that at least two-thirds of the operatives were either wholly or partially unemployed. He could have counted them on the fingers of one hand."

This "Shipper" then pleads for the poor Indian who must inevitably suffer. It is the old song, not even set to new music. "The natives (I), too, have a right of more consideration," he declares. And he thus elaborates this theme :

"The mills in India are not numerous enough to serve all the needs of the country, even in coarse goods, and with a tariff of 11 per cent. on imports it is inevitable that both native-woven and imported cloth will be dearer than they need be. Users, therefore, although mostly very poor, will be further impoverished in order to add to the profits of Bombay manufacturers, who are already sufficiently prosperous. The policy is, therefore, just as bad for India as it is for Lancashire, and therein lies its absolute condemnation."

The real battle opened on Thursday, March 10th, when a deputation from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce waited upon the Secretary of State for India in the Council Chamber of the India Office. It consisted of :

Sir Edward Stockton, President ;
Mr. W. Clare Lees, Vice-President ;
Mr. Edward Rhodes, of Sir Jacob Behrens, Chairman, India Section ;
Mr. F. A. Lauder, of Messrs. Henry France and Lauder, Vice-Chairman, India Section.
Mr. J. Rankine Finlayson, of Messrs. Ashton Hoare & Co. ;
Mr. Malcolm Hayes, of Messrs. Glazebrook, Steel & Co. ;
Mr. J. Harold Rodier, of Messrs. Geo. Robinson & Co. ; and
Mr. E. Raymond Streat, Secretary of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

The Secretary of State for India was accompanied by :

Sir William Duke, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India ;
Mr. Cecil H. Kisch, C. B., who, as Mr. Montagu's secretary, accompanied him on his Mission to India, and who is now in the Finance Department of the India Office ; and
Mr. E. J. Turner, C.B.E., of the Revenue Department of the India Office, which Department deals with all questions of policy relating to Indian commerce.

Before I describe what happened at the deputation, I must make one or two prefatory remarks. I have already stated that Lancashire sprang into action immediately the news regarding the new duties reached this country. I must add, however, that from what appeared in the Lancashire press and what transpired at the deputation, it was quite evident that the English cotton industry was not satisfied with the speed it had been able to make, and it was actually suggested in some of the papers that the Secretary of State was playing for time. Mr. Montagu was able, however, to prove conclusively that he had answered the letter containing the request for a deputation on the very day (Monday, March 7th) on which he had received it. He tried his hardest, even up to the day preceding the one on which the deputation was received, to induce the various interests in Lancashire to send a joint deputation to him instead of sending first one from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and later another from the other interests.

That course had obvious advantages. Firstly, it would have saved much time and worry if the case for Lancashire had been made at one instead of two or more sittings. Secondly, it would have enabled the Secretary of State to tell the Lancashire interests what he thought about their case, and what he proposed to do, whereas, if the case was to be made out at more than one sitting, he patently could not give his reply until he had heard all that was to be said upon the subject.

Whether or not the Secretary of State wrote in this sense to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce I do not know, though more than likely he must have thought that it was unnecessary to call the attention of the shrewd, hard-headed

business men who constitute and conduct that organisation to such obvious facts. Be that as it may, the Chamber of Commerce insisted upon being heard separately and first. Since it is one of the most powerful organisations in the world, with great vested interests behind it, even a Principal Secretary of State of His Majesty could not but submit.

The methods pursued by the deputation at the India Office showed that Lancashire had very carefully gone over the causes which had brought about the signal defeat suffered in 1917, and, as the result of such cogitation, had abandoned its old strategy and armour in favour of tactics and weapons suited, in its estimation, to the present exigencies. In 1917, for instance, Lancashire had chosen for its spokesmen men who knew so little of India that Mr. Austen Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for India, did not hesitate to say :

".....nothing has struck me more in the speeches you have made than the want of knowledge—I do not want to use a harsh word—but the absolute want of knowledge of Indian conditions and Indian feelings betrayed by the speakers to-day."

In the course of the debate which took place in the House of Commons two days later, Mr. (now Sir) William Barton retorted :

"God bless my life, there were men in that room who had spent years in India, who knew every bazaar in India, and who had sold goods in India before the right hon. gentleman was born."

That sort of talk is indulged in by Members in Parliament, but they know very well that it does not carry them anywhere outside that Chamber. What is the good of having men in a deputation who "had spent years in India, who knew every bazaar in India, and who had sold goods in India before the right hon. gentleman was born," if they were not allowed to act as spokesmen?

Despite that bluster from that Lancashire Member of Parliament, Lancashire showed, a few days ago, when the deputation from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce appeared at the India Office, that it had profited by past

mistakes. It did not, on March 10, 1921, entrust its case to a man who did not have first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions, but chose as its spokesman one who, to use his own phrase, had "sweated in India." Sir Edward Stockton, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, who introduced the deputation, contented himself with uttering a few polite words, and left Mr. Edward Rhodes,—the Chairman of the Indian Section, who, he said, "has the whole of the details at his fingers' ends," to make the representation. Mr. Rhodes specifically referred to the strictures passed by Mr. Chamberlain on the deputation received by him in 1917, and stated :

"...Probably you do not know that the Lancashire cotton industry is rather an extraordinary one in this regard,—that it is a compartment trade. With the exception probably of two or three or four manufacturers, none of the people deal direct with India and never have done, and, as I believe, have no desire to do so. The whole of the pioneering from the very beginning and even until the present day is done by merchants who have their houses, their staffs, their travellers and their representatives in India, who from north to south and from east to west do propaganda work for the industry of Lancashire,—the cotton industry. It was because of that that we felt (and in this my colleague, the President, agreed, and I had the unanimous support of my Executive) that we should ask you, Sir, to receive us, because we did not want, if I may say so quite frankly, to be under the burden any longer of it being said that we did not know what we were talking about. At any rate, whether we are right or whether we are wrong in our views, I can look round and see two or three men who have done what I have done, sweated in India, and we feel that we can tell you, without in any way poaching on the preserves of the representatives of the admirable organisations that are coming to see you later on, what we think on the subject. It is from that point of view, and in order that I may not use vain words or vain repetition, that I made rather more copious notes for to-day than I usually do. I therefore speak to you from the point of view of men who know the feeling—perhaps imperfectly, but still know the feeling—on the other side as well as on this, and I am sure that we bring to the subject a sympathy that might be alien to those who have not had the experience that we have gained in our life's work in India, and in this country. That is to say, we know the Indian thought as well as an Englishman can do, and that is not saying very much. We know the Indian feeling as

well as we can do, as well as the feeling of our fellow countrymen who are distressed by the present increase in the duty."

I have chosen to give this long extract and to italicise certain words, in order to draw the reader's attention to the methods which are employed in Britain, to ensure the success of industrial and commercial enterprises. I may parenthetically add that in my estimation, one of the principal reasons why India lags behind is that she has not yet awakened to the realisation of the importance and necessity of what this Lancashire spokesman called "propaganda work" nor is yet making even an elementary effort to supply that prime need.

And what did Mr. Rhodes, with his first-hand knowledge of India, tell the Secretary of State for India? He spoke at considerable length. Briefly he traced the history of the cotton duties from the time, in the 90's, when, "under Lord George Hamilton, the 3½ per cent import duty and the 3½ export duty were imposed," and declared that Lancashire, far from being grasping and self-seeking, was anxious that there should be no duties of any sort—either import or excise. They were, he said, in good company in not desiring any duties at all, for Lord Salisbury had said, in 1875, that he had no doubt the Governor-General would remove, at as early a period as the state of Indian finances would permit, the duties which formed the subject of dangerous contention—a precaution which had "been delayed too long".

Mr. Rhodes reminded Mr. Montagu that Lancashire's "guns were spiked" when the duties were raised in 1917 because Mr. Chamberlain had made an appeal which could not be resisted. The deputation that waited upon him did not fail, however, to warn him that in refusing to raise the excise to an equal amount he was opening the door to trouble that would come in the future.

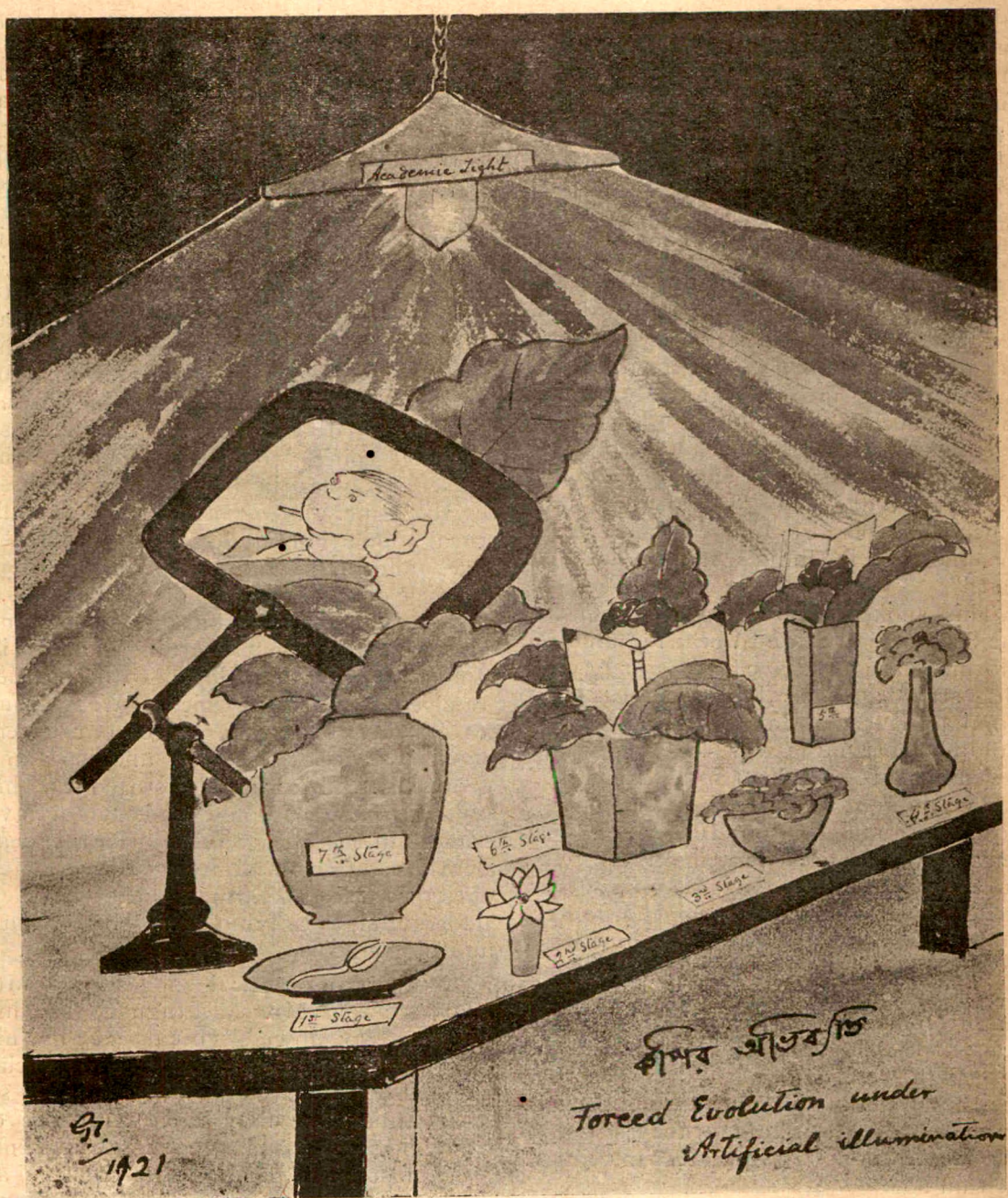
Coming to the present time, Mr. Rhodes took the line that, by their former advantage, "Indians were enabled in certain classes of goods not only seriously to compete with Lancashire but practically

to wipe out certain parts of Lancashire industry." The Bombay *dhoti* trade, for instance, had practically ceased to exist. This trade was formerly very large, but, "as the yarns employed in the manufacture of the goods are on the coarse side, with a duty against" Lancashire, and with an increased cost of production and freight, they were "practically entirely wiped out of the trade." The Bombay mills, he assured Mr. Montagu, "are even at the present time, as compared with the Lancashire mills, in an extraordinarily busy state."

Mr. Rhodes emphasised the advantage that the Bombay mills have over Lancashire in the manufacture of goods. But with all those disadvantages, he declared, no Manchester "merchant or London merchant or Lancashire manufacturer or cotton spinner or buyer or bleacher or calico printer would grumble if they are given equal treatment with the Indian producer—they would not mind if the 11 per cent import duty were imposed provided an 11 per cent excise duty is put on, so they would have an equal handicap. They could overcome the difficulties by their organisation.

Mr. Montagu was reminded of the difference in the conditions of the Indian mills as compared with those in the Lancashire mills—the cheap wages, the long hours worked, the cost of carriage of Lancashire cotton from America and the cost of the freight of the Lancashire piece-goods, the manufactured article, from English ports to India. He begged the Secretary of State to believe that they had not come to him in a selfish frame of mind, but because they felt that the "saddle is being horribly weighted against" them, and they wanted a fair chance in the race.

People in outside trades, Mr. Rhodes said, when Lancashire spoke about putting a countervailing excise duty in order to help it, remarked that they did not grumble at all, and asked why Lancashire should expect Indian people to "put up with an excise duty in order that you fellows may get in your goods against them in India?" To such persons he replied that their articles were not made



Forced Evolution under Artificial Illumination.
By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Gogonendranath Tagore.

in India. "Motor cars, motor cycles, tyres, clocks, watches, and so on, are not made in India, so that they are in the same position without as we should be with an excise duty," he explained. And he continued :

"That is to say, Indian people must come to them whatever import duty you put upon their articles at the present time, and for years to come. They are perfectly safe and they do not mind the import duty at all, because the consumer must pay."

Mr. Rhodes gave figures to illustrate his meaning. In grey shirtings, he declared, "the imposition of the extra four per cent means $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent in India's favour, taking into account all sorts of things, such as freight." In "white shirtings, in which there is a huge business done, the difference in India's favour is $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." In "calico prints, in which....there is also a huge business done, the difference in India's favour is 26 per cent."

This spokesman for Lancashire asked the Secretary of State to bear in mind the enormous freights Lancashire was paying. He stated: "In January, 1921, to Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta, Madras and Colombo the charge was 45/- weight and measurement freight from Antwerp," and he thought the rate they were paying now was about "105 or 106 plus 10 per cent." As they are charged on the c.i.f. price, when the enormous prices for wages, freight, when the *ad valorem* charge were added, Lancashire prices, "in competition with the Indian mills, for such goods as they are at present making and are beginning to make and will continue to make...are hopelessly out of it." He warned Mr. Montagu that he was "taking a step which will maim and mutilate and perhaps quite destroy in certain branches one of the greatest if not the greatest revenues" Britain has.

In regard to the new Government of India Act, Mr. Rhodes quite agreed with Lord Curzon when he said "that he was surprised the Government did not see in what direction things were tending" when the Secretary of State's veto was rather modified. This was a two-edged sword,

he declared. The cotton question ought to have been treated as an Imperial, and not as a local issue. Lancashire had been led to believe that the whole question would be dealt with in an Imperial Conference on the broad lines of Imperial taxation after the war.

In spite of all that had been said, averred that spokesman for Lancashire, the Government of India Act does not deprive the Secretary of State of his powers. Great as was Mr. Montagu's conception of teaching a great nation to govern itself, and wonderful as that conception is, self-government in India, he declared, is "something that would be best administered in homeopathic doses." He challenged Mr. Montagu, in the most friendly spirit, to disprove that the present troubles in India are "not caused by the 94 per cent of the peaceful agricultural population but by the 6 per cent—aye, and less than 6 per cent—by a particle of the 6 per cent of intellectuals." But he made Mr. Montagu understand that information regarding affairs in India was not confined to despatches received at the India Office. "We get our cables day by day; we get our letters week by week," he said, and, speaking from that information, he stated it as his opinion that he would find, "as I have found in my life, that you must deal gently and fairly and as a brother with these people on the other side, but they understand 'Yea' and 'Nay' better than anything else."

Coming to practical suggestions, Mr. Rhodes asked Mr. Montagu to use his "still great powers" because he has his veto yet, and cause a Conference to be held, or, "better still, hold up these duties" so that Lancashire may have a chance of retrieving what is, at the present moment, "the most awful position the county has ever been in, even including the American Civil War."

The spokesman for Lancashire went on to point out the difference in the incidence of taxation in India and Britain. He was always glad to stay in India, he declared, because if he could stay long



The Appearance of an Indian Governor—Where is H. E. ?
By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Gogonendranath Tagore.

enough his taxation, excepting for investments in Britain, is a flea-bite. He believed the maximum tax in India is 16 pies, which he worked out to be just less than 8½ per cent as a maximum tax on incomes. If Mr. Haily's proposal for supertax were taken, it would be found to be a 4 anna tax over 3½ lakhs. Taking a 16d. rupee, at 3½ lakhs it would give about £23,333. The mill-owner class in India—"because very few people in India, barring some of the Raj people, who may be very rich, and some of the Bombay people, who are very rich, have these incomes except the mill-owner class") get off with only about 25 per cent on anything they have over £25,000. In other words, "a man may have to pay 25 per cent over £25,000 as supertax, and he pays 8½ per cent on his income." British capitalists pay 30 per cent income tax, and have supertax beyond £2,500 a year.

According to Mr. Rhodes, India absorbs roughly from one-fourth to one-third of the whole of the exports from Lancashire. "At one time," he pointed out, "there used to be a boast in Manchester that the port of Calcutta took more cotton goods than the whole Empire of China put together, and China was the second best. That was his reason for claiming that the industry of Lancashire is worth being thought of from the Imperial standpoint. He and his colleagues were not animated by a spirit of pettiness, they represented no movement against His Majesty's Government or the Government of India, but they were inspired by "an earnest and deep-seated desire to preserve the cotton trade" from "danger of mutilation and destruction, so that it may continue to provide the daily bread of the teeming population of Lancashire," and provide those exports so urgently called for by the Prime Minister and his fellow statesmen.

After the Chairman of the Indian Section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce had thus delivered himself, the President rose and told the Secretary of State that he did not intend to ask any other members of the deputation to

supplement what Mr. Rhodes had said, because he thought their case had been well covered. If Mr. Montagu desired to ask any questions on what had been said, he was sure Mr. Rhodes would be glad to answer them.

Mr. Montagu's shrewdness enabled him to turn to his advantage a situation which might easily have been turned against him. "If I do not answer you to-day," he said, "I may leave you under a false impression of what is going to happen. On the other hand, if I do answer you to-day I am afraid I may commit myself deeper than the hundred gentlemen who are coming to see me next week or the week after will think right." Between the two, he preferred to postpone an answer to the deputation from the Chamber of Commerce. He made it clear, however, that he did not intend to satisfy Lancashire "by announcing a change of policy," and asked certain questions which the deputation must have found it embarrassing to answer.

The Secretary of State desired to know, for instance, whether the deputation, in dealing with the decline in Lancashire imports into India as a consequence of the changes made in 1917, had taken into account the other causes, the collapse of the exchange, and so on. Mr. Rhodes had to admit that "the whole of the decrease is not caused by the increase in the duty." That and the increase in the cost of production, "the one and the other added together, have undoubtedly wiped out certain of the industries or types of cloth" Lancashire shipped. Every little tells against them, and that was why they were protesting.

Then Mr. Montagu asked them to state definitely what policy they wished him to adopt. The only method of increasing the excise duty, he declared, would be by an amendment of the Excise Act of 1874.

Mr. Rhodes thought this should be done through the Assembly.

Mr. Montagu asked what would happen when that amendment was proposed in the

Legislative Assembly. Would he, "as a betting man, say that it would be carried, or would it be defeated?"

Mr. Rhodes could not say yes or no to that. A man would be a fool, he declared, who would say that "such a proposition placed before the Assembly would receive the unanimous support of the Assembly." He admitted that "the Indian Members, to a man, would vote against it," and even "some of the Sahibs (!) might vote against it." It would, therefore, be necessary for the Government to "pack the vote". Certain members should be instructed to vote in favour of it "just as you do in the House of Commons, Sir. You have to pack your vote; you do it every day of your life. It is of such tremendous importance that it is very well worth doing."

If the Government was going to let this thing stand, here Mr. Rhodes added, because they feared "a rumpus in the Assembly of India," he could only reply that it was worth the trouble, "because you have had many a row in the House of Commons in carrying out what you believed to be the right thing, and you will have many a row within the next few weeks."

Poor Mr. Rhodes, with all his forensic ability, permitted himself to be led into a bog. After getting him committed to that answer, Mr. Montagu gently explained to the Manchester people that in the old days, three years ago, they could have had a packed vote, because the official members of the Legislative Council could have been instructed "to vote in any direction that you liked and they could carry that vote, but now-a-days the elected Members of the Legislative Assembly are 5 to 1." They were elected by the constituents, just as Members of the House of Commons are, and no instructions from him are of any avail with them. "They have only a responsibility to their constituents." Supposing they rejected the budget—what was to be done then?

Mr. Rhodes replied that in that case it would be necessary to get back to the *status quo ante*, that is to say, the Secre-

tary of State must use his veto—he would not allow them to increase the import duty on the ground that the Lancashire industry was a matter of Imperial concern.

Mr. Rhodes finally had to admit that he had not been in India lately, but he persisted that the Secretary of State could use his veto. Sir Edward Stockton came to his rescue, and made the definite suggestion that Mr. Montagu should insist upon an excise duty and justify it on the ground that it is a matter of Imperial concern and, if the excise duty is refused, he should veto the budget because it is a matter of Imperial concern. Mr. Rhodes, donning the mantle of a prophet, predicted that "it will never stop at 11 per cent," and further that "there is not the slightest doubt that it will cripple the trade." That was the note on which the proceedings of the deputation ended.

No man from Lancashire could have listened to this debate without forming a shrewd idea of what Mr. Montagu's line of argument would be when the next deputation waited upon him. Blessed, as Lancashire is, with more than its share of shrewdness, its spokesmen at the second deputation tried to anticipate the Secretary of State's arguments and to answer them in advance. As Mr. Montagu's reply showed, he was fully prepared for such action. In the succeeding article I propose to deal with what the Deputation and the Secretary of State said to one another.

I must, however, add here that the attack made upon such power as India is permitted to have over her fiscal system was made conjointly by British Capital and British Labour of Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire. The factory-owners, traders, and workers in the cotton and allied industries delivered a massed attack upon such fiscal autonomy as India enjoys. Those of my countrymen who read my article in the *Modern Review* for May, 1917, must have been fully prepared for Lancashire Labour to make common cause with the Lancashire capitalist to attack the very partial freedom that Indians have been given to manage

their own affairs. In that article I had written :

"We must never forget that the Lancashire workman made common cause with the Lancashire mill-owner. No Indian would, of course, censure the English for putting their own interests before that of Indians ; but we must know the situation as it exists."

This inconsistency in the attitude of British Labour towards India has been the subject of many attacks in the British press. Since a section of Indians is more and more pinning its faith for India's salvation upon British Labour, I propose to deal with it at length in the course of a subsequent paper.

In the meantime, I appeal to every thinking Indian to ponder the facts I have presented here, and more especially to profit from the great object lesson

set to us by Lancashire, which as shown by the recent deputations, is able to mobilise its forces for attacking us immediately it considers the situation ripe, and which, in attacking, forgets all its domestic squabbles between Labour and Capital and also its shibboleths of freedom and self-determination, and presents a united front, suiting its fighting methods and weapons to the needs of the hour. Unless India is willing and able to organise her resources in a like manner, and, while fighting, to bury her petty jealousies and hatreds, she, though engaged in a righteous struggle, cannot expect to win against Lancashire, which, even though defeated in this frontal attack, will make a night sortie which, I propose to show in a subsequent article, may result in India's ultimate ignominious defeat.

GLEANINGS

How to Become Transparent.

When you look at the bony bat and arm below you think they are X-ray pictures, taken by an X-ray machine. But that is not so.

The arm, for instance, is a real flesh-covered arm immersed in a liquid that has certain refractive properties that make the flesh invisible. The picture was taken with an ordinary camera.



How to become Transparent

This peculiar liquid that renders things invisible, or rather transparent, was invented by Dr. J. H. Stean, of Worcester, Massachusetts. What happens? The liquid has the same index of refraction as the flesh. By this we mean that the light rays passing through the liquid are not bent, or refracted, when they pass through the flesh of the arm. Thus the flesh becomes invisible.

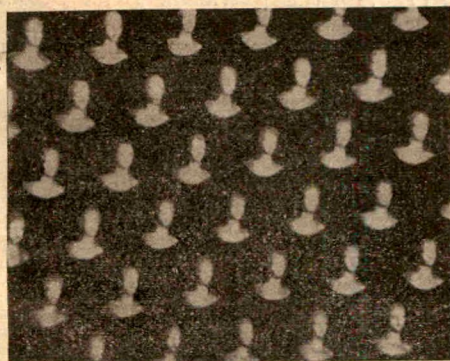
To further illustrate this take, for example, a glass tube. When you hold it in the air it is plainly seen, since the light ray passing through the atmosphere are bent on entering it. If you place that glass tube in water it will not be nearly so distinct as when in the air. The index of refraction of water is almost the same as that of glass; thus the rays are bent very slightly when they pass from the water to the glass.

Different parts of an animal's body have different indices of refraction, but it is possible to make any part disappear by submerging the animal in the proper liquid. A good mixture for making flesh invisible is three parts of salicylic methyl ester and one part of benzyl benzoate.

Seen through a Fly's Eye.

"A Fly's-eye view" has been made possible by photographing the images formed by the lenses of a fly's eye. Unlike our own eyes, the eyes of various insects and flies are composed of a number of lenses.

The lens of the human eye forms but one image upon the retina; but the lens of a fly's eye forms a number of images too small to be seen except by microscope.



A statue as seen in a fly's-eye view.

A powerful microscope was arranged to focus these images upon the photographic plate. A statue was the object whose image was formed by the multi-lens eye, and here we can see a few of the images of the statue as seen in a "fly's-eye" view.

Two Palm-Leaves Make a Rain-Coat.

In the Philippine Islands rain-coats are not made—they grow by Nature's grace. When the thinly clad native is caught in a storm, he goes to the nearest palm-tree, plucks two of the largest leaves, and hangs them from his shoulders—one in front and one in back.

If he is at all particular about his hat, he will spread a third leaf over it.



Rain-Coat made with Palm-leaves.

Rain-hats, however, are common in the Philippines. They are made of closely woven palm-leaves and are conical in shape. The Filipino shown in the picture above is wearing one as well as his rain-coat.

The Christ-Child in Art.

In pictures of the early Christians the ox and the ass worshipped the Child as he lay in the manger, the implication being that all nature joined in adoration when God became flesh. Then, around this nucleus of the worshipping beasts was gradually built up the fully peopled scene which satisfied the Christian artists well through the Middle Ages. The adoring beasts, however, always hold their traditional post of honor behind the manger.

The Byzantine form of Nativity which dominated the Dark Ages merely asserts a solemn fact. Mary, in well-bred oblivion of her Child, is propped up on a pallet. Two midwives, at once guaranties of gentility and expert witness-



"THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT."

From the *Predella* to Gentile da Fabriano's Altar-piece.

es to Mary's intact virginity, wash the Child in the foreground. The Child appears again in the manger with the attendant beasts. Old Joseph impassively occupies an obscure corner. Above the grotto in which the scene is usually laid, angels announce the good tidings to disinterested shepherds, and sometimes for greater formality the Three Kings are introduced out of their proper time. We have an impersonal statement of a miracle—the incarnation. Take it or leave it on your peril is the attitude. One may see this type of Nativity very gracefully stated in Duccio's altar-piece at Sienna, (1310), and invested with classic stateliness in the marble pulpit which Niccola Pisano cut in 1260 for the baptistery at Pisa.

When this Byzantine composition passed into the Europe of Roland and Charlemagne, of the Crusades and Mary worship, it suffered a wonderful change. It became tense, dramatic, vibrant with awe and with joy.

All the old Byzantine features are here and in their old places, but how the thing throbs! The

mother with timid joy steals a look at her Divine Child. The sheepdogs turn amazed toward the angels: the angels fairly buttonhole the shepherds to get the message told: old Joseph, with the look and pensiveness of some stoic philosopher, muses on the mystery of his new responsibility.

The mundane jollity of Christmas time appears less in the artists than in the craftsmen. Especially the Gothic ivory-carvers of France pursue the jubilant mood.

Single features of the Nativity have been generally chosen by the artist. Only one has attempted to convey the whole thing—the sense of midnight with big lambent stars in the deep-blue firmament, towering hills, and, amid all this silent vastness, the sudden intimate light from the angels and from the Holy Child.

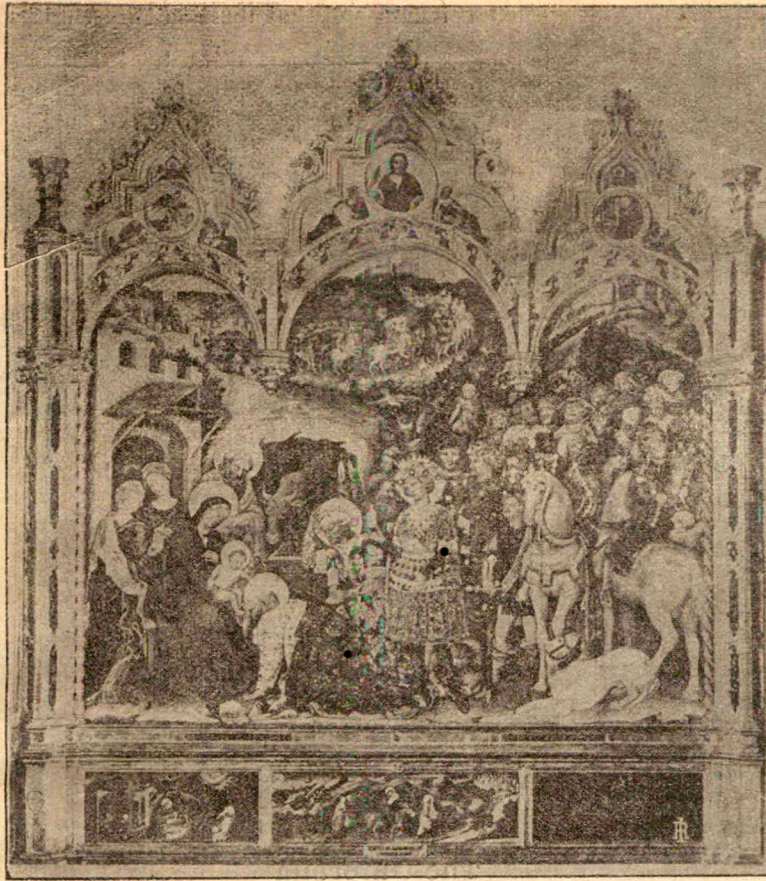
It is in the *predella* of the 'Adoration of the Kings' which Gentile da Fabriano finished in May, 1423, for the patrician, Palla Strozzi, at Florence.

The little picture marvelously combines a



"THE SENSE OF MIDNIGHT."

Pierced by "the sudden intimate light from the angels and the Holy Child"



THE WHOLE STORY OF THE NATIVITY

Painted by Gentile da Fabriano, in 1423. Most pictures deal with single features of this theme.

penetrating devotion and intimacy, with a grand spaciousness. Its observational touches, as tired old Joseph sleeping against a wintry sapling, and the alert midwife at the corner of the shed, are as tender as they are genuine.

The irradiation from the *Bambino*, often a poor theatric device, seems as natural as the twinkling of the great keen stars.

Into the Mouth of Hell.

Isolated from the rest of the world, in a wooden shack on a mountain in a mid-Pacific island, lives a man who is devoting his life to one of the strangest professions on earth—the science of volcanology. And he is making discoveries that will help to avoid the toll of thousands of lives that often follows volcanic eruptions.

In 1911 Professor Jaggar established the Hawaiian Volcano Research Association, with an unpretentious wooden building on the very rim of the great Kilauea volcano:

In order to make a thorough study of Kilauea, Dr. Jaggar decided it would be necessary to obtain temperatures of the molten lava lake in its fiery depths. To understand what this means, visualize a vast pit with a circumference of nearly one and one half miles, with crumbling perpendicular walls, constantly shaken by earthquakes and reverberating to the crash of avalanches hurtling directly down to the wide expanse of molten magma known to the natives as the "House of Everlasting Fire."

This molten mass is a lake indeed, but unique in character; rising and falling at irregular periods; boiling and seething in white-hot waves of fire; hurling vast fountains of incandescent lava high in the air amid clouds of noxious gases; screaming and bellowing incessantly.

With this picture in mind, it is not difficult to appreciate that the problem of securing reliable temperatures was not easy.

Dr. Jaggar conceived the daring project of actually descending into the roaring pit to secure temperatures of the lava. He devised a set of recording thermometers, the principle of which was based upon the enclosure of a battery of Seger cones, made of fusible clays, within steel pipes. It was planned to plunge these into the lake itself. Dr. Jaggar then secured a small band of volunteer assistants, one of whom gives us the following:

"Rope ladders presented the least dangerous method of descent, since the slightest displacement of a loose rock might have started an avalanche, precipitating all of us into the lava lake.

"We went down very carefully, and reached the bottom without mishap. We could feel the lava pounding beneath.

"We found ourselves not more than four feet above the lake surface. It was a magnificent sight. The fountains were traveling in all directions, and appeared immensely high. But the heat was appalling, and breathing was difficult, though there was little gas.



"THE MUNDANE JOLLITY OF CHRISTMAS"
Shown by the Gothic Ivory-carvers of France.

"We crouched down upon the slippery rim. Then we steadied ourselves and plunged the pipe directly into the seething lava immediately below us. It was instantly swept aside by a strong undercurrent, and we were nearly pulled down. The pipe conducted the heat, and our hands suffered terribly even through heavy gauntlets. Dr. Jaggar got the full force of the heat, and how he managed to hang on for five eternal minutes, I don't know. At the end of that time it became apparent that a fountain was about to break right at our feet, and he gave the signal for the men to haul up the pipe. Then we slid on our backs down the rampart on to the bench just as a great fountain rose and crashed down where we had been working."

In this manner Dr. Jaggar made soundings almost entirely around the dangerous margin of the great fire-lake. During a violent eruption of Mauna Loa, in October, 1919, he succeeded in approaching within fifty feet of the actual point of outbreak, and, at the risk of his life, photographed a fountain of molten rock that was roaring out of the mountainside to a height of two thousand feet.

Dr. Jaggar has proved that there are half-hourly, daily, monthly, semi-annual, and longer-

term tides and periods in the movement of great lava columns, and that these mighty engines of



destruction work in the closest sympathy with one another. He has proved that it is possible to predict with a degree of certainty the approach of a volcanic disaster in any part of the world.

The Umbrella Boat.

Two Italian airmen have devised a novel craft, known as the "umbrella-boat."

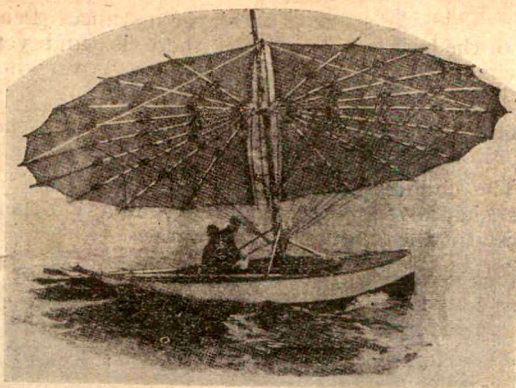
The sail is made oval in form. Two sections make up the sail. These open and close like a fan, and the pair can be furled in about a minute.

Fore and aft the sail is a fixture. It is tilted sideways to take the wind from either quarter, and by actual trial, so the inventors claim, it has been found that the wind in the sail has no tendency to heel the boat over if the sail is properly designed and adjusted.

Should these boats become popular, they would add a picturesque touch to the blue Italian lakes, as they skim over the water like animated mushrooms.



DR. THOMAS
AUGUSTUS JAGGAR
Who descended into the crater of a Volcano.



The Umbrella-Boat.

Walking through Fire Safely.

Fire-resisting chemical solutions are rapidly coming into general use. In time it is possible that everything will be given fire-resisting treatment by sodium silicate or some similar chemical.



Mr. Truro, inventor of a fire-resisting solution, walking through fire.

The picture above shows a man walking calmly through blazing shavings saturated in kerosene. He is wearing a khaki uniform, boots and headgear—all of which have been treated with the fire-resisting solution he invented. The man is an Englishman named Truro who was recently discharged from the army.

Baby Rides on Mother's Head.

The native women of Orange Free State, South Africa, carry their bundles and their water-jars on their heads, so it is not astonishing that they should carry their babies in like fashion.



Baby rides on mother's head.



School children going to school carrying chess-boards.

told. Take the game of chess, for instance. It is one of the best brain-exercises there is, and yet the champion player is a very young boy, who has beaten chess-players of many nations.

The game is a compulsory subject in the school of the village of Strobeck, Germany.

The children must pass examinations in chess, just as they are compelled to in any other subject in the school's curriculum.

Chess Is One of Their Studies.

It's easier to learn when you're young than when you've grown up, so we have always been

THE 'PRACHYAS' OF ANCIENT INDIA

BY PROF. HEMCHANDRA RAI CHAUDHURI, M.A.,
OF BIHAR NATIONAL COLLEGE, BANKIPUR.

IN the Aitareya Brāhmana, the Prāchyas are mentioned as dwelling in the country east of the Middle Region, the firmly established centre of the Kuru-Panchāla Kings.¹ Thus the Kosalas, the Kāsis, the Videhas, and the Māgadhas must have been meant by the term 'Prāchyas' in the above passage of the Eighth Book, which, though it seems to be a later supplement, must have found its place there before the age of Pāṇini, the 4th Century B. C. At the time of Buddha a large number of other tribes are found in the east, viz., the Sakyas, the Lichchavis, the Mallas etc., who, according to Dr. Vincent Smith, were Mongolians of the Tibetan type.²

In my article on the 'Lichchavis of Vaisāli,'³ it was pointed out that there are no substantial data to call the Lichchavis a Mongolian tribe. There is no peculiarity in the Lichchavi custom of the exposure of the dead, for we find it existing among the Aryans as early as the time of the Rigveda, which mentions two modes of disposing of the dead—'Agni-dagdāh' and 'An-agni-dagdāh';⁴ while the Atharva Veda adds two more—'Paroptāh' (casting out) and 'Uddhitāh' (exposure).⁵ In the same article I also gave reasons for not accepting the hypothesis of Dr. Beal, who calls these peoples Scythians. I could not also agree⁶ with the views of Dr. Fergusson, who says that the ancient peoples of Eastern India, who were worshippers of trees and serpents, were aboriginal or Turanian Dasyus.⁷

The Prāchyas (Prāsii of the Greek historians), the Vrātyas, and the Māgadhas

have all been mentioned in the Vedic and the Brāhmanic texts with contempt. The following illustrations clearly indicate the unfriendly attitude of the Brāhmanic Aryans towards the Prāchīyas, who were considered to be much inferior in culture to the former :

I. 'Vipatha,' the bad car, belongs to the Prāchyas.⁸

2. The Prāchya term for 'Agni' is 'Sarva' which is called 'Bhava' by the "Bāhikas" (the westerners) ; but these names are inauspicious, the only auspicious term being 'Agni' which is Sānta (auspicious) and 'Svishtakrit' (the maker of good offerings).⁹

3. Godly people have four-cornered burial places but the Prāchyas of the Asura nature make them round.¹⁰

4. Godly people do not separate their sepulchres from the earth, while those who are of the Asura nature, the Prāchyas and others make them on 'chamu', a shallow stone-basin or trough, or on some such things.¹¹ Dr. Rhys Davids observes that this difference of views with regard to the sepulchral mound is due to the difference in nationality.¹²

The Māgadhas have been referred to in a similarly contemptuous tone. In the 30th Book of the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, which enumerates the victims of the Purusamedha, we find God Savitā binding to the sacrificial stake a Māgadha to be dedicated to the deity of excessive noise (अतिक्रुद्य मागधम्.). But Sayana, who flourished in the latter half of the 14th century, explains the passage in the following way: "आतक्रुद्यतिनिमित्तदेवाय,

भागधम्मन्त्रिषयां वैश्वेनोत्पादितम्." If we take 'Ati-krushta' in the sense of 'great noise,' then the term 'Māgadha' is to be understood in the sense of a minstrel. It is well-known that Magadha was the home of minstrelsy, which often sent its wandering bards to visit the lands in the west. मागधदेशीयाय मागधीनाम-गायनः (सूत-मागध-वन्दिन इति उच्यते). Māgadha again appears in the company of disreputable characters a harlot, a gambler, and a eunuch, who are to be dedicated to Prajāpati but an express condition is laid down here that the four must belong neither to the Sudra nor to the Brāhman caste. The Vrātya when he is admitted into the Brāhmanic fold after performing the ceremony of 'Vrātyastoma' gives up his characteristic equipments to a bad Brāhman of Magadha.¹³ In a well-known passage of the Atharva Veda 'Takman,' the fever, is relegated to the Gāndhāris and Mūjavants on one side and to the Angas and the Māgadhas on the other, "as it were a servant and thing of price."¹⁴ In the Aitareya Aranyaka,¹⁵ the term 'Vangā-Vagadhās-Cherapādāh,' as the names of outcaste peoples, is probably a corruption of the form 'Vangā-Magadhās.' Manu also looks down upon these peoples when he refers to the Māgadhas and the Videhas as the mixed castes,¹⁶ and the Lichchavis and the Mallas as the degraded,¹⁷ and their neighbours the Sakyas also belonged to the same unbrahmanical stock. In the Baudhāyana Dharmasāstra,¹⁸ we find Magadha, Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga all included among the countries, migration to which is strictly forbidden and one who visits these countries must offer a 'Punastoma' or 'Sarvaprishti.' We, however, come across one instance of an orthodox Brāhman, cited as an authority on the Vedic ritual, living in Magadha.¹⁹ This is unusual and must be considered as an exception.

The Vrātya²⁰ is included in the list of victims in the Purusamedha sacrifice and is dedicated to the Gandhārvas and Apsarases²¹ and he is thrown into their jaws because he is hated.²² In the Vedic and the Brahmanic literatures these Apsarases have been spoken of as devoted to dance, song, and play and they frequented trees which resounded with music of their lutes and cymbals. They afterwards became the courtezans of Indra's heaven. The corresponding male genius of the Apsaras, her lover, is

Gandharva, who is also a celestial singer having the region of air as his home. The connection of the Vrātyas with the Gandhārvas and Apsarases is significant, for it points out that the former must have been a people who had a special aptitude for dance, song and play²³ and that they probably lived in Magadha and in the adjoining territories. This is exactly in keeping with the dedications in verse 6, which says that the 'Sūta' is to be dedicated to the song, "गीताय सुतम्," 'Sailusha' a public dancer to the dance, "नृत्याय शैलुषम्," punschala, a harlot to lust, "कामाय पुच्छलम्," these names being associated with अतिक्रुष्टमागधम्.

The Vrātya, as has already been mentioned, has to perform the 'Vrātyastoma' in order to get admission into the orthodox community. गायत्री-पतिता ब्राह्म्या, ब्राह्म्यस्त्रीमेव संस्कृतः. It is needless to give the details of this ceremony or to dwell upon the peculiar mode of life, the social divisions into classes, and the characteristic dress of the Vrātyas which are all described so elaborately in the Srauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Lātyāyana, and Apastamba as well as in the Panchavimsa Brāhmana and the Atharva Veda.²⁴ Suffice it to say here that the accounts given in these, point to the fact that the principles of the life of the Vrātyas were unbrahmanical and that they developed an entirely alien type of civilisation, as a result of which they were hated by their Brāhmanical brethren. The only exception to this is the description of the Vrātya in the 15th Book of the Atharvaveda, which is devoted, throughout, to the praise of the Vrātya, a devout vagrant or 'paribrājaka.' Its very first hymn runs as follows.—"There was a roaming Vrātya: That became distinguished, that became great, that became excellent, that became Devotion, that became Holy Fervour, that became Truth, through that he was born. He grew, he became great, he became Mahādeva; he gained the lordship of the Gods."²⁵ This is an unmistakable evidence of the fact that though Atharvaveda mostly originated in the Brāhmanic regions, it was to a large extent influenced by the powerful Vrātyas in the east and it is no wonder that it had a long struggle before it could receive acceptance as the fourth Veda at the hands of the orthodox Brāhmanas. There are several

passages in the Brāhmanical literature which clearly reveal an antipathy towards the Easterners on the one hand and towards the Western peoples, such as, Gāndhāris, Mūjavants, Bāhikas, Mahāvrisas, and Balhikas on the other, and consequently it will not be unfair to conclude that the Brāhmanic culture was shut in at its early period between these two groups of peoples.^{25a} At the time of the Baudhāyana Dharmasāstra, the country of the Brāhmanic Aryans had the following boundaries:—"The country of the Aryans lies to the east of the region where the river Saraswati disappears, to the west of Kālaka-vana, the Black Forest, to the north of the Pāripātra mountains and to the south of the Himalayas. The rule of conduct which prevails there is authoritative."²⁶ Dr. Weber is of opinion that the term 'Vrātya' was applied to indicate the western unbrahmanical Aryans only,²⁷ but it appears that the Vrātyas lived mainly in the east, on the following grounds:

1. Māgadha is connected with the Vrātya, as his 'Mitra,' his 'Mantra,' etc.²⁸
2. 'Vipatha' the car of the Vrātyas,²⁹ is also the car of the Prāchyas.

3. Lichchavi, an eastern tribe, is called Vrātya by Manu.³⁰

4. The connection of the Vrātya with Māgadha, a minstrel, and their dedications to the Apsarases and the Gadharvas, the heavenly musicians.³¹

5. The Vrātya equipments are to be given to a "Māgadhadēsiya brahmabandhu."

And, lastly, the remarks of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri on the dress of the two Saisunaga statues re-discovered by Mr. Jayaswal in the Calcutta Museum. Mr. Shastri observes, "the statues have most of the articles of dress as given by Kātyāyana to the Vrātya"³² and he calls one of the statues, 'Vrātya Nandi.'

As Vrātya was connected with the Māgadha, so we find close connections between several groups of peoples in the east, Vangā-Vagadhāh or Vanga-Magadhāh, who are called out-castes, have already been referred to. Similarly we find the compound names, Kāsi-Kausālyāh and Anga-Māgadha in the Gopatha Brāhmana, Kāsi-Videha in Kaushitaki and Brihadaranyaka Upanishads, and Kosala Videha in the Satapatha Brāhmana. Obviously these were allied peoples and it is also stated that one person,

Jala Jātūkarnya, by name, was the royal priest of the kingdoms of Kāsi, Kosala, and Videha.³³ The relation between these people seems indeed to be close. The Rāmāyana³⁴ tells us that Dasaratha was advised by his purohita Vasistha to invite to the Asvamedha, the kings of Mithila, Kāsi, Kosala, Magadha and other eastern kingdoms, but it is significant that no mention is made of the Kuru-Panchālas. The Sakyas may be said to belong to the Kosalas, as their territory formed a part of the Kosala kingdom. We find, in Majjima Nikāya, king Pasenadi addressing Buddha as a Kosala.—"Bhagavā pi kosalako, aham pi kosalako." The legend that Sātānika Sātrājita, who performed the Asvamedha sacrifice, took away the horse of the Kāsiya, since when the Kāsis do not keep up the sacrificial fires, saying "the soma drink has been taken from us,"³⁵ may be accepted as an evidence of the fact that for a long time Kāsi was not Brahmanised, probably till the time of the Brāhmanas. The Kosalas, however, were initiated earlier than the Videhas into Brāhmanism and so thoroughly it was Brahmanised that it soon lost its indigenous culture, and it will be of interest here to note that while Videha and Magadha are called mixed castes by Manu, Kausalya is not so degraded.³⁶ But the proud Sakyas, though politically subject to Kosala, resisted the proselytizing efforts of Brāhmanism and so great was their antipathy towards it that they insulted the Brahman Ambattha, when he went to the Santhāgāra, the assembly-hall of the Sakyas. Ambattha says to Buddha "tayidan bho gotama na cchanam tayidam na ppatirūpam yad ime sakyā ibbhā samānā na brāhmane sakkaronti." It is to be noted that the eastern peoples of Kāsi, Kosala, Videha and Magadha are, in Manu, all excluded from the land of the Brahmarshis³⁷ and that the best men and the best warriors are to be found, according to him, among the Kuru-Panchāla and the neighbouring peoples.³⁸ Thus it is evident that there were two different stocks of peoples in Northern India, one, the Kuru-Panchāla and the allied tribes, who have called themselves the qualified champions of Aryan culture and the other the Prāchyas who have been mentioned in a hostile and contemptuous tone and have been described as much inferior, in civilisation, to the Kuru-Panchālas whose special importance and

superiority are, moreover, brought home to us by numerous references in the Vedic and the Brāhmanic texts.³⁹

But what is apparently most striking, is the fact that Videha, which must come in the category of the un-brahmanical Prāchyas, became, as early as the time of King Janaka, one of the greatest centres of Brāhmanical learning in India and Yājñavalkya, the foremost Brāhmin teacher of his court, was an authority both in rituals and philosophy. It is not unusual that, like the Macedonian kings, who gathered, at their court, the great intellects of Athens, Janaka, the liberal patron of learning, should invite at his court, the great teachers of Brāhmanism which was growing apace into influence and importance. It cannot however be doubted that Videha received its initiation into Brāhmanism at the hands of the Kuru-Panchāla Brāhmanas, Yājñavalkya himself being called a pupil of the great Panchāla Aruni. But in this land of the Prāchyas, a people known for their liberal and independent views and unrestrained lives, all religions got a free play and the religion of the Brāhmanas when it received its stamp became altered in certain forms and rituals, in consequence of which a new school of sacrifice grew up which may be called the yājñavalkya school. It is well-known that the great sage differs from the Kuru Panchālas in numerous points of the rituals of sacrifice.⁴⁰ It is not improbable that yājñavalkya himself was a native of Videha, for except him, others have been called 'Kuru-Panchālānām brāhmanāh'⁴¹ whom he defeated in disputations, including his teacher Uddālaka Aruni and won from Janaka the Brahma-cows as his prize.⁴² It is to be noted that there is no recognition in the Vedic literature of the rule later prevailing by which after Brahmacharya and Gārhaṣṭhya, the Brāhmana took to the life of an ascetic. The great Videha priest was the first Brāhmana who in his later days abandoned his wife and family and spent the remaining part of his life as a recluse in the forest. It is remarkable also that, it is with the court of the Videha King Janaka that the names of the great female sages Gārgi Vāchaknavi and Sulabhā Maitreyī, are both associated in the Satapātha Brāhmana and the Mahābhārata. Now it is obvious that though the peoples of the east gradually came within

the sphere of Brāhmanic influence they retained in certain measures their peculiar characteristics. The land of the Prāchyas ever renowned for absolute liberty of conscience in religious matters, gave birth to the most extreme sects, the 'Nigganthas' (those freed from fetters) and the 'Achelaka' (the naked); and became well-known afterwards, as the land of Buddhism.

With regard to the unbrahmanical character of the Eastern peoples, Dr. Pargiter observes that the five nations of the Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Pundras and Suhmas constituted a closely connected ethnic group and that they probably invaded India from the sea, settling first along the west and north coast of the Bay of Bengal and gradually pushed onwards up to the Ganges valley.⁴³ But we do not find any evidence in the Vedic texts which corroborates this hypothesis. It seems improbable that a foreign tribe could have had matrimonial connection with the high family of Ikshāku of Ayodhya at a very early date, for the Mahābhārata tells us that Dushyanta's grandmother was a Kalinga princess⁴⁴ and two kings before him married in the royal family of Anga and another took a Kalinga princess as his bride.⁴⁵ It has already been stated that Dr. Vincent Smith was of opinion that the eastern peoples, such as the Lichchavis, the Mallas, the Sakyas, etc., belonged to the Mongolian tribe, and he says that the term 'Vrātya', applied to the Lichchavis, is "a purely fictitious mode of expression." It is difficult to agree with this view, for the Vrātyas, we know, spoke a language of the initiated (Dikshita Vāch), though not themselves initiated (a-dikshita) but called that which is easy to utter (a-durukta), difficult to utter (durukta).⁴⁶ This undoubtedly points to the fact that these peoples were Aryans, outside the pale of Brāhmanism and spoke a dialect a little different from that of the Kuru-Panchālas. It indicates that these Aryans of the east, who probably came to India before those of the west and some of whom, by the time of the Aitareya Brāhmana seem to have probably begun forming large kingdoms,⁴⁷ had early taken to the prākṛita form of speech which became so prevalent in Magadha afterwards in the Buddhistic period. Moreover, we know that by performing the ceremony of Vrātya-stoma, a Vrātya could become a member of the orthodox com-

munity, which could hardly be so natural in the case of the Non-Aryans.

Mr. Risley, in his Census Report,⁴⁸ has observed that when the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans came to India from the north-west, the peninsula as far as the valley of the Ganges and the Jamuna was in the possession of the Dravidians and that the Aryo-Dravidian type is found in the United Provinces, in parts of Rājputānā and in Bihār. He also states⁴⁹ that the bulk of the population in Bengal is Dravidian modified by a strain of Mongoloid blood which is relatively strong in the east and appreciably weaker in the west. Mr. O'Malley remarks :⁵⁰

"Of late years anthropometry as a test of race has begun to fall out of favour. Neither cephalic nor nasal index is of much use in determining race. The method of indices is thoroughly discredited."

It is most likely, however, that the Aryans in the east were to a greater extent influenced by the Dravidian culture than those in the western part of India. Babu Ramāprasad Chanda has laid down the opinion⁵¹ that an outer band of Aryans as opposed to the inner band of the mainland came to India from the west by crossing the Arabian sea and that the term 'Samudra' in ancient literatures refers to the Arabian sea and not the confluence of the five rivers of the Panjab as has been supposed by Dr. MacDonell and other Western scholars. Dr. Grierson, a great authority on the linguistic history of ancient India, holds the view that "the inhabitants of midland represent the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration. The earliest arrivals spoke one dialect, and the new comers another. According to Dr. Hoernle, who first suggested the theory, the latest invaders probably entered the Panjab, like a wedge, into the heart of the country already occupied by the first immigrants forcing the latter onwards in three directions to the east, to the south and to the west."⁵² Dr. Oldenberg also maintains⁵³ that the immigration of the Kuru-Panchāla stock was the latest and he says : "the Aryan population of India came into the peninsula from the north-west. Probably the first immigrants and, therefore, the farthest forward to the east, whether confederate or disassociated we know not, are those tribes which meet us later on east of the Ganges and the Jamuna, settled on both banks of the Ganges, the Anga and Magadha, the Videha, Kāśi and Kosala. A second

wave of the great tide of immigration brought with it new groups of Aryans, a number of tribes closely inter-connected, who surpassing their brothers intellectually, have produced the most ancient great monuments of the Indian mind which we possess and which we call by the name of the Vedas." Rhys Davids suggests three lines of Aryan migration into India,⁵⁴ one, along the valley of the Ganges and the Jamuna ; another, down the Indus to Avanti ; and the third, along the foot of the mountains from Kāśmir, by way of Kosala, to the Sakya country, and so on through Tirhut to Magadha and Anga. Dr. Grierson has pointed out that Rājasthan dialects have a close resemblance to the dialects spoken along the Himālayas not only in Nepāl but as far east as Champa. Both the latter branches started from the Northern Punjab to the east and south respectively, not following the Ganges route.⁵⁵

It seems most probably that the Aryans immigrated into India in different bands, at different times and by different routes and there grew up two different systems of culture, one, markedly Brāhmanical having the Brāhmana as the head of the society, was developed in the Kuru-Panchāla territory, while the other retained its unbrahmanical character with the Kshatriya as its head. Both are Aryans and it is remarkable that most of the Buddhistic terms are also used in the Brāhmanical literature almost in the same sense,⁵⁶ Buddha himself being called a descendant of the ancient Aryan family of Ikshvākū. There are numerous references in the Buddhistic and Brāhmanical literatures which indicate that the eastern peoples lived mainly by agriculture, the principal occupation of the Aryans and the frequent mentions of ploughing festivals among them and of Kapilavāstu and Vaisālī, as the great centres of 'vanij' (trade) also point to the Aryan origin of these peoples. The Aryan migration into India took place under the leadership of the Kshatriya princes and the Rājan could perform religious works for himself as well as for his people. Sir James Fraser observes that the union of the royal title with priestly duties was common among the ancient civilized nations of Europe and it seems probable that it was a primitive custom among the Aryans. In the Rīgveda⁵⁷ we find the royal priest Visvāmitra calling himself and his predecessors the servants of the King Sudāsa

and invoking the aid of the gods to bless his patron, who has been described as a very liberal giver. The growing influence of the purohita also probably dates from this period, for the verses at the same time show Visvāmitra's power to bring blessings upon his patron, his master. The gradual increase of the priestly power is also illustrated by the following story in the Rīgveda⁵⁸ which says that Visvāmitra having obtained wealth by means of his office as the family priest of King Sudāsa came to the confluence of the rivers Vipāsā and Satadru. In order to make the rivers fordable he lauded them with three verses. In reply the rivers said:

"Never forget this word of thine, O singer,
which generations will re-echo,
In hymn, O bard, show us thy loving
kindness. Humble us not 'mid men.
To thee be honour."⁵⁹

The period of confusion and bloodshed that followed when the kings were constantly engaged in wars with the original inhabitants of India as well as among themselves and to which probably owes the introduction of the worship of Rudra, the God of the evil-doers, was to a large extent favourable for the increase of the power of the purohita. We know from the Atharvaveda⁶⁰ that Srinjayas, the sons of Vitahavya, who, in strength and power, "well nigh touched the heavens," were ruined because they wronged the Brāhmana Bhṛigu. The Taittiriya Samhitā, also, preserves the tradition that the Brāhmanas sometimes gained power by embroiling the king with his subjects.⁶¹ But traces of the power of the Rājan can still be found in the Brāhmanic literature in spite of all "priestly redaction". Mr. Hopkins⁶² has brought to light from the Mahābhārata the superiority of the Rājanya class. The Aitareya Brāhmana⁶³ tells us that the king Visvantara, the son of Sushadman, turned out, from his sacrificial 'vedi', the Syāparna Brāhmanas. Even in the knowledge of the Brāhmana, the Rājan sometimes surpassed the learned priests. Janaka the Videha king, once asked Svetaketu Aruneya, Sātyayagni and Yājñavalkya, a question about the significance of the 'Agnihotra' sacrifice. Even Yājñavalkya's answer which was however the best, was imperfect and the king explained to him the meaning of the whole thing.⁶⁴ The King Pravāhana Jaivali silenced the Brāhmanas Śilaka Sālāvatya and Chaikitāyana Dālbhya in the dis-

cussion of the true meaning of "utgitha", i. e., the Highest Brahman.⁶⁵ We are also told that in a Panchāla-samiti the same king put five questions to Svetaketu Aruneya none of which he could answer and he reported the matter to his father referring to the king as 'Rājanya-bandhu' (the wretched Kshatriya).⁶⁶ Gārgya Bālāki, a famous sage went to Ajātasatru, king of Kāśi and he said to him, "we give a thousand (cows) for that speech (of yours), for verily all people run away, saying, 'Janaka (the king of Mithila) is our father (patron)'."⁶⁷ The story goes on to say that Bālāki wanted to be the disciple of Ajātasatru after receiving from him much instruction in the sacred lore. The superiority of the Rājanya class, as borne out by the foregoing statements, among the Prāchyas in all spheres of life, represents in all likelihood, more truly the primitive state of society of the Aryans than the orthodox Brāhmanism of India.

Let me conclude this article with the well-known legend of Videgha Māthava in the Satapatha Brāhmana. Agni Vaisvanara, the sacrificial fire, went from the river Saraswati burning along the earth towards the east accompanied by the Brāhmana Gotama and the prince Videgha Māthava. He burned over all the rivers. Now that river which is called Sadānira, he did not burn over. That one the Brāhmanas did not cross in former times thinking "it has not been burned over by Agni Vaisvānara." Māthava the Videgha, however, crossed the river and fixed his abode to the east of it in the bad land. Now-a-days, it is cultivated, for the Brāhmanas have caused Agni "to taste through sacrifices".⁶⁸ This legend is significant in more ways than one:

Firstly—It draws a distinction between the Brāhmanic land of culture in the west and the unbrahmanical land, east of the Sadānira (identified with the Little Gandak)⁶⁹ which Vaisvānara, the sacrificial fire did not cross.

Secondly—The Prāchyas gradually came under the influence of the culture of the west, Videha entering late into the Brāhmanic civilisation.

Thirdly—It appears that when the Aryans pushed forward to the east, they were led by Kshatriya princess.

And lastly—The eastern regions were inhabited by the Aryans and the Kshatriya played the most important part there.

1. Aitareya Brahmana, viii. 14.
अस्यां भ्रुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि ये के च कुरु-
पञ्चालानां राजानः सर्वश्रीश्रीनराणां राजायावै तैःभिषि-
चन्ते ।
2. Vincent A. Smith's 'Oxford History of India,'
p. 47.
3. 'The Lichchavis of Vaisali' in the 'Modern
Review', July, 1919.
4. Rv. x. 15, 14.
5. Av. xviii. 2, 34.
6. 'Tree and Serpent Worship' in the 'Modern
Review', August, 1920.
7. Fergusson's 'History of the Indian and
Eastern Architecture,' p. 17.
8. Lātyāyana Srauta Sūtra, viii. 6, 9.
"विपश्यन् प्रोच्यते, उत्क्रम्य पन्थानं याति विपश्यः ।"
9. Satapatha Brāhmana, i. 7, 3, 8.
10. Ibid, xiii. 8, 1, 5.
या आमुष्यः प्राच्यास्तद् येतद् परिमख्खलानि (प्रशानानि
कुर्वते) ।
11. Ibid, xiii. 8, 2, 1.
12. Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India,' p. 80.
13. Lātyāyana Srauta Sūtra, viii. 6, 28.
वाल्मीकी वाल्मनानि ये वात्यचर्याया अविस्ताः स्तः वृद्ध-
वन्धवः वा मागधदेशीया यस्या एतद् दति तस्मिन्नेव मृजानाय-
न्तीतिज्ञाह ।
14. Av. v. 22, 14.
15. Ait. Ar. ii. 1, 1.
16. Manu, x. 11.
क्षत्रियादिप्रकन्यायां सुतो भवति जातितः ।
वैश्यान् मागधवैदेही राजविप्रजनासतो ॥
वैशात् यथाक्रमं क्षत्रियावाङ्मन्यामागध वैदेहाख्यौ पुत्रौ
भवतः—इति कुल्लुकः ।
17. Ibid. x. 22.
भक्तो मल्लश्च राजन्यात् वाल्मन्त्रिक्विरेव च ।
नटश्च करणश्चैव स्वसो द्रविड एव च ॥
18. Baud. Dh. Sās. i. 1, 2, 13 and 14. "The
inhabitants of Avanti, of Anga, of Magadha, of
Saurāshtra, of the Dekhan, of Upavrit, of Sindhu,
and the Sauvīrās are of mixed origin. He who has
visited the (countries of) the Arattas, Karaskaras,
Pundras, Sauvīrās, Vāngas, Kalingas, (or) Prānūnas
shall offer a Punastoma or a Sarvapriṣṭha (ishti.)
(S. B. E. Vol. xiv, p. 148). Dr. Bühler remarks,
'the sutras are intended to show that the customs,
prevailing in the countries named, have no authority.'
19. Sāṅkhayana Aranyaka, vii. 13.
मध्यमः प्रातिवोधी पुत्रो मगधवासी ।
20. We find the following meanings of the
word :—
वाल्मीकादिः स इव । दशसंस्काररहितः । षोडश-
वर्षादूर्ध्वं अक्षतव्रतवन्मो भृष्ट गायत्रीको वा इति भरतः ।
संस्कारहीनः इत्यमरः । सावित्रीपतितः वाग्दुष्टः प्रक्षोक्तः
इति जटाधरः । वाल्मीक्यासंस्कारहीनं प्रक्ष-इति
सायणः ।

21. Vajasaneyi Samhitā, xxx. 8.
गन्धर्वपुसराभ्यो-वाल्मी ।
22. Ibid, xv. 15.
23. Compare Dr. Weber's remark : "According to
the scholium on Kātyāyana sūtra of the White Jajus
(xxii. 4, 3) by those 'Vratyaganasya ye Sampā-
dayeyeh,' as the text has it, we have to understand
specially teachers of dancing, music, and singing."
(History of the Indian Literature, p. 196. f. n.)
24. Vide, also, Dr. Keith's description of the
Vratyas in J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 159 ff.
25. Griffith's Translation of the Atharva Veda.
- 25a. Mark the significant clause :—
अस्यां भ्रुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि ।
26. The Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. xiv,
p. 147.
27. Dr. Weber's 'Indian Literature', pp. 78, 147
and 148.
28. Atharva Veda, xv. 2, 1—4.
29. Panchāvimśa Brāhmana, xvii. 1, 14.
30. Manusamhitā, x. 22.
31. Vajasaneyi Samhitā, xxx. 5—8.
32. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, Vol. v, p. 555.
33. Sāṅkhayana Srauta Sūtra, xvi. 29, 5.
34. Rāmāyana, i. 13, 21—28.
35. Sacred Books of the East Series, Vol. xiv.
36. Manusamhitā, x. 11.
37. Ibid, ii. 19.
कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पंचालः शूरसेनकाः ।
एष वृद्धर्षिदेशो वै वृद्धवर्तादनन्तरः ॥
38. Ibid, vii. 193.
कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पंचालाश्च शूरसेनजान् ।
दीर्घाल्लधूश्चैव नरानग्रानीकेषु योजयेत् ॥
मत्स्यान् विराटदेशनिवासिनः, पंचालान् कान्यकुब्जा हि
शुचीदभवान्, शूरसेनजान् माथुरान्—इति कुल्लुकः ।
39. The following are some of the illustrations :
(1) "The Gods Agni, Indra, Soma, Makha,
Vishnu and the Visvadevah, except the two Asvins,
performed a sacrificial session. Their place of divine
worship was Kurukshetra. Therefore people say
that Kurukshetra is gods' place of divine worship ;
hence wherever in Kurukshetra one settles there one
thinks 'this is a place for divine worship,' for it was
the gods' place of divine worship." (Sat. Br. xiv.
1, 1, 1 and 2 ; vide, also, ibid, iv. 1, 5, 13).
- (2) Kurukshetra is the place where the 'Nya-
grodha' trees grew first on earth. From them all
others were born. Ait. Br. vii. 30 :—
कुरुक्षेत्रे तेह प्रथमजान्ययोधानां तस्योद्भवाः ऽधिजाताः ।
- (3) The Kuru-Panchala country is the special
abode of 'vach' (speech). "In the sacrifice by the
gods on earth, through 'Pathya Svasti', they (the
gods) recognised the northern (upper) region :
Wherefore speech sounds higher here (according to
St. Petersburg Dictionary 'uttarāhi' = in the north,
instead of 'higher') among the Kuru-Panchalas, for
she (Pathyā Svasti) is in reality speech and through
her they recognised the northern region and to her
belongs the northern region." (Sat. Br. iii. 2, 3, 15—
Trans. in S. B. E.).

(4) The Kuru king Parikshit is highly idolized in the Atharva Veda (xx. 127, verses 7-10) and his son Janmejaya is an important figure in the Brāhmanic literature.

(5) Uddālaka Aruni, a Panchāla Brahmana, is a celebrated authority in sacrificial matters and is the author of the formulae with which the evening and the morning sacrifices are performed :—

अग्निं ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहा ; सूर्यं ज्योतिर्जीतिः सूर्यो स्वाहा ।
(Sat. Brahm. ii. 3, 1, 33 & 34.)

(6) The best form of sacrifice is that practised by the Kuru-Panchālas and चतुर्वत्तम् or four-fold cutting of the sacrificial cake is to be preferred to पञ्चावत्तम् for the former is the practice among the Kuru-Panchālas. (Ibid, i. 7, 2, 7 and 8.)

"Grierson has pointed out that the vanguard of Aryan migration in India was less subject to Brahmana influence than were the tribes further west and that it was in Kosala and Videha (and Magadha may be added) that the new philosophy and religions arose." (Pargiter in J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 851.)

40. Two lists of teachers of sacrificial science are given at the end of Book x and Book xiv of the Satapatha Brāhmana ; the former is said to be the school of Tura Kāvasheya and Sandilya, the latter of Yajnavalkya. A few examples of the difference in the practices between the two schools are given below :—

(i) Ashādha Savayasa, on the one hand, was of opinion that the sacrificer, after the performance of the 'Agnihotra,' should observe the vow of fast for that day ; Yajnavalkya, on the other hand, said, "If he does not eat, he thereby becomes a sacrificer to the Manes ; let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten." (Sat. Br., i. 1, 1, 7-9.)

(ii) "They say the sacrificer must not place butter within the altar. Yajnavalkya, however, said "Let him place it within the altar." (Ibid, i. 3, 1, 21.)

(iii) "Some make sacrificer look down on the butter ; Yajnavalkya, however, said, "The Adhvaryu priests should look down on it." (Ibid, i. 3, 1, 26.)

(iv) The wordings of the prayer to sun after the sacrifice are different (Ibid, i. 9, 3, 16.)

(v) "Prajapati first created birds, then reptiles other than snakes, then snakes ; Yajnavalkya, on his part, declared them to be of two kinds only, but three kinds they are, according to the Rik." (Ibid, ii. 5, 1, 1 and 2.)

(vi) "Let none eat the flesh of the cow and the ox ;" nevertheless, Jānavalkya said, "I, for one, eat it, provided that it is tender." (Ibid, iii. 1, 2, 21.)

(vii) Difference in the preparation of the sacrificial cake (havis-offering). (Ibid, iii. 8, 2, 24.)

(viii) "In 'amsu-graha' form of soma-sacrifice, they say, 'Let him not press 'amsu' or 'soma-plant' ; but Yajnavalkya said, 'Nay, let him press, the unpressed soma delighted not the mighty Indra.'" (Ibid, iv. 6, 1, 10.)

41. Satapatha Brāhmana, xiv. 6, 1, 1. Note also that throughout the whole of the Vedic literature, Yajnavalkya has been mentioned in one text only, viz., the Satapatha Brāhmana, and that also, only in the earlier and the later portions of the book.

42. Ibid, iii. 7, 1.

43. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1897, Vol. lxiv, Part I, p. 85.

44. Mahābhārata, i. 3780-3782.

45. Ibid, i. 3772; 3775 and 3777.

46. Panchavimsa Brāhmana, xvii. 1, 9.

47. Aitareya Brāhmana, viii. 10.

एतस्यां प्राच्यां दिशि ये केच प्राच्यानां राजानः साम्राजा-
नैव तैःभिषिचन्ते ।

"The Aitareya Brāhmana takes no account whatever of the horse-sacrifice, whilst its last two books (vii and viii), generally regarded as a later supplement, are mainly taken up with the discussion of the 'Rajasuya.'"

48. Risley's Census Report, 1903, Chap. xii, p. 509.

49. Ibid, p. 511.

50. Census Report, Vol. 5, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sikkim, 1913, p. 517.

51. R. P. Chanda's 'Indo-Aryan Races,' p. 26.

52. Ibid, p. 44; vide also, Grierson's 'Languages of India,' p. 52 et seq; Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature,' pp. 152-157; 'The Indian Empire,' Vol. I, pp. 357-359; and the controversy between Keith and Grierson in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1908, pp. 831 et seq, and 1138 et seq.

53. Oldenberg's 'Buddha,' p. 9.

54. 'Buddhist India,' p. 32.

55. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1901, p. 808.

56. 'Buddha,' 'Samana,' 'Gotama,' 'Kapilavastu' etc., are all Brahmanic terms. Ikshvāku is mentioned in the Rigveda (x. 60, 4) as a rich and powerful prince.

57. Rigveda, vii, 18.

Verse 21—"They, who from home, have gladdened thee, thy servants, Parāśara, Vasistha, Satayatu,

Will not forget thy friendship, liberal giver, so shall the days dawn prosperous for the princes.

Verse 22—"Priestlike, with praise, I move around the altar, earning Paijavana's favour, O Agni, 200 cows from Devavan's descendant, 2 chariots from Sudas, with mares to draw them.

Verse 23—"Gift of Paijavana, 4 horses bear me in foremost place, trained steeds with pearls to deck them,

Sudas's brown steeds, firmly stepping, carry me and my son for progeny and glory.

Verse 24—"Him.....the seven flowing rivers glorify like Indra.

Verse 25—"Attend on him, O ye heroic Maruts, as on Sudas's father Divodāsa ;

Further Paijavana's desire with favour. Guard faithfully his lasting firm dominion."

(Griffith's Translation).

58 and 59. Ibid, iii. 33 ; verse 8. (Griffith's Trans.)

60. Av. V. 19.

61. Tait. Sam. ii. 2, 11.

क्षत्रा च विशे चं सभदं दद्यादभिलिखेन्द्रस्यावदन ।

The commentator writes—

क्षत्रावदेश्योः परस्परं संग्रामं जनयेद्यम् इति ऐन्द्रस्यावदन ।

ब्रूयात् इन्द्रायानुब्रूहि ।

62. Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. xiii, p. 984, et seq.

63. Ait. Br. vii. 27. The King calls them ब्रह्मवन्धवः which Sayana explains as ब्राह्मणाधमाः ।

64. Satapatha Brāhmana, xi. 6, 2. It is also

stated that five great theologians went to the Brāhman Uddalaka with the object of solving certain problems, but he, being unable to answer their questions, sent them to Kshatriya King Asvapati Kaikeya, the father-in-law of Dasaratha.

(Keith in J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 842.)

65. Chhāndogya Upanishad, i. 8, 1.

66. Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, vi. 2; Sat. Br., xiv. 8, 16; and Chh. Up., V. 3, 1.

67. Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. 1, p. 76.

68. Sat. Br., i. 4, 1, 14 (Eggeling's Trans. in S. B. E.)

69. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, p. 644. 13th October, 1920.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Prosperity and Debt in the Punjab.

Mr. M. C. Darling, I. C. S., writes in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, as quoted in the *Agricultural Journal of India*. :—

It has been said that nowhere in the world will you find a prosperous and contented peasantry. A perusal of the Land Revenue reports of the last 15 years suggests that the Punjab is perhaps the exception that proves the rule. But this was not always so. Twenty years ago things agrarian provoked deep anxiety and clashing views. The agriculturist was losing his hold upon the land. Indebtedness was increasing. The area redeemed was always less than the area mortgaged; and the money-lender was master of the situation. At last, in 1901, after much enquiry and searching of heart, when even the Revenue pundits had nothing more to say, the bull was taken by the horns and the Land Alienation Act was passed. This Act has rightly been termed the Magna Charta of the cultivator. To him it is the only Act that matters. He can no longer be ousted from his land, and he is no longer as wax in the hands of the usurer. With it too has come a new era of prosperity. The price of land, in spite of the Act's restrictions, has doubled. In some areas it has increased fourfold. Credit has expanded, prices have risen, and a widely extended system of irrigation has made famine well nigh impossible. Finally, this is a point that all official reports stress, since the Act came into force the area redeemed has almost invariably exceeded the area mortgaged. Prosperity, therefore, reigns, and the Revenue expert, no longer anxious, sees his work that it is good. Such is the impression made by the official reports and reviews of the last 15 years. It is a picture almost without shadow, and it must be admitted that such pictures are apt to be unreal; but then it is a picture of prosperity, and in the imagination at least prosperity has no serious shadows.

Turning now to the statistical statements that accompany the official reports, we are suddenly confronted by the unexpected fact that throughout this period indebtedness has

steadily increased. In 15 years (1903 to 1917) the net increase in the mortgage debt of the province exceed 10 crores of rupees. Of this nearly 9½ crores falls upon owners and share-holders.

Yet the writer concludes that "at present it [the rural Panjab] is undoubtedly prosperous, but prosperity has brought debt. This anomaly should, if possible, be removed." Perhaps, the Panjab peasantry are prosperous and indebted in the same sense as those prosperous nations whose national debts are increasing by leaps and bounds. If not, in what other sense?

The paper deserves to be discussed by Panjab publicists.

Germans Increase Crops by Fertilizing the Air.

The *Agricultural Journal of India* reproduces from *Times-Picayune* an article from which we learn that the Germans increase crops by fertilizing the air.

That plants, through their leaves, feed upon the carbonic acid of the atmosphere, besides other elements taken up out of the soil, has long been known. But while the plant physiologists have hitherto studied the problem of increasing the production of crops by applying fertilizers to the soil, they have never thought it possible to get larger yields by fertilizing the air.

But that this latter is possible has been fully proved during the last three years by certain German chemists. Starting with the known fact that the carbonic acid contained in the air is slight—the average is said to be only 0.03 per cent—they concluded that a considerable addition of that gas to the atmosphere should increase the growth in plants. They made experiments in that direction.

It was well known to chemists that enormous quantities of carbonic acid are discharged from blast furnaces. But it is full of impurities. In particular it contains sulphur, and it has long been observed that fields adjacent to blast furnaces bear poor crops as a consequence.

The chemists at one of the large German iron companies in the Essen district accordingly made experiments with gas purified of sulphur and duly diluted with air. Beginning in 1917, they used this purified carbonic acid in green-houses, where it was distributed through punctured pipes.

The results were remarkable. Even after a few days the plants treated with gas showed a more vigorous growth than those in an adjacent green-house. They began to blossom earlier and their general development was much greater. The yield of tomatoes was increased 175 per cent. and cucumbers 70 per cent. At the same time experiments also were made in the open air on square plots around which punctured tubes were laid. Here an increase of 150 per cent. in yield of spinach was reached, 140 per cent. with potatoes, 134 per cent. with lupines (a legume), and 100 per cent. with barley.

Encouraged by these results, the chemists repeated the experiments in 1918 on a much larger scale, using a plot of 30,000 square meters. This time they got an increase of 130 per cent. with tomatoes, and even 300 per cent. with potatoes.

Other experiments proved that this fertilization of the air is far more effective than that of the soil, even though the latter be on a liberal scale. Fertilizing the soil alone gave an 18 per cent. increase; but soil and air fertilization together gave an 82 per cent. increase. The chemist do not regard the use of carbonic acid gas as a substitute for soil fertilization, but as an addition to it; both are necessary.

Will not Jamshedpur take the hint?

Facilities for Education in France.

The section devoted to "The World of Culture" in *The Collegian* contains much information regarding educational facilities in France.

If Indian educators were interested in founding at Paris an institute which might represent in France the achievements of India in science and learning, the University of Paris, suggests Paul Appell, *Recteur de l'Académie de Paris*, might be induced to confer on it a suitable academic recognition as one of its affiliated institutions. M. Appell, who, *en passant*, is one of the world-renowned astronomers of today, and who enjoys a social position second to none in France, has been pleased to send "on behalf of the professors and scholars of the

University of Paris," a message of warm welcome and cordial co-operation to the savants and students of India.

As up till now the number of Indian scholars in the French Universities has been quite negligible, the question of equivalence of grades or standards between the Universities of India and those of France has not been seriously taken in hand. So, for the present year at least, those Indian graduates and professors who are contemplating to come to Paris or the provinces to attend the November trimester should have in their possession all documents describing in full the nature and amount of work done by them in each subject both theoretical and practical.

Medicine, pharmacy, finance, metallurgy, philology, no matter whatever be the subject chosen, the best facilities for doctorate and subsequent research can be expected by Indian scholars of the great French authorities in each line. And the prices in France are not higher nor the conditions of life less comfortable than anywhere else in Europe.

An Indian Lecturer at the Sorbonne.

The course of lectures on the Public Law of the Hindus delivered by Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar at the University of Paris was noticed in our April issue. We learn from the *Collegian* that

While introducing the lecturer to the audience Dean Larnaude said in part: "We have had lecturers from Italy and we have had lecturers from the United States. But before you, Monsieur Sarkar, we have not had any Indian lecturing before our Faculties."

The Dean said further: "You are not going to deal with private law, but with public law in its historical development. This is a subject of indianism hardly yet known among the savants of the West. I wish you success in your lectures."

Indian Culture in France.

We take the following paragraphs from the same journal:

Le Monde Illustré, the well known weekly of Paris, contains in the issue of February 19 a richly illustrated article of considerable size on the movements in India since 1905. The writer is Maurice Bourgeois.

The works of Vaman Govind Kale, Radhakamal Mukerjee, Jadu Nath Sarkar, Radhakumud Mukerji and other Indian writers on economic subjects who contribute papers to the *Modern Review* or to the *Journal of Indian Economic Society* (Poona) are attracting the

attention of the *Société d'économie politique* of Paris,—at whose monthly dinners members like Yves Guyot, Prince Bonaparte, Colson, D'Eichthal, Joseph-Barthelemy, Pierson, Augustin Rey, Truchy and other economists, bankers or industrial experts are generally present.

Fifteen francs a year is the subscription required of foreign members. Many of our students of economics and of allied subjects who are used to writing books or articles might see their way to applying for membership. They will get a monthly bulletin in return and will have the privilege of having all their economic publications (including reprints) announced before this official body of French economists. The secretary is Em. Vidal, 4 rue Meissonier, Paris (XVII).

Messrs. P. S. King and Co. of London are bringing out a large work on *Comparative Economics* in two volumes by Radhakamal Mukerjee. It is to have a Preface in French from the pen of Senator Raphael-Georges Levy, president of the *Société d'économie politique* of Paris. Levy is a member of the *Institute de France* and is the head of a large bank. Among his scientific publications we may single out *Les Banques d'Emission et les Trésors Publics*, *L'Initiation Financière*, and *Le Péril Financier*. Levy is professor of public finance at the *Ecole Libre des sciences politiques*. His writings exhibit familiarity not only with Indian currency and exchange but also with the taxation and fiscal problems of every country in the world from China to Peru.

The first article on the first page of *L'Intransigeant* (The Ultra-Republication) of Paris for February 26 is entitled *La France et l'Inde* by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. The *Intransigeant* has a circulation of over 300,000 and is the widest read and the most influential of all the evening dailies in France.

Students of international relations in medieval Asia will derive fresh lights by personal communication with Mons. G. Ferrand (28 rue Racine, Paris), the leading Islamologist of Europe. Ferrand is also in a position to help scholars with materials in regard to the Chola navigation of the Indian Ocean and the Hindu colonisation of Java, Sumatra, etc.

The *Ecole supérieure d'aéronautique et de mécanique* (92 Avenue de Clignancourt, Paris) is intended to train engineers in automobile construction, aeronautics, motors, structural steel work, cold storage industry, etc. It does not, however, offer training to pilots as it is not a school of aviation. Foreign students are allowed. The course covers two years. For regular students the scholastic fees are 3800 francs for the entire period.

Applications for preliminary examination (or admission without examination) may be filled from July 1 to October 15. The entrance examination covers elementary mathematics, algebra and analytical geometry, mechanics,

physics, chemistry, industrial drawing, mechanism, technology and motor feeds.

Students who do not care to take "regular" courses may also be admitted as "independent" scholars for certain special studies. The fees for such special courses are generally between 200 and 300 francs per subject.

A volume of essays entitled *Sculptures Civaites* is appearing in the *Ars Asiatica* series published by the *Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire* of Paris. The writers are Coomaraswamy, Havell and Goloobew, all well known as collectors and interpreters of Indian art. The most signal feature of the book is the essay on *Danse de Civa* by Auguste Rodin, the great French sculptor. It was written in 1913 for his book on the Cathedrals of France but is going to be printed for the first time under the present auspices.

The origins of life and man form the subject matter of *La terre avant l'histoire* by E. Perrier, professor of comparative anatomy at the Museum of Natural History, Paris. The volume is a geological and biological introduction to the series of one hundred books conceived by H. Berr for a library of synthetic history. Berr is the editor of the *Reveu de synthese Historique*. The volume on India is in charge of Bacot (the Tibetan scholar), Baston (French translator of Bhasa's *Vasavadatta*), Bloch (author of *La langue marathie*), and Masson-Oursel (student of Indian philosophy) under the directions of Sylvain Levi and Foucher.

On March 20 a lecture on *L'iconographie indienne* was arranged at Musée Guimet in the series of its annual conferences on ancient religious art. The paper was prepared by Kalidas Nag, late principal of Mahinda College, Galle (Ceylon), in English on the basis of which a summary was given in French by P. Stern, a student of comparative art history.

The same lecture was given on March 29 in the original English by Nag himself under the auspices of the "*Association des Hindous de Paris*". The Amphitheatre Descartes of the Sorbonne (the University of Paris) was secured for the occasion. Both the lectures were illustrated.

Nag invited the attention of the audience to the numismatic, epigraphic and ethnographic elements in the study of the evolution of Hindu deities. Among interesting particulars in the expansion of Indian art which he described as morphologically, "aryo-dravidian" the lecturer cited two texts in Sanskrit, one from Central Asia and the other from Java. In the former entitled *Suvarna-prabhasasutra* there occurs a passage in regard to the deathlessness of Buddha and the immortality of *dharma* (*Na buddhah parinirbbati na dharmah parihiyate*) which is an echo of the famous verse in the *Gita* bearing on the establishment of *dharma* age by age. And in the Javanese treatise, the *Kunjara Karna*, the identity of Buddha and Shiva is proclaimed in a manner which is immensely suggestive to

students of the Bengali *Sunya-Purana* of Ramai Pandit.

The French public are getting familiar with some of the old texts on Hindu painting through the short notices and comments published in the dailies and the periodicals regarding the brochure on *Art et Anatomie* (Editions Bossard). The booklet contains A. Karpeles' translation of A. N. Tagore's essay which appeared in the *Calcutta Modern Review* several years ago.

Young China.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose writes thus on Young China in the *Collegian* :—

China is seeking her salvation in education. Buddhist temples, Taoist temples, and Confucian temples are being turned into schools and colleges. What a prodigious thirst the Young China has for knowledge! what a feverish anxiety it displays in mastering the rational and experimental science of the West!

China is now passing through a period of stress and strain. There are conflicts and military disorders between the North and the South. Unrest is in the very air. There was hardly a day here in Canton the last few weeks without a strike of some kind; but these disturbances are more or less superficial. They are the necessary pains of growth, indicative of life and vigour. China has, however, enough of potential energy to overcome the present difficulties, if only let alone by the western powers. But will they?

What China needs to-day is men, trained leaders. Twenty-five hundred years ago the great Chinese statesman-philosopher, Confucius, was confronted with the same problem, and the solution he offered then is just as good now. "Let there be the men," observed this sage, "and government will flourish; but without the men government decays. With the right men the growth of government is rapid just as the vegetation is rapid in the earth. Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men."

Manufactures and Returns.

Mr. R. P. Sabnis discusses in the *Mysore Economic Journal* the question "Are manufactures subject to diminishing Returns?" and comes to the conclusion:

Literally speaking, we must say that the law of diminishing returns properly stated with all its reservations cannot fail to apply even to manufactures. This is so far as we can go in finding fault with the older writers on economics. They committed a terminological inexactitude, but nothing more. The qualifica-

tions are so dominating in the case of manufactures that the law is seldom allowed to come into operation. What material difference is there between saying that the law comes into operation under certain conditions but these conditions are rarely present in manufactures, and saying that the law does not apply to manufactures? The two statements, though formally different, are substantially the same. Indeed to accuse the older economists of faulty reasoning because they drew a line between agriculture and manufactures would be as ridiculous as jumping to the conclusion that a person who speaks of a fruit *falling* to the ground is ignorant of the working of the law of gravitation and so making ready to write out a thesis thereon for his edification.

Race Segregation.

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the *Young Men of India* :—

If the free British Dominions claim the right to receive within their own borders just as much, or as little, as they please of Eastern population and Eastern civilization, then, by the law of equity, the same right must be allowed to India and other Eastern nations. These must also be allowed to accept just so much of Western population and Western civilization as they require, and to reject that which they do not require. The Reciprocity Agreement of July, 1918, was right, up to a certain point, but it was too limited. It also made no room for exceptions; and human life can never be bound down by hard logic. The true end in view must always be nothing of the character of complete race segregation. There must be a family of nations, and in this family there should be no living entirely apart. There must be no new caste division of the whole world of mankind more tyrannical than any in the past.

To take two instances, in which the law of the brotherhood and equality of races appears to have been fundamentally violated. The Opium Wars of China, by which opium was forced upon China against her will, and the port of Hongkong was forcibly seized, these wars are surely an indelible blot on the name of England. Again, the absolute exclusion of all tropical races from the tropical zone of Northern Australia, when all the while it is well known, that this zone can never be successfully colonised by the races of Northern Europe, this exclusiveness is a direct infringement of the law of equal brotherhood. It has no justification in the eyes of Him, who is "no respecter of persons."

On the other hand, the desire of Australia, in its temperate southern regions, to preserve a single form of population and civilization

in its early days of settlement, has much to justify it, as an experiment in eugenics and colonization; though the continuance of an exclusive policy, at later stages, may by no means be equally justified.

The first requisite for any fair and equitable solution of the world's international problems is, that the hateful word "subject" peoples should be blotted out, once and for all, from the history of mankind.

We have really come to this point in the development of the human race. The right of self-determination—the right, that is to say, of one nation to receive or to reject the civilization and population of another—is now being acknowledged in theory, but not in practice. The stronger nations may enforce it, in their own case: the weaker nations have been obliged to succumb, wherever this simple right of self-determination has been violated or destroyed. There has also sprung up a new caste division of the world into the "white" and "coloured" races which is fundamentally inhuman and un-Christian.

Adult Education.

To the same monthly Mr. Kanakarayan T. Paul contributes a stimulating and informing article on Adult Education. He shows that as at present the effective environment of Indians is the whole of the Western and Westernized world (thus including Japan), the people of India should have an education which will enable them to correspond most perfectly with this environment.

Resistance to environment is no longer possible. To resist will be death or to be left so far behind in the evolution of the human race that we shall be a freak, a survival. Resistance is not what is advocated. The real alternatives before us are these: We may be exploited perpetually for the commercial and material well-being of other nations; or we may copy their methods thoroughly and become just one more member of the feverish group; or we may enter the field as independent collaborators, maintaining our own distinctive character while contributing our share of the service of the world alongside of other nations.

The entire Indian community, adult and young, must be properly educated. At the rate at which education has been spreading in India, it will take centuries to get a wholly educated Indian community. Therefore, schools for the young must be very rapidly multiplied and all children brought to school by all legitimate means,

and, simultaneously, there should be a vigorous and widespread adult education movement.

When America emancipated the negroes it had on its hands millions of people whose illiteracy and economic condition were worse than ours. Generations of slavery had emasculated their self-reliance. The stagnation of life was due not merely to ignorance (as it is so largely in India), but from what seemed to be moral incapacity. With all this, in two generations the literacy and the property valuation have approximated to the Whites, and the American negro is able to hold his head high in conscious citizenship in a great Republic. The miracle was not wrought through the schooling of the young. The whole community was reached effectively with an efficient scheme of adult education.

Surely it must be admitted by all who know the traditions of our country, that adult education is entirely in accord with the genius of our people. If anywhere in the world the whole of life was considered education, the whole of the community the school, and the purpose of it all service, it was in India. It is an abiding problem how literature, philosophy, and higher mathematics developed to great heights before the art of writing prevailed in the country. The whole mass of our *dharma* in its many details are known and observed by millions of people who are totally illiterate. Numerous folklore, legends, ballads, epics, ethical texts and devotional psalms of high merit and beauty pass from mouth to mouth, from father to son, from mother to daughter, from village to shrine, from hill to river, down the centuries all without the apparatus of reading and writing. In the ordinary transactions of the bazaar, all reckoning of purchase and sale, profit and loss, present worth and discount, interest and commission, all forecasts of futures, all advertisement and propaganda, is done with the aid only of memory and speech.

We have in India certain established social facilities and organizations which could lend themselves effectively to adult education work. Those which the writer mentions are, the Co-operative Society, the Theatre (of course, he means a theatre free from the moral canker at the core with which social purity seekers are familiar in Calcutta and other big cities), the Weekly Rural Market (where the entertainer *cum* educator should do his work in the American Chautauqua fashion, with the lantern, the bioscope and concrete objects), the Great Festive Gatherings, and the existing Village Schools (to be

used as community centres). The principles on which the curriculum for adult education should be drawn up for modern India are, according to the writer, two:

1. The Indian citizen should be fitted to enable his community to intelligently correspond with its political and economic environment in the world.
2. The Indian citizen is entitled to be educated for a full enjoyment of his available opportunities of life.

Mr. Paul is right in observing:—

Three parties need to co-operate if this "task of appalling difficulty and magnitude" is to be accomplished, and so the death of India prevented. They are the People, the Universities, and the State. Of these three, the first is the greatest, and the other two can succeed truly only in so far as they successfully work through the first.

There need be no fears anywhere that there is not that in the people of India which will be adequate to the task when once suitable guidance is available.

The Clash of Ideals.

Writing on the World Unrest in *East and West*, Mr. Ram Chandra observes:—

Racial prejudice no doubt existed in the world before the war, but it then did not exist in such a serious form. It was expected that with the end of the war racial prejudice would vanish; instead of vanishing it has tremendously multiplied. That racial prejudice should be so let loose immediately after a war in which different races had fought together is really surprising. Yet there is an explanation to all this. There was a general belief that this war would settle all the disputes and that there would not be another war. When the war ended, people found that all possibility of quarrel had not gone. In fact, they had found that there was a great difference between the ideals of the East and the ideals of the West. A closer touch with the Oriental people in the battlefields revealed but too plainly the staunchness with which they stick to their ideals. The affairs of the world with two vastly different sets of ideals cannot always go on unruffled, and people were eager to destroy all possible sources of quarrel. The war-like spirit was throbbing in their veins, the belief in the all-round supremacy of their own ideals was instigating them, the eagerness to nip in the bud all possibilities of future quarrel was goading them, and thus the people of the West plunged themselves into a war of ideals, a clash of cultures, a conflict of civilisations. The whole process was, of course, being worked up unconsciously—the people hardly

realising the extent of what they were going to do. Thus, before the economic war had hardly ended, a war of civilisation was begun.

The point of so-called prestige became as sharp as ever, and it became of paramount importance to bring home in an intense form to the Orientals that their civilisation was an inferior one, that their ideals were degraded, that their standards of life and culture were low and depraved.

This all orientals deny. There are three types of oriental civilization, of which we are most closely concerned with our own. Militarism cannot prove the superiority of any ideal of civilization; and even if it could, we have at present no military equipment to call our own. We can prove the superiority of our ideals only by our art, literature and socio-religious life.

The Hindu Wife.

In *East and West* Bawa Budh Singh describes the Fasts of a Hindu wife in the Panjab, particularly the "Kurwa Chouth". These are called "Bār" and "Brata" in Bengal. The writer pleads that "the Hindu wife should not be judged by her simplicity or ignorance, but by her intensity of love and purity of motive.....Long live the Hindu wife!"

The End of Spiritual Exertion.

The May *Hindustan Review* contains Sir John Woodroffe's second luminous article on "Shakti: World as Power." Therein he thus sums up the end of Tāntric Sadhanā or spiritual exertion:—

Man by his striving must seek to become fully humane, and then to pass yet further into the Divine Fullness which is beyond all Forms with their good and evil. This is the work of Sadhana (a word which comes from the root 'sādh,' 'to exert'), which is discipline, ritual, worship and yoga. It is that by which any result (Siddhi) is attained. The Tantric Shastra is a Sadhana Scripture. As Powers are many, so may be Sadhana, which is of various kinds and degrees. Man may seek to realize the Mother-Power in Her limited forms as health, strength, long life, wealth, magic powers and so forth. The so-called 'New Thought' and kindred literature which bids men to think power and thus to become power, is very ancient.

ent, going back at least to the Upanishad which says: "What a man thinks, that he becomes."

Those who have need for the Infinite Mother as She is not in any Form but in Herself, seek directly the Adorable One in whom is the essence of all which is of finite worth. The gist of a high form of Kulasadhana is given in the following verse from the Hymn of Mahakalarudra Himself to Mahakali:

"I torture not my body with penances." (Is not his body Hers? If man be God in human guise why torment him?) "I lame not my feet in pilgrimage to Holy Places." (The body is the Devalaya or Temple of Divinity. Therein are all the spiritual Tirthas or Holy Places. Why then trouble to go elsewhere?) "I spend not my time in reading the Vedas." (The Vedas, which he has already studied, are the record of the standard spiritual experience of others. He seeks now to have that experience himself directly. What is the use of merely reading about it? The *Kularnava Tantra* enjoins the mastering of the essence of all Scriptures, which should then be put aside, just as he who has threshed out the grain throws away the husks and straw.) "But I strive to attain Thy two sacred Feet."

Woman the Inspirer.

In the same Review Dr. Emile Reich briefly surveys the characteristics and roles of women in different periods of history in different Western countries, and advises the reader to

Read Plato, the greatest of all sages. He is meant for you to read, he is meant for the man in the street to read, and you will see that he tries to teach the greatest truths through the mouth of a woman, Diotima, the Prophetess of Mantinea. The Greeks again represented all sciences by nine Muses, who were women; and the highest arts and sciences were represented by three Muses. They were right. Love is the goddess that rules the heart and the head; and it is woman that gives the keynote to everything. No man can ever be a really great man unless a woman's influence was shed on his youth. Great men imply great mothers and great wives, such as it should be the ambition of every woman who aspires to the title of "new" to become.

In the Hindu mythology, Shakti, the source of all Energy, Power, Force, is a goddess; Vāni, the inspirer of all arts, sciences and literature, is a goddess; and Lakshmi, too, from whom come all Beauty, Good Fortune, Prosperity and Purity, is a goddess. There may be more than mere grammatical gender in all this nomenclature. Protestant Christians ad-

ore God only as the Father (and the Son and the Holy Ghost), the Mother is nowhere; the Catholics have supplemented this worship by the adoration of Mary, the *Mother* of Jesus, thereby recognizing the needs of human nature, as also the nature of the multiform yet one spiritual personality from which everything proceeds.

Needs of Universities.

Sir Michael Sadler writes in *Indian Education* that in the United Kingdom,

"The increase in the number of the students has been unprecedented. In the academic session 1913-14, the total number of full time students in attendance in grant-aided Universities and Colleges was 23,872; in the session 1919-20, the figure had risen to 36,423."

It has been the bureaucratic fashion to observe that university and collegiate education in Bengal has been overdone. But what are the facts? *The population of Bengal is, roughly, equal to that of the United Kingdom.* In 1919-20, according to the Bengal Director's Report, there were 21,077 collegiate students in Bengal. The University students could not have been more than 3,000. Thus we had 24,000 collegiate and university students, as against 36,423 in the United Kingdom.

According to Sir Michael, the investigations of the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom have convinced them that under modern conditions smaller institutions of full university rank need an income of not far short of £100,000 or Rs. 16 lakhs per annum, if pre-war activities are to be maintained. Much larger, therefore, must be the sum needed for a big university like Calcutta. But it must reform itself, and prevent waste, nepotism and jobberies, before it can demand public support. Sir Michael supports the claims of the British and Irish universities thus:—

The upshot of the Report is that in order to meet the educational opportunities which now present themselves, the income of the modern Universities should be very largely increased. In no other way can they meet the increasingly costly claims of scientific education; in no other way can they afford to pay

the members of the teaching staff salaries adequate to modern conditions; in no other way can they develop their Libraries, build new Halls of Residence, enlarge the work of the Faculty of Medicine, extend more comprehensively their extra-mural activities and meet the requirements of advance teaching and research. The work which is being done in the Universities is sound and progressive. Great advances have been made both on the educational and on the structural side. We may fairly hope that the Government will, in spite of the difficulties of financial situation, increase the grants which are paid to the Universities. Steady progress is being made, and what are most needed at the present time are patience and a progressive income.

Congress of the Universities of the Empire.

Readers of newspapers know the names of the Indian delegates (both fit and unfit) to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire to be held in England in July next. According to Sir Michael Sadler, in *Indian Education*,

The chief sessions of the Congress will be held at Oxford, an ideal place for such a gathering. The Chairman at the successive meetings will be Lord Curzon, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Haldane, Lord Crewe, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Robert Cecil and Lord Kenyon. The subjects proposed for discussion are:—The Universities and the balance of studies. The Universities and the teaching of Civics, Politics and Social Economics. The Universities and Secondary Education (the frontiers of the Secondary School and the University, and the influence of University entrance requirements upon the curricula of Secondary Schools), the Universities and Adult Education. The Universities and Technological Education. The Universities and the Training of School Teachers. University Finance. The Universities and Research. The Interchange of Teachers and Students.

Delegates to the Congress will have an opportunity of visiting the various Universities in Great Britain. These journeys begin on June 25th. One party will go to Bristol and then to Wales; the other to Ireland. After the Congress the overseas delegates will go to Cambridge for some days. They will then divide into two parties, one visiting Edinburgh and St. Andrews, the other Glasgow and Aberdeen. Subsequently one group will go to Newcastle, a second to Sheffield and a third to Durham. Finally, they will come to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds.

Kalidasa on Education.

The poet Kālidāsa did not write any treatise on education, but some of his views on the subject may be gathered from his poems and dramas. This, Mr. K. L. Ogale has done in two interesting articles in *Indian Education*, giving exact references. On the education of girls he writes:

Kalidās has put no ban on the education of girls. Not only his princesses but also simple hermit girls are represented by him to have been able to read and write, and to have been familiar with music and drawing. His Shakuntala with her two friends, his Urvashi and his Mālavikā, are all literate ladies. The wife of the exiled Yak'sh, Urvashi and Mālavikā were high class ladies, but Shakuntala was brought up as a hermit girl and yet she, along with other hermit girls, was taught reading, writing and drawing. Kalidās has represented the last queen of the solar dynasty of kings to have, after her husband's early death without issue, administered the kingdom with the advice of her ministers. Female education does not appear to have been restricted to royal families, even in hermitages the knowledge of reading, writing and other useful subjects was looked upon as part of girls' education which seems to have been given to them till they were married.

"Low-caste" people & "Brahma"-Knowledge.

We read in an article contributed by Mr. R. Shama Sastry to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* that a writer named Rayakula Raghuttamsa or Raghunatha Varman, of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, endeavoured to establish the right of the Sudras and even the Chandalas to Vedantic knowledge. The work in which he did this is named *Laukika-nyāya-ratnākara*.

He also asserted that "women are also entitled to Brahma-knowledge."

Mental Resemblance between Indian and British.

In his "Impressions of India", published in the *Indian Review*, Col. Wedgwood informs the reader that what struck him very forcibly in his visits to different parts of India was "the very close resemblance in mind between British and Indian."

It is the habit to say that "East is East and West is West, &c." I felt very much the reverse, at least among the cultivated classes and in the ranks of Labour. The Trades Unionists I got to know in Bombay, Lahore, Calcutta and Madras might have been precisely British Trades Unionists, so far as sentiments and ideas were concerned; unfortunately they are not yet so well situated in India as in England. The *intelligentia*, bred on the same literature, is the same free-thinking crowd of liberals with whom one talks with precisely the same ease and mutual comprehension in the Reform Club. The Brahmo-Samaj and the Arya Samaj are similar in the interest excited among the similar classes in the two countries by the Oxford Movement, and the establishment of the Free Kirk of Scotland. And in the same way, in both countries intellect knows no caste.

On the whole, it was the similarity between India and the West that impressed me, not the dissimilarity. The Mussalmans might have been Catholics; the nationally conscious and assertive extremists might have been our own class conscious socialists; where too there is a like cleavage between the physical force and the passive resistance school. Human nature is the same East and West; and the human mind is the same too.

I remember the editor of the "Independent" of Allahabad saying to me: "Would Oxford or Cambridge students have all done as they were told,—walked five idiotic miles in the sun carrying their luggage? That is what they did at Lahore. Not one was found man enough to refuse,—not one! That is the result of the education you give to India. We do not want such education any more." I am afraid that if a Prussian officer had ruled in Oxford and issued similar orders, the result would have been the same. It is difficult to be the first apparently useless martyr. Human nature is the same, even in courage. Even with the best education, man is not easily made ready to risk death.

The resemblance between the Indian mill-worker and the British, between the Indian intellectuals and the British, is closer than between British and Italian, or even British and French, I suppose, though I know the Italians best. In fact, throughout, the Indian position and problems reminded me of Italy before she was free,—the same exasperation, the same determination to be free.

The Liquor Traffic and the New Councils.

Rev. Dr. N. MacNicol writes in the *Bombay Social Service Quarterly* :—

One of the most important of the "transferred subjects" is Excise. Already, although this Department has been under the control

of an Indian Minister only for three months, we see signs in this Presidency of a new official attitude towards the liquor habit—one which we must describe as the Indian attitude as contrasted with the British attitude which has hitherto prevailed. In his first speech to the Council on this subject, the Hon. Mr. Chunilal Mehta announced that he intended to treat the amount of liquor sold in the last financial year as a maximum and permit no increase beyond it. The Indian Minister has thus called a halt to the advance of this evil into India. We may expect that this halt is preliminary to action to expel the dangerous invader and set the soil of India free. Mr. Mehta's action is indicative of a new attitude which, no one can doubt, correctly interprets the wishes of the Indian "proletariat". Other action that Mr. Mehta has taken is similarly full of encouragement and hope, as indicating that the Abkari Department is about to "suffer a sea-change". In Poona, the Local Committees appointed by Government to advise in the matter of the location and supervision of liquor shops, but never taken very seriously by the authorities in the past, recently urged almost unanimously the closing of two shops in Poona City, and quite unanimously, the closing of all shops on Sundays. These recommendations have been accepted by the Minister. It must, I fear, be acknowledged that this would not have been done had not the Minister been an Indian.

Dr. MacNicol thinks that "the attitude that instinct and reflection alike produce in the representatives of the best mind of India is one of uncompromising rejection of the whole dangerous traffic. India desires to be set entirely free from it." He then discusses by what road the goal of complete prohibition is to be reached.

Charity.

Mr. Faredun K. Dadachanji observes in the *Social Service Quarterly* :—

Extremes always meet. The sweetest and kindest of human acts, nearest the divine, turns into a veritable curse, if misdirected. It is only the light-hearted and thoughtless souls that believe that they can be charitable with a few pies in their pockets, or that if they can sell a few hundred thousand rupees or pounds off for a particular philanthropic object, they have helped humanity. Charity requires the high-mindedness, the unselfish forethought, the tender solicitude, the anxious care, the prudent calculation of consequences, the delicate harmony and sympathy, and personal touch that are associated with all the manifestations of Divine Love, ere it can be fruitful and harmless.

If we teach our boys from their childhood that putting a pie in the pocket and throwing it to any one that clamours for it is merciful, we have only taught him how to delude himself, and at the same time we have instructed him in the art of unfailingly demoralizing and pauperizing the tens of thousands [80 lakhs to be accurate] that he will come across on the road-side on his life's journey.

In his opinion,

One great need of charitable India is the right sort of trustees, who fear God, try to understand their responsibility, make a scientific and close study of the problem of poverty, sickness, helplessness and beggary as is done in Europe, America, and elsewhere, and discharge their duties in true 'missionary' or apostolic spirit. We have plenty of self-complacent trustees, who deem it an honour to be associated with huge trust funds, but who are careless, indolent, reckless, ignorant, arrogant and inaccessible.

Why Madras Women Value the Vote.

A Madras Woman tells the public in *Everyman's Review* why Madras women are glad that they have got the vote.

For personal, sex, national and international considerations women are happy to have won the vote. Each Madras woman who now becomes an acknowledged and responsible citizen is a unit of greater power and greater importance in the country than she was before. Her suffrage will be sought by prospective candidates, her political education will be undertaken by their agents. She will be able to take a responsible share in controlling the legislation, taxation and administration of the country. This means that whereas previously a woman pattadar's or a woman house-owner's money only was of value, now her opinion will be of consequence also. It is not because women want to be like men that they want the vote. They want it for the same reasons as men wanted it. In addition it is to express their difference from men, to express their womanhood and its views of problems that women want political self-expression. No one need fear that the act of voting will unsex a woman. Only men think so foolishly; women have more commonsense. They know that going to a Polling Station, once every three years, will not mean the neglect of a woman's regular duties; neither will the making of a cross or the signing of her name triennially turn her into a Sandow or cause her to "sacrifice at the altar of a foolish and insolent modern idea woman's rounded softness of limbs and soft sweetness of speech." No, they know that whatever amount of use

men can make of the vote, women will use equally along lines which are of special interest to them.

Voting is not compulsory and although some women may not attach much importance to the vote (just as some men do not) yet it makes an immense difference whether a whole race, or class or caste or community is arbitrarily excluded from the franchise, and much more so does it matter if a whole sex is under a ban of disqualification. By the removal of this "blot on the honour and reputation of Indian women," each woman in the Madras Presidency is raised to that position of proper appreciation, self-respect and adult human dignity which had long been removed from her under British Law.

In ancient and pre-British India women had had no restrictions placed on her desire for, or power of National service. It is because the ancient dignities of her sex have been restored to her by her own manhood that Madras womanhood is thankful.

By reason of her religion, her customs, and her sex statistics (men being more numerous than women) India's women will always find their deepest interests in matters affecting the homes. Enfranchisement and marriage are not antagonistic, rather is the former the extension of the duties of the latter. The health records of India are deplorable. Its rate of infantile mortality is a scandal. The death-rate of Indian young married men is correspondingly high above that of any other country. These things can be remedied, but the remedies will take Government money. That money is much more likely to be allocated now that women are to be voters than it was before. It is in the nature of things that men as a whole are chiefly interested in material things,—money, land, sticks and stones, implements—whereas women are chiefly concerned with life itself,—birth, preservation of life, the processes of growing life, sickness and death. To women's mind war is a far more dreadful thing than to men, for women realise the sacredness and the cost of life more vividly than men.

The grant of the suffrage to any section of a people has always led to better education of that section. Thus it follows that better educational facilities will be provided for Indian women and this will be an invaluable national gain. Women interests in National Industries can also be easily aroused and women taxpayers will be satisfied if they know that their taxes and assessments are being used to encourage Swadeshi trading concerns and to restore the industrial greatness of India. Women are also interested in the National question of the temperance or intemperance of the people. The vote will be of great help to them in bringing about prohibition.

Improved standards of health, housing, education, morality and industries are the chief

national gains which the vote will help women to attain for India.

Internationally it is a matter for warm congratulation that an Indian Presidency, equal in area and population to Great Britain, should have immediately given the lie to the idea prevailing in the West that Indians keep their women in subjection. Of course, the idea was untrue, but its falsity needed a large and well-understood advertisement, and the method by which Indians enfranchised women is far in advance of the higgling spirit with which England acted, with her 30-year-age qualification for women but 21 for men, a differentiation still existing! The public political appreciation of its women will do more to raise the prestige of India in the outer world than can be gauged at all in India. It immediately has put India on a par with Britain and America and in advance of Japan in a matter which is considered an evidence of culture, humanity and civilisation. It has also put Indian women on the same status of citizenship as the women of the other parts of the British Empire or of most other countries.

Flemish Art.

In the May *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society* Mr. N. Chatterjee tells its readers that while passing from room to room in one of the Art Museums of Berlin,

In one of the rooms of the Flemish Gallery, I observed nearly the entire wall being empty of portraits. It looked so odd and the barrenness seemed so disagreeable to the eye that I pointedly made allusion to this inartistic neglect of decoration. The explanation was given to me with an almost imperceptible twinge of sadness by one of the scholars in this branch of human aestheticism; the whole wall used to be covered by exquisite pieces of art which had been purchased long, long years ago by the German Government from private individuals and were hung in this room. They adorned the wall and were a source of delight and instruction to the visitors and the students of art; they had to be surrendered to the Belgians as a price of German defeat in the war. Before parting with these invaluable works of art, the authority had the artistic sense and prudence to take photographs of them which were shown to me. Even an amateur like me could fairly judge of the beauty and loveliness of the work.

We will make two suggestions, suggested by the above. It has been said in some papers that as India is entitled to a share of the indemnity to be exacted from the Germans by the Allies, we should proceed to specify our claim. We are not disposed to do this for reasons which we will not

mention. But we shall be glad if Germany gives us free of charge replicas and photographs of all objects of Indian art in her museums, and photographic copies of all Indian manuscripts in her libraries and museums.

The second suggestion relates to our own duty to Indian art, of which there is not yet much Indian appreciation. As most of the best specimens of Indian pictorial art are bought up by Europeans and Americans, and thus pass out of India, it is the bounden duty of the artists and of the Indian Society of Oriental Art to keep good photographs of these paintings and offer them for sale.

The Mind International.

Prof. Vaswani holds that

The problems of to-day cannot be solved if approached in a spirit of National rivalries and National antagonisms. There is something beyond the Nation, that for which the Nations exist; that something is humanity. And the problems of India, the British Empire, the new problems of reconstruction all over the world, can only be studied and solved in the light of the Ideal International. The Nations must think *internationally*; and the 'League of Nations' will only be a League of Exploiters until it secures a new basis—the basis of Human Fellowship.—*The Vedic Magazine*.

Arbitration Courts.

According to Dewan Niranjan Das, a contributor to the *Vedic Magazine*,

The one part of the non-co-operation movement that will be acceptable to all—both the Government and the people alike—is arbitration courts. No one can deny the advantages of settling disputes through arbitration. The cry for that is nothing new. It is rather a call to go back to the old useful institution, to the benign effects of which mankind owes not a little. In primitive state of society every man was his own arbiter. What was true of the nations—at least before the idea of the League of Nations—was true of the individuals—the determining factor in each case being the sheer brute force of one or other of the parties. This resulted in bloodshed and strife. The society realized that a person could not be a judge of his own acts. To arrive at the right conclusion the intervention of a third person was necessary.

Thus grew up the useful institution of arbitration.

"Barda Faroshi."

Mr. Jiwan Lal writes in the *Vedic Magazine* that the real remedy for *Barda Faroshi* or the traffic in girls for immoral purposes lies in the evolution of conscience among the people.

It is one of the most pathetic human fallacies to assume that we can have only to pass a law in order to extirpate an evil. The efficacy of the statute-made law is only so much good paper inked by an electrical printing press, even after its repeated demonstrations of impotence. It is, therefore, that we should have no statute-made law for this purpose, and as such no Government agency and specially the Police should be employed but should altogether be abandoned and eschewed. A strong public opinion should be enlisted and sympathies of the various social reforming societies should be entertained in rousing public opinion and sentiment so that we may heal the ulcer of woman's dishonour and misfortune. No religious or social reform society worthy of its name can be said to exist if it does not discharge the primary responsibility to humanity in providing for the restoration of the due status and natural place of those whom these Barda Faroshes in their greed of money have offered at the altar of shame and vice. The old and very strong idea of public censure of contempt and disdain should be revived against all those who live and prosper on the wages of shame in palatial buildings—the living monuments of an impetus to others to follow their easy going and ignoble life of the material world. The representatives of the various social bodies such as Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Veda Samaj, Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharam Sabha, Ahmedia Sect and others should come forward to form national vigilance societies or associations in Indian cities all over the country to save minor girls from the hands of the Barda Faroshes. Brothel-keepers and managers of houses of prostitution should be punished as in England. We should be ready to extend to them [prostitutes] the protection given to mules and horses, and this will greatly lessen the number of misguided bad women. The experiment will show us that the women are not bad naturally, it is only when they are driven to it. We will then find out that the reason why the prostitutes cannot be redeemed is that there is no one to take care of them and that they have not a friend in the world.

Defects of Modern Indians.

There is much truth in the following remarks of the *Maha-bodhi* and the *United Buddhist World* :—

Greek philosophy, German philosophy,

British philosophy, are what the Indian student studies, but his knowledge of the brilliant period of Indian activity, when Buddhist universities at Nalanda, Benares, were diffusing knowledge throughout China, Turkestan, Burma, Java, Ceylon, is practically nil. The desire for patient research is not in the Indian of the present day. He is under the glamour of the materialistic upstart civilization of the West. The earnestness of the ancient Indian student to discover Truth is not yet born in the Indian consciousness. The universities established under European influence are officialised, and fear is inculcated as a political creed within their portals. Every one is actuated with no high impulse to discover truth at any cost. The professors are not fond of psychological investigations, nor have they the desire to follow high ideals leading to conscious psychological freedom. It is the philosophy of the belly that they learn, and the goal is political fame and a decoration bestowed by the bureaucracy. Spiritual self-sacrificing philosophic teachers have not yet been born. The Indian goes to the European to learn what his ancestors had discovered. The wealthy class in India are extravagantly luxurious, and effeminate, living in a state of continuous fear, having no vitality to resist. The anglicised leaders in their speeches invariably quote Western authorities or the Semitic utterances of degenerate prophets of decadent Palestine. To the Indian all science and philosophy is to be found in the adumbrations of Semitic ascetics.

University Life in Ancient India.

Mr. A. Rama Iyer has contributed to the *Educational Review* of Madras a translation of an article on University life in ancient India by Mr. Jatindranath Sikdar published in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, from which some passages are quoted below :—

Of all the centres of higher education which existed in our country in those days, the most celebrated was the city of Takshasila, the capital of Gandhara. In spite of the vast distance that had to be traversed and the difficulties and dangers of the journey, students of all classes from all over the country congregated at this place to study at the feet of the world-renowned Professors of the University. No one was considered to have completed his education, unless he had undergone a course at Takshasila. We learn from the *Tila-Mushti* Jataka that kings from afar sent their sons all the way to Takshasila, in spite of the presence of celebrated scholars at their own courts.

The most remarkable feature of this University was its residential system. The students

had all to live in the hostels provided by the University. From the *Tila-Mushti* Jataka we learn that the students were of two classes,—those who paid fees to the Professors, and those who did not or could not. When seeking admission to the University, the student had to inform the Professors to which class he wished to belong. Prince Brahmadata, for instance, was asked by the Professor: "Well, have you brought your fees with you? Or do you prefer to render service in return for the teaching?" Those students who paid the fees were allowed to live in the Professor's home as his own sons, and devote themselves exclusively to study; while those who had no money to pay had to spend the day in doing such services as drawing water from the well and fetching firewood, and engage themselves in study during the night.

The young men who went to Takshasila for education generally took along with them a sum of 1000 *Karshapanas*.* This included presumably all charges to be met during the period of residence at the University. The doors of knowledge, however, were by no means closed to those students who were too poor to pay. In many places, there was special provision for free instruction to the poor. The *Roshaka* Jataka tells us that the Bodhisattva, after he had won renown as a teacher, gave instruction in the arts to five hundred students in Benares. At that time, we are told, the citizens of Benares took upon themselves the duty of providing for the poor students, so that they might receive the instruction free.

The students lived in the closest intimacy with the teachers, who treated them as their own sons. Even the young princes had to go to Takshasila with merely a pair of sandals and an umbrella. The sum of 1000 *Karshapanas* which they took along with them had to be handed over to the Professors at the very beginning of the course. They could keep no pocket-money to spend on recreations or amusements. From an incident recorded in the *Jyotsna* Jataka, we gather that even the princes were not allowed to keep a cowry for their personal expenses. The students of the University were not even free to go to the river for bath as they liked. They were accompanied by the Professors to the bath, and the slightest breaches of discipline were severely dealt with.

The students had to get up early in the morning at the time of cock-crow and engage themselves in their studies. If they awoke on hearing the crowing of the cock at a wrong hour, they were put to great inconvenience. If they awoke as early as at midnight and began to study, they were too sleepy to read till the morning; on the other hand, if they woke up as late as at sunrise, they had not time enough to memorise their lessons. Their home-study

* *Karshapana*=a weight of gold weighing 16 *mashas* or about 176 grains.

consisted apparently of two parts,—study with the help of the books, followed by repetition and memorising of the lessons.

We learn from the Jatakas that the Professors were all celebrated scholars, held in high esteem by all from the prince down to the peasant. There are grounds for supposing that all of them were not Brahmanas. As many as five hundred pupils studied under one Professor. There were, of course, many Assistant Professors to help the Professors; and, in some cases, the senior students also rendered some help.

The University gave instruction in the three principal Vedas, as well as in the eighteen arts and sciences. The names of these eighteen arts and sciences are not given; only references to some of them occur here and there. Besides undergoing this general course, each student specialised in some one particular art or science, e.g., archery, the science of elephant-management and the science of medicine.

We ought not to suppose that the University of Takshasila contented itself with giving mere book-learning to its students. There is enough evidence to show that a sound practical instruction was given, and that each student had to know how to apply his learning in practice.

When Jivaka was studying at the University, he had to learn the practical applications in medicine of all the plants and herbs within a radius of six or seven miles; and his subsequent practice of surgery shows that the University did not confine itself to mere theoretical instruction.

The students went on a tour round the country, after the completion of their course in order to gain an intimate first-hand knowledge of the history and the arts of the different provinces. References to such tours are found in the *Swetaketu* Jataka and the *Darimukha* Jataka, and we find that they were regarded as furnishing the coping stone to the course of instruction at the University.

This corresponded to the practice prevalent among German students.

"Shama'a."

About a year ago we were enabled to notice the first number of "Shama'a", a magazine of Art, Literature and Philosophy, edited by Miss Mrinalini Chattopadhyay, B. A. (Cantab). We have now received the fourth issue, that for January, 1921. Though late in appearing, its contents are noteworthy. There is a half-tone reproduction of the statue of Hermes at the National Museum, Athens. There are five poems, by "Marsyas", Harindra-

nath Chattopadhyay, Aurobindo Ghose, Rabindranath Tagore, and C. F. Andrews. That by Aurobindo Ghose, is the longest contribution, covering 27 pages out of the 68 forming the entire issue. It was written at Baroda in 1899. It retells in verse the story of Ruru and Pramadbarā (whom the poet renames Priyambadā).

In "White and Gold" Sir John Woodroffe gives word-pictures of the ancient *Gosho* and *Nijo* palaces in Japan, with artistic appreciations. He writes :—

It would truly seem as if in this relic of that great period, which gathered together and made fresh and perfect the beauties of Ashikaja art, there has been preserved for us of to-day the full blossom of the art of Japan in its application to man's home. In the country of which we speak the home is indeed a "house beautiful," to whomsoever it may belong. Its neat and cleanly simplicity and almost austere beauty, the excellence of the materials of which it is composed, and scrupulous honesty of the workmanship by which they are put together, exist, however, as it were in a glorified form, in the more elaborate, though withal simple, art of the *Gosho* Palace, and the dreamy and golden beauty of the *Nijo*, which remains for us of a more vulgar time a true and sumptuous exemplar of the *Domus Aurea*. Their carven wood, metal work, whiteness, and colour, not only minister to the pleasures of sense, but subtly suggest the secret of this ministration, and the means and methods by which we may compel it. If from the *Gosho* we learn of austere simplicity and restraint, the *Nijo*, on the other hand, teaches by its resplendent example the supremacy of colour, and faith in the power which, among things of sense, it and musical sound chiefly possess to cure the heart and mind of ill, giving to it life and joy and that "consolation of art" of which Theophile Gautier has spoken. But his phrase (as he said it) referred to something superficial. Art not only consoles but (what is greater) elates only when Beauty is known as a reflection in form of the perfection of God. The joy it produces is a fraction of unimpeded Bliss. In a more especial sense, the *Nijo* teaches the greatness of Gold, the presence of which permits the use of all other tones of colour, by means of the harmony it is powerful to bring about between their militant claims. The Japanese like the Byzantines, the masters of complex and sumptuous decorative art, loved and made manifold use of this colour, the symbol of luminous wisdom and of the sun, the Radiant Eye of Vishnu looking from out the joyous blueness of His Heaven.

Of the *Nijo* palace he says :—

The palace itself contains no furniture, being

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in this similar to all the other houses of this people who seem by instinctive refinement to have reduced domestic wants, and the objects which satisfy them, as far as possible to the limits of natural necessity alone.

From what we know of our ancestors, poor and rich, it is more than probable that they were not devoid of artistic taste. But at present, as a people, we are wanting in the aesthetic sense. Most Indians are not even cleanly in their homes and surroundings. This is not entirely due to poverty. For we have seen houses of very wealthy people which are, uncleanly and show utter absence of artistic taste.

In "Scenic effects in Indian Drama" Mr. C. Jinarajadasa criticises the scenery, the costumes of the actors, and their "make-up" in Indian theatres.

"The reforms necessary, are, to make the scenery absolutely fit the period of the play [and they must be Indian].....With an India full of typical Indian costumes it requires a grain of imagination to pick out a suitable costume for each character in Indian plays. Now the general idea seems to be to put the actors in knee-breeches and in coats heavily overlaid with glittering tinsel. Nowhere else is "make-up" ever intended to disguise the nationality of the actor. What reason is there for Indian actors, with brown skins, plastering their faces so as to make them as white as possible?....."

I will mention, in conclusion, that it is possible to have an Indian drama with fully Indian scenery, and everything absolutely Indian. I have seen such a play myself, when I saw the great Rabindranath Tagore act in his own play, the "Post Office". The play was performed in the little theatre in his Calcutta house, and it was a revelation to all who saw the stage, scenery and acting of what Indian drama could really be. Everything was true to life. We shut our eyes now to the little things round us in our own villages and towns, and we do not see that the great drama of God is taking place in our very midst. Hence the false scenery and costumes on the stage. I should like also to mention that the linking up of drama with reality was one of the great characteristics of the play of Mr. Rabindranath Chattopadhyay, "Abon Hassan," performed in Madras about two years ago.

Rabindranath's School and Rabindranath and France.

The *Collegian* has the following in its "World of Culture" section :—

We learn from the Secretary of the *Association Française des Amis de l'Orient* (Paris) that they have collected about 350 volumes for presentation to the *College de Santiniketan* (Bengale). The books comprise classics, works on art and literature, pedagogics, etc. Our readers are aware that these "Friends of Asia" have their head-quarters at Musée Guimet, and have for their president Emile Senart, member of the *Institut de France*.

The prose works of Tagore were not known in French. Recently Payot and Cie of Paris have presented us with a copy of *La Maison et le Monde*. It is the translation of *The Home and the World*, which Bengali readers know to be *Ghare Baire*. The translator is F. Roger

Coranz who is well known to the reading public of France for his version of Walter Pater's *Renaissance*. Like Librairie Hachette, Librairie Felix Alcan, Librairie Larousse, etc., Librairie Payot is one of the leading publishing houses of Paris.

Tagore's novel is being appraised by French critics not only as a living picture of contemporary India, but also as the study of a conflict of emotions and ideals. And this study, penetrating and subtle as it is, never loses its naturalness and simplicity but on the other hand attains a level of excellence which is truly human. The alien elements in the story endow it, besides, with an incomparable charm.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"The Asian Review."

As Japan is practically the only independent country in Asia, a Japanese survey of world-politics possesses great importance; for it can be fearless and free, though there may be some bias, conscious or unconscious. Hence the editorial notes in *The Asian Review* cannot but be read with interest by all its Asiatic readers. In its March-April issue, the editor observes, with regard to

Anglo-American Relations:

America's position to-day in world politics is supreme and uncontestable. No nation can ever ignore the fact that her support will be a decidedly determining factor in the settlement of all international questions. British statesmen know it. In order, therefore, to preserve their world empire they are putting forth their utmost efforts to secure the goodwill and help of the United States, because without them British world imperialism is doomed to perish for ever before the rising tide of democracy and the awakening of the masses all over the world. The governing classes of England are trying various devices to gain the friendship of America. One of them is the talk about the non-renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and in its stead the creation of an Anglo-American Alliance. A British politician recently said that there should be, if not a definite, yet an understood, alliance or federation of all the Anglo-Saxon people in the world.

(1) Settlement of the Irish problem to suit the Irish Americans who number about twenty millions.

(2) The American people do not want to aid British militarism and support the reign of terror in Ireland, Persia, Egypt and India.

(3) The American public want Great Britain to pay the interest on the four billion dollars which she owes to America. The British Government has been trying to arrange to have the payment of this interest deferred for several years, but the opposition to this plan was so serious that Senators La Follette (Republican) and Walsh (Democrat) introduced a resolution that the American Executive should not make any definite financial arrangements with Great Britain without the consent of the Senate.

(4) America is determined to have the biggest merchant marine in the world and the present policy of the American Government is to have a navy second to none.

(5) It is almost a certainty that President Harding will call for a World Conference sometime in April or May to have the Peace Treaty revised to suit America. This may not be very advantageous for Great Britain.

(6) American oil interests are strongly opposed to British control of the oil-fields of Mesopotamia.

(7) There is great dissatisfaction in America against Britain's cable control.

(8) Settlement of the Panama Canal toll question so that American ships can pass without paying any toll.

(9) American public and businessmen feel resentment at England's grasping the trade of Germany and Russia and also of South America.

(10) Over twenty millions of German American citizens are bitter against Great Britain. They are opposed to any kind of Anglo-American Alliance.

Unless these questions are solved satisfactorily

rily, Anglo-American tension will go on increasing daily; and in the ultimate course of things an armed clash between them is inevitable, if the people of England do not intervene and stop in time the ominous activities of their imperialistic compatriots.

Bolshevism in Asia.

On the subject of Bolshevism in Asia, the *Asian Review* holds:

If its present rate of progress were maintained, the whole of Europe would turn Red in the not distant future.

It is not our purpose here to enter into a discussion of the merits and demerits of the doctrines. Our object is to see whether there is any possibility of its flourishing in Asia.

Bolshevism is an expression of the righteous indignation of the European masses against the time-dishonoured tyranny of capitalism and imperialism which, in its onward march for the satiation of ghoulish lust, crushed everything that came its way. It is also a protest against the abuse of the civilisation of the west by the negation of the principles of justice and humanity.

The majority of the people of Europe have for a long time been subjected to relentless oppression by a handful of persons. The last war awakened the former from their torpor and revealed to them their latent power and its possibility to overwhelm the few who were exploiting them mercilessly and exercising a most evil influence over everything that stood for western civilisation. This fact is largely responsible for the revolution in the ideas of the hitherto docile masses of Europe.

The social conditions and environment of the Asians are quite different from those of the Europeans. Though the Asiatic people are in a less advanced position materially, their moral and spiritual progress far surpasses that of the occidentals. Unlike the west, there is no particularly privileged class in Asia dominating their less fortunate brothers, thanks to her spiritualism and noble traditions handed down from yore. This spiritual heritage and the peculiar social conditions born of it are a sufficiently strong bulwark against the inroads of Leninism.

There is much truth and some error in the above. Socially, there are privileged classes in India—a fact of which the Non-Brahman movement in the South is a sufficient proof. Socio-economically also there are privileged classes in India, of which the Kisan Movement and agrarian troubles in the United Provinces and Bihar are a sufficient proof. If the

"higher" castes, the land-owners, and the capitalists do not take note betimes of the signs of the times and shape their conduct accordingly, there may be a movement in India similar to, though on a smaller scale than that of the West. We refuse to hypnotise ourselves with the half-truth that we are a spiritual people.

The Situation in India.

As regards the situation in India, the editor of the *Asian Review* is right in observing:

The situation is serious in all conscience. On the one side are the poor, unarmed, emasculated, under-fed, but spiritually equipped millions of Indians. On the other side is the Bureaucracy, with all the up-to-date homicidal machines in their hands, but without any spiritual equipment. It is a fight between two forces of a diametrically opposite character. In other words, it can better be described as a struggle between spiritualism and materialism, between soul-force and brute-force. The final outcome of such a struggle cannot but be looked forward to by the world with keen interest.

It must be patent even to the most obtuse-minded persons that India is entering into a new era. A new atmosphere is pervading the whole country and a new force is at work there, which, if successful in the attainment of its object, will set a new example before humanity of the victory of soul-force over brute-force.

Jargon of Scientific Writing.

Whatever is written and published is meant to be understood by the literate public. This is particularly true of periodical literature. But many writers do not keep this object in view. Glenn Frank writes in the *Century Magazine* :—

A recent issue of "Current Opinion" quotes at length examples of the utterly indefensible jargon of scientific writing. The two paragraphs deserve added display. The first example will, I am sure, be appreciated by the average layman hungry for information. It runs as follows:

"The karyogranulomes, not the idiogranulomes or microsomenstratum in the protoplasm of the spermatogonia, unite into the idiosphaerosome, acrosoma of Lenhossek, a protean phase, as the idiosphaerosome differentiates into an idiocryptosome and an idiocalyp-tosome, both surrounded by the idiosphaerotheca, the archoplasmic vesicle; but the idioec-

tosome disappears in the metamorphosis of the spermatid into a sphere, the idiophtharosome."

But may be the writer of this was discussing something that should be kept from the ears of the layman. If so, his secret is safe. If the Bolsheviks could only evolve a sociological vocabulary to match this, they could propagandize to their heart's content without fear of detection.

The second example of the scientist's pellucid and prismatic English has to do with a homelier subject. It runs as follows:

"In our precious cabbage-patches the holometabolous insecta are the hosts of parasitic polyembryonic hymenoptera, upon the prevalence of which rests the psychic and somatic stamina of our fellow-countrymen; for the larvae of *Pieris brassicae*, vulgarly cabbage-butterfly, are parasitised by the *Apanteles glomeratus*, which in turn has a hyperparasite, the *Mesochorus pallidus*."

Now that that is clear, let us pass on to certain reflections that suggest themselves. These quotations were chosen because they are extreme examples of the scientist's jargon. It is not from the laboratory alone, however, that we hear these unintelligible expositions—that is, unintelligible to any one save an expert in the particular field discussed. The sociologist frequently sins as glaringly as the biologist. There is no justification of an over-technical vocabulary in the writing of any book on sociology or economics or in the writing of any scientific discussion that is supposed to be read by others than doctors of philosophy.

The "Religion" of Empire.

The Venturer is a very stimulating and thought-provoking monthly. Writing in it on the "Religion" of Empire H. Wilson Harris says that "Cecil Rhodes had great conceptions, if often not high conceptions; he took far views, if often not exalted views." He thought, "the proper business of man is to forward the end proposed by God." That was correct. But he came to the wrong conclusion that "God's purpose was to make the Anglo-Saxon race predominant," so that his "religion" of empire was another name for imperialism. However, "the salvation of South Africa has been that its leaders since the war have been the conquered Dutch, not the conquering Britons."

The Unionist British and the predominantly Dutch South African Party, by their union in opposition to separation from the Empire, have wiped out the last racial division in South African politics, and by the magnitude of their

victory at the recent elections have enabled General Smuts, freed from the crises of political contest, to turn to the tasks of political construction.

To that extent a day of hope has dawned for South Africa. But satisfaction at so hopeful a prospect has severe limitations. The racial divisions wiped out are divisions only between English and Dutch. The greater problem of the relation between European and native—the native dispossessed and disfranchised—still remains. The supreme test of General Smuts' statesmanship will lie in his approach to that dominating question.

Turkey and the Allies.

In the same journal Miss. H. M. Howsin restates the leading clauses of the Treaty of Sevres, as it originally stood, and asserts that

Perhaps no such immoral and inhuman Treaty has ever been drawn up by civilized men. It recalls rather the brutality of savages who seek to prolong the extreme penalty in order to inflict the greatest amount of humiliation and torture on their victims. Every vital interest of Turkey, political, economic and financial,



Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

was struck, every shred of dignity torn from her, and at the same time the very Powers who were usurping all authority refused to undertake the responsibilities for the maintenance of order and good government. Such a Treaty was bound to fail through its inherent rottenness. It was known beforehand that it could never be enforced, and Italy and France negotiated for its revision.

She characterises the new terms thus :

The new terms, though they show a disposition to treat, are grievously disappointing. They do not attempt to secure the one obvious necessity of justice, the one basis for a peaceful settlement—the sovereignty of the Turks in Smyrna and Thrace—the homelands of the Turkish race.

The Turks readily accepted the original proposal of Mr. Lloyd George that an Inter-Allied Commission be appointed to investigate into the population of Eastern Thrace.

It reported categorically in favour of the Turks. It affirmed that the preponderance of the Turks was *incontestable*; that the Greek occupation could not be regarded as a "civilized mission," but as a "conquest and a crusade"; that the Greeks were responsible for plunging the country into bloodshed, and for many hideous massacres; that the national sentiment was Turkish, and would never consent to usurpation, but would offer the utmost resistance to foreign control.

But the findings of the Commission have not been of any avail. Miss Howsin believes in Turkey and the Turks.

"The Psychology of the Indian Movement."

According to Mr. Bernard Houghton,

No civilized people can be governed by another nation for their good. However well the latter intends, its relations with the subject people must, by their very nature, depress their vitality and debase their character. This is the psychological fact behind the world movement for autonomy, from Ireland to Korea. It is the passionate cry of mankind which wills to grow, to live, and which in the fire of patriotism burns up the evil suggestion of humility. Into this movement India has stepped with all her heart. She intends a revolution not only in polity but in character also, a revolution that will astonish the world.

This soul-destroying government, based on the assumption of a racial inferiority, India must first tear out by the roots. Until that task is accomplished, Indians cannot realize

themselves. But political equality and freedom once achieved, other things will follow. Caste must go. For caste makes the great majority of the people the same depressing suggestion and it inflicts on them, therefore, the same injury. No easy adventure this; but when a revolution exalts a people, lifts them out of the ruts of convention, who will set bounds to their reforming zeal? Already low caste workmen unite, act, make felt a new power.

—The Venturer.

Mr. Houghton is right in his challenging statement, "show me a people in rebellion, and I will show them a government worthy of death."

Japan's Record in Korea.

H. J. Mullett-Merrick writes in the *Asiatic Review*, which by the way is edited and controlled by Europeans, that Japan incorporated Korea, with her full consent into the Japanese empire.

Centuries of corruption among the governing class had produced a people mentally debased, without even elementary education, sullen, in the direst straits of poverty, and undoubtedly the most thriftless people in the inhabited world. Yet this people has been physically and morally stiffened in ten short years to desire its independence. Not a bad record for Japan!

The writer describes what Japan has done for Korea in the way of providing her with up-to-date railways, post and telegraph system, telephone service and electric light, new industries, harbours, and modern educational institutions. Agriculture has been developed. "Another England and Scotland was their professed aim and object." The Japanese thought "they would be able to produce a second United Kingdom." But "Japan originally made a mistake in striving for assimilation rather than union." ".....they started with a military administration, and they discriminated between Japanese and Koreans."

Indian Jute.

In the same Review Sir Charles McLeod thus concludes his article on Indian Jute :

The packing business was formerly in the hands of Bengalis, but with two exceptions this

part of the trade has passed into the hands of Marwarris, outside, of course, of the European balers, such as Ralli Bros., Duffus, Steel, and the Chittagong and Naraingunge companies.

Normally jute is the cheapest fibre for providing bags to carry the produce of nearly the whole world. It carries all the valuable wool and grain from our Australasian colonies, from America, South America, and, indeed, any quarter of the world where grain and oil-seeds are produced. It is used for the internal carriage of goods in every part of the globe, for covering cotton bales, tarpaulins, carpets, and even shirts are made from it in Dundee. Hem Chandra Kar, in his official report on jute issued many years ago, gives the following interesting varieties of uses to which jute was put in the Midnapur district: (1) Gunny bags; (2) string, rope, and cord; (3) *kampa*, a net-like bag for carrying wood or hay on bullocks; (4) *chat*, a strip of stuff for tying bales of cotton or cloth; (5) *shika*, a kind of hanging shelf for little earthen pots; (6) *dulina*, a floor-cloth; (7) *beera*, a small circular stand for wooden plates, used particularly in the poojahs; (8) brushes for painting and white-washing; (9) *ghunshi*, a waist-band worn next to the skin; (10) *gochh-dari*, a hair-band worn by women; (11) *mukbar*, a net-bag used as a muzzle for cattle; (12) *parchula*, false hair worn by players; (13) *rakhi-bandhan*, a slender arm-band worn at the Rakhi-poonnima festival; (14) *dhup*, small incense-sticks used at poojahs; (15) *dola*, a swing on which infants are rocked to sleep. It was, as we know, extensively used for sand-bags in the late war. It has no real rival, and is not likely to have as far as one can see.

It is a great disgrace to Bengalis that jute manufacture is practically wholly in the hands of foreigners, and it is a further disgrace to them that even the packing business has almost passed from Bengali hands into those of other Indians. The people of every province should be predominant in growing its raw materials and manufacturing them into articles of human consumption.

The Government of India have not an iota of justification for depriving Bengal of the revenue from jute. Bengal suffers in various ways for the growth and manufacture of jute. She should, at least, have the compensating advantage of the revenue derived from jute.

Democracy and Political Morality.

In the *Political Science Quarterly* Mr. James T. Shotwell of Columbia University

expresses the view that if one looks over the political history of modern Europe and of America, three main facts stand out.

There is in the first place that steady growth of representative government by means of the widening of the electorate, which now, at the close of the war, extends over practically the entire citizenship.

The scope of government has increased almost as notably as the suffrage.

One can trace the development in the multiplication of administrative offices as well as in the scope and character of legislation.

Both the extension of the suffrage and the extension of the scope of government have increased the possibilities of corruption. Personal responsibility grows ever more difficult to place. Even in the administration of single departments the impersonal tends to replace the personal, and reliance to be placed on machinery more and on individual character less. Along with this growing impersonality of government grows the increased opportunity for corrupt practices from the very enlargement of its scope.

He also suggests the remedy.

The further elimination of corruption in politics depends upon enlightenment. The chief measure of precaution on the part of any people is education, in order that it may discover where its own self-interest lies: and the only way to secure that end is by actual experience in political life, which means an ever-widening measure of democratic control.

The Hindu Theory of the State.

In the same *Quarterly* Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar compares the Hindu Theory of the State with the European and the Chinese theories, and observes that the Non-State was described in ancient India by the expression *Mātsya-nyāya*, the logic of the fish, which in the words of the Mahabharata means that should there be no ruler to wield punishment on earth "the stronger would devour the weak like fishes in water." The existence of the state implies the existence of *danda*.

Two "inseparable accidents" of the Hindu theory of the state are, first, the doctrine of *amatva* ("mine"-ness) or *svatva* (*suam*), i.e., "one's own"-ness, *proprium* or property; and secondly, the doctrine of *dharma* (i.e., law, justice and duty). And behind them both lies the doctrine of *danda* (punishment, restraint,

or sanction). Herein is to be sought the nucleus of the whole Hindu philosophy of sovereignty.

A state is a state because it can coerce, restrain, compel. Eliminate control or the coercive element from social life, and the state as an entity vanishes. *Danda* is *uberohaupt*, the very essence of statal relations. No *danda*, no state. A *danda*-less, i.e., sanctionless, state is a contradiction in terms.

Which are Smarter—Men or Women?

Dr. Dainel Starch, associate professor of Psychology at the University of Wisconsin, and lecturer on Commercial Psychology at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, has contributed to *The American Magazine* a very interesting and informing article on the respective mental capacities of men and women. Says he:—

I believe I can safely assert that there is only one great natural difference between men and women: that is *the difference in sex*. "Male and female created He them" Not "masculine and feminine", but "male and female", which is quite another matter.

The difference in sex is a matter of physical structure. And it is the primary one which applies to all men and all women. The supposed differences in mental ability and in moral traits are at least fifty per cent purely imaginary. The other fifty per cent are due to a large extent to environment and training.

I do not mean to say that there are absolutely no mental or emotional differences between men and women. What I do mean to say is that these differences are far smaller than people generally believe, and that the differences among persons of the same sex are far larger than the differences between the sexes themselves.

I anticipate that these statements will arouse a clamor of contradiction. But they are based largely on the results of scientific study—which is a pretty solid foundation; whereas, the talk one commonly hears about these sex differences is based mostly on tradition, or on unusual examples, which are striking but rare.

Without regard to whether or not the same kind of education is advisable for girls and for boys, it has been demonstrated that there is nothing in their *native mental abilities* which would prevent them from taking the same school courses, from the primary grades to the "higher education" offered by the colleges.

Men may dislike giving up the idea that, merely by virtue of their sex, they are fundamentally of superior mental power as compared with women. But the truth is that differences in intelligence are differences among *individuals*, rather than differences between the sexes. There is a very wide range of mental ability among children, for instance. But there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between the boys as boys and the girls as girls.

When it comes to adults there may seem to be such a line. But if it does exist, I think it is to a large extent the result of environment and of direct and indirect training. Just as great a difference in mental development could be produced *within* either sex.

This does not mean that there are no differences between men and women as such. But the differences which do exist are more or less superficial, and are the result of the widely different influences to which they are subjected, *because* of their difference in sex.

Twenty Rules for a Happy Marriage.

To the same magazine Dr. Frank Crane has contributed twenty rules for a happy marriage. The very first rule is:

I. GET A WHOLESOME, COMMON-SENSE IDEA OF THE SEX QUESTION.

The foundation of marriage is the sex feeling. Get out of your mind the ignorant superstition that this is wicked. It is not. It is normal, and no life is well rounded without it. Without it there would be no beautiful romance, no family, no tender and sacred relationships of father, mother, brother, and sister, no little children. It is not ugly. It is beautiful and holy.

Marriage is not a plan devised by priests or lawmakers to suppress human desires: it is an institution developed by the experience of the race, and its purpose is not to suppress, but to develop the feeling of love, in the only way that can preserve its beauty, and promote its idealism.

Married life is not a compromise with something half evil. It is the best condition under which any human being can mature his character. Any religion that frowns upon it is false. Any system of morality that conflicts with it or condemns it is dangerous and untrue.

Get this in your mind, if you want to start right.

Chastity does not necessarily mean celibacy. Our mothers are as "pure" as our sisters. It is loyalty, idealism, and unselfish devotion—not unnatural denial of natural instincts—that make the only kind of "purity" that is sound and sane.

We have no space for the exposition of the other rules. We will only mention some of them. Learn how to keep love ("the best way to preserve love is to marry and have children"); Love is Loyalty; Use commonsense, (Remember your wife or your husband is not an angel); Maintain your mutual reserves; Express your affection to each other; conversely, Don't express your disapproval or antagonism; Don't neglect constant efforts to make yourselves agreeable in dress, speech, &c.; Don't regulate (Be good yourself, that is the best way to make your wife or husband better, not to

lecture him or her on what he or she ought to be or do); Avoid the "Intimate Friend"; Manage to play together as often as possible; Cultivate your common likes; Be good, don't preach; Be equals; Have faith in each other; Live by yourselves ("As much as possible get away from relatives"); Don't take things too seriously; Have an understanding about money matters; Don't both get angry at the same time; and, finally, Let no trouble get between you.

The Community Kitchen.

Confronted with the present scarcity of domestic servants, a group of householders in Evanston, Illinois, U. S. A., has combined to establish a community kitchen, which is described in *Munsey's Magazine*. The kitchen prepares and delivers cooked food to members—delivering 500 dinners a week to private homes, with a constantly increasing list of patrons. "Though it can hardly be said, as yet, to have stood the test of time, the experiment appears to be definitely successful."

The Revival of the Highroad.

During the war, Americans found their splendid railway systems unequal to the task of carrying to the sea-board, food, munitions, &c. "In these circumstances," says *Munsey's*, "the Government officials found a new transportation means—the motor-truck." There are going to be road trains of motor lorries in the future. This implies the existence of good motor high-roads. And to that problem America has turned its attention. *India should follow suit.*

League of Nations Salaries.

Is the League of Nations an exploiting agency? A paragraph in the *Living Age* suggests the question.

Raymond Recouly reviews, in *Le Figaro*, M. Noblemare's report on the League of Nations budget. First, there is the secretary general with a salary of 600,000 francs or \$120,000 at normal exchange per annum, exempt from all income and other taxes. The under secretaries each receive 200,000

francs, or \$40,000 per annum. There is a third under secretary who gets nearly 300,000 francs. Below these gentlemen in the financial hierarchy, six directors receive salaries which range from 100,000 to 150,000 francs, or from \$20,000 to \$30,000 per annum. Below these are eight commissioners whose salaries range from 60,000 to 90,000 francs, or from \$12,000 to \$18,000 per annum. Last of all, there is a humbler host of earnest workers—all serving the good cause—at salaries ranging from \$6,000 to \$12,000. One of the most striking facts in this report is that the head of the International Labor Bureau, a British Socialist, receives a salary of 360,000 francs. A British review observes: "It is all the more galling to the penurious countries thus fleeced that rich and prosperous America, after patenting this project, should resolutely refuse to contribute a single cent to its upkeep."

Movements of Youth.

The Russian Revolution was incubated in the universities of that country. *Young Democracy* of New York asks:

How widespread and how intense is the desire of the American undergraduate for a fearless, open-minded inquiry into basic social and economic problems, carried on through the scientific approach, for the ultimate purpose of securing accurate understanding and enlightenment?

It answers:

It is true that the bulk of American undergraduates are even to-day unconscious of the great social forces operative in our society and of the consequent problems pressing upon their generation for solution. Nevertheless, a considerable number of them are seeking, in a most promising way, real light on these problems, with an evident determination to find the truth and contribute to the constructive evolution of a better society. They are approaching their task in the spirit of democracy, eager to discover the full implications of democracy in the political, educational, industrial, and international relations of the present.

Can we say this of our students, even of our "non-co-operating" students?

It appears that Japanese young people are anti-imperialistic.

Sakuzo Yoshino, Professor of Law at Tokyo Imperial University, declared in a recent address to foreign residents: "There is a growing number of young men, mostly students, who have acquired the world tendency. They are influenced by the world spirit. They are more and more taking things to heart. Take for instance the labor movement. Students are going down and living with the laboring people in order that they may study the question at first hand and get information. There are number of students who are coming to know that they must take a different attitude toward the Korean and Chinese students in Japan. They are trying to understand their thought life and to become one with them. From our point of view these are the young men who are awakening. These are the young men who are the hope of the future. . . . If the

question was put to the students as to whether or not we should withdraw from Siberia, ninety in one hundred would stand for withdrawal. If the question of giving Korea independence or complete autonomy was submitted, ninety in one hundred would say—give her independence or autonomy. If it was put to the students, 'Shall we withdraw from Shantung and give it back to China?' ninety in one hundred would say—'Yes!'—*Young Democracy*.

Youth in Scandinavia leads the way. There young people have understood the idea that the interests of one nation are the interest of another. So they have decided

to found an international fellowship of the youth of all nations which should strive to strengthen and develop the spirit of reconciliation and to cultivate, especially among the nations who fought in the great war, that spirit, which alone can safeguard the prosperity and the peace of Europe. It is with this end in view that the Committee intends to take the initial step of calling together a preliminary conference to which delegates will come, limited in number but representing the largest possible number of nations. These delegates will fix the programme for a united conference at Copenhagen, the goal of which will be to create a new International League of young people interested in social problems, marching shoulder to shoulder throughout the world ready to defend the ideal of justice, dear to the heart of international democracy.

All societies of young men or women and private persons who are interested in the aspirations and plans sketched above, are asked to communicate with the honorary secretary of the Scandinavian Committee.

HERMOD L. LANNUNG,
C/o Students' Union, Studiestræde
Copenhagen, Denmark.

Some time ago a students' convention was held in Santiago, Chile, South America, which adopted the following among other resolutions:—

Whereas it is an accepted principle that the interests of the individual should be subordinated to those of the family, and those of the family to the country, and those of the country to humanity; and whereas patriotism is a noble sentiment demanding the sacrifice of individual interests to the community; ...Therefore the convention declares:

First, that whenever international conflicts arise, the interests of the fatherland, the family, or the individual should be subordinated to the supreme interests of humanity;

Second, that we condemn in general all wars conducted against the interests of humanity and of individual peoples;

Third, that we will work to attain as an ideal, the complete and simultaneous abolition of armaments by every country.

Organizations.

The following remarks of Max Eastman in the *Liberator* ought to give food for thought to all organizations:—

It seems as though all organizations, which do not achieve within ten or fifteen years the purpose for which they were formed, begin to be more interested in themselves than they are in their purpose. That instinctive, gregarious loyalty which made them possible in the beginning makes them stiff and complacent and useless in the end. Have a split and start a new organization every ten years, might almost be a universal rule—I always realized that the essential thing was to have an organization of *those who know*. Don't call them leaders. I call them engineers.

Achievements of Bolsheviki.

Max Eastman claims for Bolshevism the following achievements:—

The first is the education of the children. In Russia every child gets food and clothing and books and amusement and a real education. And, by God, for that one thing alone I'd favor a revolution in this country!

And the second is the relief that has been given to women in motherhood. In this country we do it for thoroughbred horses and pedigreed cattle. In Russia every woman is supported for eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement. That is the work of Alexandra Kollontay—a good friend of mine—and that again is enough all by itself to justify a revolution.

The third thing is the transfer of land to the peasants. The peasants have control of the land, and of course that is a more fundamental thing.

Governments everywhere ought to forestal Bolshevism in all these directions.

Shoe-Leather from the Sea.

In U. S. A. a new and inexhaustible source of leather has been found in sea-animals like sharks, porpoises and other large inhabitants of the sea. Why should not India, which has a long sea-board, profit by the example? For details, read *Chambers's Journal* for May, 1921.

Mazzini and Nietzsche.

Elisabeth Forster-Nietzsche writes in *Neue Freie Press* of Vienna:—

Among the papers left by my brother, Friedrich Nietzsche, I found a little memorandum to the effect that the moral phrases used by a nation at different periods in its history might remain the same, but that the sentiments expressed by these phrases might completely change. He cited several examples of this.

'Among the people with whom I have lived, men are classified as good, noble, and great. The word "good" varies considerably in meaning, according to the viewpoint of the user. In fact, it is employed with contradictory meanings. "Noble" generally indicates something more than good, not extraordinary goodness, but a different quality in a good man, which places him somehow in a superior category. A "great" man in the current acceptance of the word need be neither good nor noble. I recall only one example in this century of a man to whom all three adjectives could be applied even by his enemies—Mazzini.'

A Lecture by Professor Einstein.

Non-mathematical and unscientific people like us have not the faintest definite idea of what the theory of relativity of Professor Einstein means. The following long extract, from the *Manchester Guardian*, raises a glimmer of hope that, provided we have a consummate popular lecturer among us, the theory may be shorn of some of its incomprehensibility.

'I strike my hand twice against the table,' said professor Einstein, 'one, two. What is your description of these phenomena? You are inclined to say that two knocks, at different moments, have been delivered on the same spot. Is this true? You are aware, of course, that this room, placed as it is on the earth, is moving through space; firstly, because the world is turning on its own axis; then, because the world is revolving round the sun; and then, because the solar system is itself moving through space. It was therefore, wrong to have said that two knocks were delivered on the same spot at two different times. The sameness of the spot was only relative to the room in which we were placed. And if we wanted the spot to remain the same in an absolute sense, we should have to annihilate the sense of time—that is, the two knocks would have to take place simultaneously.'

This is perfectly clear; is this Einstein the incomprehensible? He continues:

'You, therefore, see that identity of place is only possible, when the sense of time is absolutely annihilated, and that place is only relative to time. But the converse is equally true; that is to say, there is no time-sameness except when the factor of space ceases to exist.'

An exhilarating illusion of clarity comes over us. We understand the professor even before he explains. He continues:

'The simultaneity of two events is purely relative. For instance, supposing that at two points, equidistant from you, two flashes of light were to become simultaneously visible. You would be inclined to say that since light travels with a uniform speed, and the two points were equidistant from you, the outbreaks of light occurred simultaneously. But were you and were the two points of light stationary from the moment of the outbreaks of light, until the moment of the

arrival of the light at your eyes? Of course not, for the very earth is not stationary. And your motion with the earth necessarily affected the relativity of the speed of the light to yourself. You were going toward one light and away from the other, and therefore one light came faster toward you, and the other more slowly. Hence, what you saw simultaneously did not occur simultaneously.'

We become almost delirious with the joy of perfect understanding. The professor continues:

'If, on the other hand, the bodies which emitted the light, and yourself, remained relatively unchanged in position during the experiment, that is, none of you moved relatively to the others, would you still be justified in saying that the outbreaks of light occurred simultaneously? I mean for instance, if the lights were fixed on the earth, and therefore, moved through space with you. No, not even then. For all three bodies are then moving through space. You are aware that light moves with a certain fixed velocity. What is that velocity relative to? To the ether. Light radiates from a luminous point with equal velocity in all directions, but with equal velocity,—not away from the luminous point, for that itself may be in motion,—but with equal velocity in relation to a fixed point in the ether. If, therefore, the luminous body is itself moving through space, the light which is traveling in the same direction as the luminous point itself is only leaving that luminous point at a velocity equal to the velocity of light, minus the velocity of the luminous point.'

'We have taken the hypothesis that the observer is stationary relative to the luminous points in our experiment. He is, therefore, moving in the same direction as they. Now, we have seen that the light traveling from a moving luminous point in the same direction as the point, moves away from that point more slowly than the light traveling away in the opposite direction. It will, therefore, take that light longer to reach the observer if he is in front of the moving point of light, than if he is behind.'

'I will make myself clearer. Supposing there is a luminous point in space which is traveling with the same absolute velocity as light. It is clear that those rays of light which travel in the same direction as the luminous point will never leave the luminous point for the luminous point will always be catching up with them. Suppose an observer to be in front of the luminous point of light, and suppose he is stationary relative to the point of light; that is, he is moving in the same direction, with the same velocity. Then, as the rays of light never leave the luminous point in that direction, they will never reach the observer. If, however, the common velocity of the luminous point and of the observer diminishes, the light will steadily leave the luminous point and reach the observer. Conversely, if the observer is behind the luminous point, and traveling in the same direction, the ray of light would reach him with twice the velocity of light.'

'We, therefore, see that under any circumstances, when two rays of light strike the observer simultaneously, it is impossible to say that they set out simultaneously.'

'It is, therefore, impossible to establish a simultaneity of events. And similarly, and in consequence,

it is impossible to establish a measure of time. A clock moving through space in the same direction as the observer gives a different measure of time according to the relation of the line joining the clock and the observer to the line of light from the clock to the observer, and of the the velocity of their common motion to the absolute velocity of light.....'

War and Morality.

Advocates of war should read an article in the *New Statesman* entitled "Stop Thief." We give below a few brief extracts.

It is one of the difficulties of going to war, that no kit-bag was ever made that was big enough to hold the Ten Commandments.

War is, a condition of things in which the end may be good, but few of the means are. To kill is not a good thing in itself; to deceive is not a good thing in itself. Yet these are two of the soldier's chief duties. In spite of this, elated clergymen persisted for a time in saying that the war was making

everybody nobler. They were not content to justify war: they must also deify it. This was partly due to natural reverence for the passion of self-sacrifice, examples of which ennoble even the meanest war.

Of all the losses we have suffered through the war none is more noticeable than the loss of honesty. We are less honest in word than we were ten years ago; we are less honest in deed.

Just as we have now an unprecedentedly grave danger to national health, arising from the lowered sexual morality of war-time, so we have this unprecedentedly wide post-war failure of the good English habit of not stealing.

The statesman of today may not be aware of his kinship with the man who pilfers goods from the London docks, but spiritually he is his brother. And we who keep the statesman in power are responsible for continuing the reign of dishonesty, whose A is a lie spoken on the Front Bench and whose Z is a parcel sneaked from a goods train. There you have one of the chief problems with which men are faced all over the earth to-day—to choose between a world of mutual trust and a world of mutual prey.

METHODS OF RESEARCH WORK IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

SOMETIME ago the educated public of India were startled by the following statement from the pen of Professor Jadunath Sarkar, the eminent Historian and Research Scholar :—

"I am not fit to be ranked with the band of Research P.R.S.'s and Ph. D.'s of the new Calcutta School. My method of work is also different. (*Modern Review*, February 1921, p. 240).

I believe all graduates of the University of Calcutta are proud of the achievements of Professor Jadunath Sarkar in the field of Historical Research and it is really most astonishing to find that not a single voice has been raised to enquire why this eminent Scholar refuses to be ranked with the band of Research Scholars who have risen recently into prominence in the same University. It is a matter of very great regret, a matter which deserves detailed enquiry and serious consideration on the part of all members, old and new, of the University of Calcutta. Jadunath Sarkar needs no introduction to the Indian Public. In Europe his name ranks very high and after the death of William Irvine he

is regarded as the only authority on Indian History of the Mughal Period. From the veiled references in Professor Sarkar's rejoinder to Mr. Panchanan Mitra's criticism of his article on "University Problems Of To-Day" it is very difficult for a man who is not conversant with the different undercurrents of thought or the deep-water policies of the different factions of the Calcutta University to understand what impelled an eminent scholar like Professor Jadunath Sarkar to make such a sweeping statement.

From a footnote on page 238 of the February issue of the *Modern Review* it is to be understood that Professor Sarkar's remarks apply only to the arts section of the Faculty of Post-graduate Studies of the Calcutta University. From what appears in the papers about the progress of the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University one understands that very good research work is being done by that body. The Ph. D.'s and the P. R. S.'s of the Calcutta University include such eminent names as Professor Radha

Kumud Mukerji, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., Dr. Gauranganath Banerji, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., Professor Rameschandra Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., Professor Panchanan Mitra, M. A., P. R. S., etc. There are lesser luminaries such as the holders of the Calcutta University Jubilee Prize Medal and other prizes for original research. The educated public of India have received another shock from the statement in the notes of the April issue of the Modern Review, as it is generally believed that the Editor of the Modern Review is responsible for these notes. It is stated there,

"In Sir Ashutosh's report to the Senate Dr. Ramdas Khan's monograph on *Society in Evolution* published by the Calcutta University is numbered among the monographs which he praises as constituting 'valuable' contributions to the advancement of our knowledge. Why is this monograph still withheld from a public thirsting for the advancement of its knowledge *a la Goldighi*? Who are the judges that certified Dr. Khan's book as original addition to human knowledge? Who ordered it to be printed at the cost of our University?"

Further on it is stated :

"The Bengal public..... have a right to know the name of these fleeting spectres of humanity who direct, judge and reward the research work of that University and stamp such monographs with the seal of their approval."

If Prof. Jadunath Sarkar thinks it to be beneath his dignity to be associated or ranked in the same degree with the new generation of Research Scholars produced by the University of Calcutta or with those who have in recent years obtained Premchand Roychand Scholarships or Ph. D. degrees, then there must be some serious reasons for it. As one of his students and as one of the very few people who received training in methods of critical research work personally from him as well as from his publications, I refuse to believe that a man like Jadunath Sarkar can make such a sweeping statement unless he is impelled to do so by reasons which have not been made public. It is therefore high time that all members and graduates of the University of Calcutta took up this subject and investigated it thoroughly. The University of Calcutta

is entering on a new phase of existence. It has been announced in the papers that in future our *alma mater* will have no connection with the Government of India and that His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay has reappointed Sir Asutosh Mukherji as a Vice-Chancellor of that body. It is to be hoped therefore that the days of internal struggle will now be over and the second period of Sir Asutosh's Vice-Chancellorship will be a period of unbroken triumph for himself and the University. If mistakes have been committed in the past, let us hope that the old Vice-Chancellor in his new regime will correct them and the band of faithful men, University Professors, Lecturers, and Research Scholars, who have gathered round him, will profit by their experiences in the past in order to avoid such errors in the future. But in order to do so we must find out what these errors are and if we are at fault we must acknowledge our faults with an open heart so that the success of a national institution may be assured. It is therefore necessary to start our enquiries with the statement made by the Editor of the Modern Review in the April issue of that journal: "Who are the judges, who certified products of research work, submitted for examinations by scholars to the University of Calcutta?" If they are thorough masters of the subject which they have to examine, then why should a man like Professor Jadunath Sarkar, whose contributions to human knowledge have been certified to be genuine efforts towards the advancement of learning by men who are noted for their intimate knowledge of the particular subject, refuse to rank himself with scholars? Will any member of the Calcutta University therefore kindly produce a list of examiners who have examined the theses submitted for examination by scholars who have obtained the Premchand Roychand Scholarship or the Ph. D. degree of the Calcutta University during the last 15 years?

R. D. BANERJI.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Orya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH.

THE NIGHANTU AND THE NIRUKTA, *Introduction* by Laksman Sarup, M. A., (Panj.), D. Phil. (Oxon.) Oxford University Press. Pp. 80.

Yaska's Nirukta together with the Nighantu is a well-known treatise on Vedic Etymology, Philology, and Semantics and as such it is indispensable for every student of Vedic literature. Rudolph Roth's edition of this work was issued three quarters of a century ago (1852), but it was not free from defects. The other two editions deserving mention are of Bibliotheca Indica (1882-91) and the Venkateshvara Press, Bombay (1969 V. S.); but these two are not satisfactory in various respects. So that want of a new and critical edition of that valuable work was being keenly felt in the field of the study of the Vedic lore. We are, therefore, extremely glad to see it now supplied by Dr. Sarup who deserves our thanks for the work he has accomplished successfully—so far as can be judged from the introduction thereto.

The volume before us contains only the Introduction to the main work. The author, we are told there, has critically edited the text in original Sanskrit and translated it for the first time into English, giving exegetical and critical notes and adding various indexes and appendices as well. The whole work was presented by him as the thesis for his degree of D. Phil. to the Oxford University and it was accepted by it. Owing, however, to the high cost of printing at present, only the Introduction has now been brought out.

The present edition which is prepared from a number of MSS. and different printed editions throws a flood of light on the text of both the Nighantu and the Nirukta. Dr. Sarup has clearly shown in his Introduction that there are now two recensions of the Nighantu, one shorter and the other longer which is obviously a later addition. And it is a fact which was hitherto quite unknown to scholars. The editor has further pointed out, for the first time, by a careful examination of the materials at his disposal that the text of the Nirukta, too, 'has been gradually expanded by the addition of short passages, chiefly in etymological explanations, which easily lent themselves to such interpolations.' As appears from the detailed account of the MSS. of the text a few samples of which have been given in the Introduction, there are three stages of interpolations in the Nirukta and the editor thinks that this expansion can be traced down to the thirteenth century A. D. Thus one should be cautious in making Yaska responsible

for many passages and the numerous absurd derivations contained therein now commonly attributed to him.' Indeed it is a great thing found out by the editor, for which every reader will be grateful to him.

After giving the textual criticism the editor deals to some extent with what Yaska has contributed to Etymology, Philology, and Semantics. And the last few pages have been devoted to early anti-Vedic scepticism. The question has been raised in connection with the views of Kautsa in regard to the authority of the Vedas as alluded to by Yaska in the Nirukta. Kautsa maintains that the Vedic stanzas are meaningless ('अनर्थका मन्त्राः'). He may not be the originator of the movement, as Dr. Sarup holds; but it is beyond the shade of any doubt that he was a strong leader of it. Evidently its origin is 'to be sought in sectarianism,' but it is certain that that sect is not of those who accept the authority of the Vedas. The author of the Gopatha Brahmana does not belong to that sect, for according to him the Atharva Veda has a status not lower than that of the other three ones. Thus the two stories quoted by Dr. Sarup from the Gopatha Brahmana have no connection whatever with the anti-Vedic scepticism, the object of both of them being only to establish the superiority of the Brahma- or Atharva-Veda to the other three Vedas—Rig, Yajus, and Saman.

More than once Yaska refers the views of the Naidanas, but it is not yet quite clear to us who these Naidanas were. The editor's short explanation ("Specialists in primary causes" p. 55) is very vague.

तृक् does not mean 'a knife' (p. 55) though it is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', but it means 'a spindle'.

As regards the notice of Prakritism in Vedic words by Yaska, Dr. Sarup has found only one word, viz., कुटस्थ = कतस्थ (p. 55); but more words can be cited, as for example, कीकटाः = किंकटाः (Nir. VI. 32); कच्छकः Yaska explains by saying कच्छते वाँ (Nir. IX. 32), and evidently it is derived from कर्तकः (√ कृत्); कुहूः = गृहूः, as Yaska says 'गृहूते' (√ गृह्) clearly here is the influence of what is called the Paisachi Prakrit in Prakrit grammars.

It is not *darā sayā* (दरा शया) as is printed (p. 68) but *darasayā* (दरशया).

It is a well-known fact in every language 'that words of different origin often assume the same form'. It is, therefore, quite uncalled for to give examples covering more than full four pages of big size (pp. 85-62).

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

IDEALS AND REALITIES OR STUDIES IN EDUCATION AND ECONOMICS, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., Litt. D. Published by the Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras.

This book of over 800 pages consists of two distinct parts, which are really two separate treatises, that have nothing in common with such other except common authorship and inclusion within the covers of the same volume. The first part (300 pages) gives a detailed history of English education during the years 1689-1750, and the second part (500 pages) treats of Indian Banking and Currency. The name of the book is significant: the author's aim seems to have been to find out to what extent actual realisation has approximated the ideal in two such remote and divergent fields of human activity as the search for a national system of education in England and that for a stable currency system in India.

The author was for a time special research lecturer to the University of London at King's College, and his history of English education seems to be the outcome of his research work during this period. The reviewer is not competent to pronounce any opinion on the value of the author's research which covers a little known period of English educational history when, except such education as was imparted in the older universities, no attempt had yet been made to place the system of education on a broad or popular basis; when education had not yet freed itself from the shackles of ecclesiasticism; and when its very existence depended on the good will of charitable individuals and institutions, or the profit-making instinct of pedagogues who had themselves little education to boast of. But he appears to have taken great pains to ransack all available literature on the subject and presents the results of his investigations in the form of a series of pictures of the educational life of a bygone age. In this attempt "to reconstruct the past of those institutions, of those effective ideas, which have shaped education as it has been given actually and in fact," the author appears to have attained considerable success. At least that is the opinion of Prof. Adamson, the great educationist, who writes a brief Introduction to the book. The last Section gives a brief sketch of the foundation of Charity Schools by Christian Missionaries in the Madras and Bengal Presidencies during this period, which, along with other private efforts, laid the foundation of western education in India.

The second part of the book deals with the usual subjects relating to Indian banking and currency; but in their discussion the author brings a new outlook and a breadth of view that are really refreshing. There is a number of excellent chapters on the Production of the Precious Metals; History of European Banking in India; The Nature and Constitution of Indian Indigenous Banking Institutions; The Gold Exchange

Standard in Foreign Countries; Indian Currency in War Time; and the Fluctuations of the Exchange Value of the Rupee. The author very rightly observes that Indian currency problems should not be studied as isolated phenomena but as part of contemporary world movements, and he fully explains the principles that have, at different periods, been responsible for the peculiar developments of Indian currency. We agree with him that a more thorough grasp of the underlying principles would have saved the Government of India from many of those mistakes that have darkened its fair reputation in the handling of currency matters in the past. The author does not pretend to find any solution for the present fluctuations of Indian exchange, which are but a local phase of similar fluctuations all the world over and which have been the product of quite abnormal factors, but he believes in the future of the gold exchange standard, towards which, owing to the scarcity of the yellow metal and the multiplication of paper money, the whole civilised world is now in fact, though not in name, gradually tending. The two chapters on indigenous and early European banking in India bring into vivid contrast the honesty and efficiency of Indian indigenous banking institutions—probably the oldest of their kind in the world—and the corruption and mismanagement prevalent in early European banks in this country, which were largely responsible for the suspicious attitude of the Indian public towards banks in general—a suspicion which has not altogether disappeared even today.

ECONOMICUS.

THE METHOD OF PHILOSOPHY—by G. R. Malkani, M.A. (Advaitic Series no. 2). Published by the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, E. Khandesh. Pp. 4+45. Price not mentioned.

It contains three chapters, the subjects dealt with being (i) the criterion of truth, (ii) the critique of Reason and (iii) Prof. Zimmermann's criticism of Advaitism. According to the author "there can be no criterion of truth, proceeding by the evidence of the senses." The dream is as true as the waking consciousness (p. 4).

The objective distinction of the true and the false is arbitrary and conventional. The sensuous knowledge is uncertainty itself (p. 11).

The intellect can give us no help. It depends upon the senses for materials. It can correct their evidence not for truth or falsehood but only for useful action. It goes out of its way, when it gives to its judgments an intrinsic value for discriminating the true from the false' (p. 8).

According to the author, there can be no court of appeal that can give us an undisputed criterion of truth.

The author is a thoroughgoing Sankarite and has adopted his abstract monism. He says—"It does not say what is true and what is false; where we make this distinction, both are equally meaningless, and a real absolute criterion is unthinkable; but where we do get to this criterion, there likewise, the true and the false lose all meaning, for the self is the truth of them both. I am the first truth, the testimony of all testimonies, the proof of all proofs,.....the Incontrovertible I. I am the only reality. In me, truth becomes truthless" (p. 13).

The author has landed us into the island of Solipsism. But he retorts—"Advaitism is too delicate a discipline for the average mind; we can never teach by argument what to call real and what to call unreal, even as the blind cannot be made to see by reasoning" (p. 45).

We are glad, there is at least one man who is *Chakshusman* (चक्षुस्मान्).

In the third chapter our author has analysed Prof. Zimmermann's criticism of Advaitism and has pronounced it to be false. How he can pass such a judgment, passes our understanding. Does he say that to his Self truth and falsity are equally meaningless? Or we must take him at his word—and pronounce his judgment to be meaningless.

His attitude toward Professor Zimmermann is patronising.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

URDU.

SWARAJ, by Syed Najib Ashraf Nadir. Published by Messrs. Mohd. Dwais and Abdul Hafiz, Azamgarh. Pp. 144. Price eight annas.

Mahatma Gandhi's booklet entitled 'Hind Swaraj' or 'Indian Home Rule' has by now been rendered into several Indian vernaculars. This is an Urdu translation of the said treatise. There is also another Urdu translation of the same by some Meerut gentleman, but the one under review is superior to it in every respect. Barring a few lapses, it is on the whole accurate idiomatic and elegant. We wish the translator could have seen his way to add an 'introduction' of his own and to append some important explanatory foot-notes. It is also regrettable that the translation has omitted altogether the author's preface and his very useful appendices. The get-up is fairly good.

A. M.

GUJARATI.

RAS GITO રસ ગૌતો by Batu Umarvadia, printed at the Anavil Printing Press, Surat. Thick cardboard, pp. 34. Price As. 12 (1920).

The book does not exactly consist wholly of songs ગૌતો. There are prose pieces, and also songs, some modelled on those of Mrs. Browning's, all consisting of flights of imagination and couched in the language of rhapsody, which, when pressed, betray merely the embodiment of commonplace ideas.

BIRTH PLACE OF SWAMI DAYANAND (સ્વામી દયાનંદ સરસ્વતી ના જન્મસ્થાના દૌનો નિર્ણય), by Tribhovanadas Damodardas Gadha, printed at the Damodar Printing House, Rajkote. Thick cardboard, pp. 100. Price Re. 1, (1920).

The late Babu Debendranath Mukherji had devoted his life to elucidating several obscure factors in the life of the founder of the Arya Samaj, Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He was a familiar figure in Gujarat and in Bombay, where he was found doing everything that lay in the power of an enthusiast to reach first-

hand the sources of a first class biography of the Swamiji. As a prelude to it, he first published a short sketch of his life, and thereafter devoted himself to find out, firstly, the true birth place and secondly, the family from which Dayanand came. This book is a translation of the manual he published embodying the results of his researches, which is a sad chronicle of perseverance met at every time by the apathy of Native State officials in helping a genuine student of biography. In spite of rebuffs, the Babu persisted and was able to find out at least materials which might serve as a groundwork for a future chronicler. Needless to say, his greatest desire to write a detailed biography of the Swamiji remained unfulfilled, because of his untimely death. The book furnishes an interesting account of his tours and inquiries.

ASHTADAS-SLOKI GITA (અષ્ટાદશ શ્લોકી ગૌતો) by Kalidas Vasanji Daye, B.A. Cardboard, pp. 79. Printed at the Hindustan Press, Fort, Bombay. Unpriced (1921).

Under the guise of presenting the Gita in eighteen slokas, the writer has managed to give details of the life of a boy, who was reading for his Arts Examination and who died suddenly at that young age. It is thus a production which could prove of interest or use primarily to the boy's relatives and in an infinitesimal degree to the public at large.

PANDAV GUPTA નિવાસ (પાંડવ-ગુપ્ત-નિવાસ) by Ishwarlal Veniavala, M.A., with a Preface by Manjula Dave, M.A., printed at the Granthodaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 78. Price As. 12 (1920).

This is a translation of a drama written originally in Sanskrit by Mahakavi Bhas. The writer has written an intelligent introduction bearing on the times of Bhas, his language, etc., and has further tried to elucidate the subject by writing a commentary also.

SHRI MAHABHARAT, PART III, by Manilal Ichchharam Desai, B. A., Editor of the "Gujarati," and printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth cover, with full page illustrations, pp. 1268. Price Rs. 20 (1921).

The third part of this work brings to a close a *magnum opus* in Gujarati. Planned on original and bold lines by the late editor of the 'Gujarati,' Mr. Ichchharam, fates decreed that the finishing touches to it should be put by his son, and he has done all that fell on his shoulders to do, in the right spirit, and so well that one is unable to distinguish any line of cleavage between the work of the father and the work of the son. In reviewing the second part of this translation several years ago, we had emphasized one of its special features, viz., that every verse, before it was translated, was subjected to a critical examination with the aid of several shastris, and collected, in the light of the many original texts, which the editor's library was

lucky enough to possess. That feature has not been abandoned in this part also, and the result is, not a mercenary translation by a paid hack, but an intelligent production, worthy of a place in every student's library. We congratulate the editor, the press, and the staff, on bringing out a set of volumes, artistic and at the same time useful, in every way.

K. M. J.

TULANATMAK BHASHASHASTRA OR COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, by Pritamlal N. Kachchi. B.A. Publisher: Mr. M. C. Kothari, Baroda. Pages 20+170. Price Re. 1-4.

This is the 38th volume of Shree 'Sayajee Sahitya-mala' series inaugurated by the princely patronage of H. H. Maharaja Gaikwar. As the *raison d'être* of his book the author points to the general and widespread desire among educated Indians to have one common language for the whole of India, and to his own belief that this goal can be reached by facilitating the study of the chief vernaculars arisen out of the Aryan stock, viz., Hindi, Gujarathi, Marathi and Bengali. With this end in view he has studied these vernaculars and has succeeded in showing a close family resemblance between them in the inflection of nouns, conjugation of verbs, etc. But this, though an outcome of considerable patient research, can hardly justify the title of the book. For 'Comparative Philology' covers a wider field, and, as a science, must deal not only with resemblances but must classify them and evolve certain common principles and rules governing them. Mr. Kachchi has done nothing of the kind, and this is a serious omission, which takes away a good deal of merit from his work and mars its usefulness. The book is not altogether free from mistakes. For instance, Prakrit मिठ्ठम्, Hindi मीठा or Gujarathi मिठ are not derived from Sanskrit मृष्टम् as the author has stated on page 134, but from मिष्टम्. Similarly the Marathi word किडा can trace its origin to the Sanskrit word क्रीडक, but the author does not seem to know it. Such minor mistakes apart, Mr. Kachchi's book has no doubt considerable merit which must appeal strongly to the students of comparative philology and its perusal will, it is hoped, in some measure facilitate their study of Indian vernaculars.

V. G. APTE.

MARATHI.

1. CHANDRAGUPTA, by S. G. Narawane.
2. BHENIS NAGARCHA VYAPARI, S. G. Narawane.
3. SAKUNTALA, by V. R. Soholkar, B.A.

Published by S. G. Narawane at the Aryan Education Society's High School, Girgaum, Bombay. Price 4 annas each. 1920-21.

This series of the 'Vachaniya Gosthi' consisting of tales from the standard classics, is very well-planned. The first is the story of Chandragupta the Maurya, retold from the Marathi novel by H. N. Apte. The others are tales from Shakespeare and Kalidasa. Life-sketches of the original authors and a glossary of

difficult words appended to the tales will be found useful to those who cannot have access to them. Though the style of these tales is no cumbrous, yet it should have been more flowing. It will not doubt be a joy to the juvenile readers to go through these interesting tales.

RAMES BASU.

HINDI.

BHARATVARSHA MEN JATIYA SIKSHA, by Jay Chandra Vidyalkara. Gurukul, Kangri. Pp. 95. Price 6 annas. 1919.

The author of this treatise takes a very sane and wide view of National Education. He wrote it long before the present movement. Some of the suggestions are worthy of our serious consideration. The author was at the Gurukul for 13 years but his views are not blinded by any sectional spirit. The style of the book is simple. The author has coined some new words. This book will amply repay perusal.

RAMES BASU.

HINDI MAHABHARAT MIMANSA or a study of the Mahabharat in Hindi. Publisher: Messrs. G. V. Kiplunkar & Co. Poona City. Pages 614.

This is a Hindi translation of the original Marathi work written by Mr. G. V. Vaidya, M.A., L.L.B., and published by the same publishers two years ago. The work is a treasure-house of information, skilfully extracted, on politics, religion, philosophy, social, religious and industrial institutions, geography, science, etc., of the Mahabharat age. Mr. Vaidya's views may not coincide with the old orthodox views on the one hand, and on the other, with those of eminent scholars like Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Weber, MacDonald and Hoffmann. But it cannot be gainsaid that Mr. Vaidya's opinions are not formed haphazard, but are the result of deep study, and intrinsic evidence is not wanting in the justification of them. Lay readers will no doubt find the work to be quite enchanting and sufficient to give them an insight into the subject. The translator too has done his work quite satisfactorily.

V. G. APTE.

GATA PACHAS BARSON ME HINDI KI DASA (गत पचास वर्षों में हिन्दी की दशा) :—It is a pamphlet dealing with the contributions of Behar to the Hindi literature for the last 50 years by means of the publication of Hindi journals, books, etc. It contains 44 pages.

SAMSAR SAMKAT :—A political treatise in Hindi containing in clear terms the international relations of the different European countries, the effects of the last Great War on the world and last, though not the least, prophecy of a great war in near future. It is a very useful book for a politician and has been written by Pt. Krishnakant Malvi. It is a unique book in Hindi literature which is extremely poor in political literature. Its price is Rs. 1-8 and it is published by the Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad. It is a book of 143 pages.

HINDI SIDDHANTA PRAKASH :—A booklet containing different questions and answers in connection with Hindi language and literature. In a word it is a depository of the sources of informations about Hindi language, its origin and divisions, etc. It has been

edited with the help of the opinions of different Hindi poets and has been published by Arrah Nagri Pracharini Sabha. It contains 93 pages. Price -As. 8 only.

ARRAH PURATATTWA—It is a booklet of 40 pages. It contains the accounts of the ancient places and re-

mains of Arrah. It is the fruit of great researches on the part of the author, Pandit Shakul N. Pandey and has been published by Arrah Nagri Pracharini Sabha.

G. SINGH,

A POEM ABOUT A GRAVE

(By an American boy of 10 or 11 years of age.)

My mother died when I was a boy,
And she was put in a big grave,
And then there was no worse sorrow
Than the time the two men put the sand on
And when the snow laid its thick blanket on.
O that was a great sorrow to them!
I cried day after day and night after night
And week after week.

NOTES

A Salutory Law.

New Zealand was originally founded as a penal colony by Great Britain; but it has of recent years gained a reputation as one of the most carefully and completely governed territories in the world. The successful efforts it has made for the saving of the lives of infants and for child welfare are unsurpassed by any other country. According to the *Literary Digest* a law passed by this reformed convict colony, and made effective on May 1st of this year, orders that "no motion-picture film depicting thieving, robbery, murder, or suicide shall be permitted to be shown in the Dominion." Such a law should be passed in India in the next autumn session of Legislative Assembly and Council of State.

The progress made by a quondam convict colony should teach caste-ridden India that "once an outcast always an outcast" is not a law of God, and that it is not even a law of man in any modern country except India.

An International University.

The Nation and the Athenæum of April 9, 1921, has an article on Rabindra-

nath Tagore's idea of an International University. It is not exactly a mere idea or dream. Its nucleus is already in existence in the form of the Visva-Bharati of Santiniketan, Bolpur. *The Nation* attaches great importance to the ideal. It writes :

While the whole world is at war, it is some comfort to hear even one voice, however still and small, persistently murmuring of peace. Amid the turmoil and shouting one may still catch the quiet words of an Indian pleading the cause of understanding, friendliness, and forbearance, as though they, and not devastating conflicts, were the most natural things in the world. In such a spirit it is that Rabindranath Tagore has been moving, almost silently, from country to country, and from hemisphere to hemisphere, insinuating his conception of an International University. He has received the kind of welcome that might have been expected for any Heavenly Visitant in the hell to which man has reduced mankind. Suspected as a seditious agitator, dogged by Government spies, impugned by official detraction, or, at the best, scornfully tolerated as an impracticable dreamer, he has trodden the well-worn and dolorous path of the spirit. But wherever he has been, in Europe or the United States, that one voice, however still and small, has persistently murmured of peace, and by his conception of an International University he has endeavored to clear one thin track towards it.

The track leads up a Hill of Difficulty. At the

outset it encounters the vast obstacle of official education imposed upon the Indian peoples by their English rulers. No one should make light of that system. It has given the "educated classes" of India a common tongue, by which they can understand each other, no matter from what Indian race they spring. It has fostered the sense of Indian unity, and has enabled the educated Indian to move freely about the world. It has revealed to him the real wealth of English literature, and the peculiarities of English morality and custom. So long as our great political writers were admitted into the official curriculum, it encouraged the growth of freedom, and a belief in the advantages of self-government. But, after all, it is a relic of the complacent and self-satisfied Victorian age, when our statesmen confidently expected that any people trained upon the English model would soon become as good as the English, and what human being could hope for more? We all know the result—the inevitable result—of a foreign culture imposed upon a race of widely different mind and habit.

Some Defects of a Foreign Culture.

The writer in the *Nation* then proceeds to particularise some of the undesirable results of a foreign culture in India.

Some of us have known the educated Indian of twenty or thirty years ago—the sort of man who prided himself upon his power of writing classical English, of imitating the English in every way, of composing verses in imitation of Swinburne or Shelley, and of pouring out English eloquence in the rolling periods of Gladstone, or still more antiquated orators. Under the pressure of an education that alone promise success, many became separated in thought and language from their own people; like that great jurist, Rash Behari Ghose, for instance, whose death was announced the other day. So intimate with English literature was he that his converse was a succession of quotations; so endued with English political thought that his speeches read like Pitt's; but he knew little of his country's mind, and could hardly address his fellow-countrymen in his native tongue.

Many of us have known that Indian whose mind was filled with fine passages from our poets and rhetoricians, and who poured out Burke, or Mill, or John Morley (not always to illustrate the consistency of the Secretary of State for India), but in whom we felt that too much had been crammed by heart, and we missed the perfect intimacy which comes only from the ancestral mind and mother's milk.

The writer supports his position by quoting some observations of Lajpat Rai and Rabindranath Tagore. The latter "shows that throughout India there is

not a single university established in modern times where a foreign or a native-born student can properly become acquainted with the best products of the Indian mind." "...his complaint is natural, and because of this false ideal in a Western education imposed upon the Eastern mindvarious attempts have been made to restore the ancient Indian method in an extreme fulness. Such an attempt may be seen in the Gurukula near Hardwar,....." Of this institution a brief description has been given.

Mahatma Gandhi and Modern Civilization.

The *Nation* writer next passes in review Mahatma Gandhi's idealism.

It was the same feeling of reaction against an alien method which prompted Mahatma Gandhi to declare at a public meeting in Mirzapur Square last January:—

"I am thankful to modern civilization for teaching me that if I want India to rise to its highest height I must tell my countrymen frankly that, after years and years of experience of modern civilization, I have learnt one lesson from it, and that is that we must shun it at all costs.....I am here to tell my educated leaders that my experience of modern civilization worked at its best told me in emphatic terms in the year 1908: 'God save India from that modern curse!'"

We all know to what a height of influence that reaction against our Western mind has brought Mahatma Gandhi—an influence almost omnipotent now over Mohammedans as well as Hindus. Even men who do not agree with his policy of Non-Co-operation, admit his power and his spiritual zeal. Rabindranath Tagore speaks of him as "the greatest of living men." Lajpat Rai, speaking in Bombay upon his return to India last year, exclaimed, "I challenge the whole world to produce another man like Mahatma Gandhi!" Most people recognize the power of the Non-Co-operation doctrine. Nearly all feel the attraction of a method so extreme, so natural, and, in appearance, so free from violence. In a letter to the Duke of Connaught last February, Mahatma Gandhi wrote:—

"The people have understood the secret and the value of non-violence as they have never done before. He who runs may see that this is a religious and purifying movement. We are leaving off drink, we are trying to rid India of the curse of Untouchability. We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel splendor, and by reverting to the spinning-wheel reviving the ancient and the poetic simplicity of life. We hope thereby to sterilize the existing harmful institutions."

This idealism has kindled the whole of India as no political teaching has kindled her before

not even in the Swadeshi time of fifteen years ago. Mahatma Gandhi is a Jain, and as such is opposed to violence of any kind, and too scrupulous of life to kill the tiniest insect.

Mahatma Gandhi, by the way, is not a Jain.

A Criticism and an Appreciation.

Having given Mahatma Gandhi his due, the writer in the *Nation* sounds a critical note and concludes with an appreciation of Rabindranath's ideal.

But yet is not Non-Co-operation—the Boycott, the “Sending to Coventry” upon an enormous scale—in itself a kind of mental and moral violence? What schoolboy would not rather be battered every day than “barred”? To hold no communication with the ruling race is a vengeance more terrible than rebellion, and Rabindranath Tagore seems to show a truer zeal for peace and goodwill by founding an International University in which even the English will be welcomed among the other Europeans. The University is gradually growing out of the school which Tagore founded himself some twenty years ago near Bolpur, a hundred miles north of Calcutta, in healthy, beautiful, though barren surroundings, remote from the disturbance of towns. It is called “Santiniketan,” or “The Home of Peace,” and there the restless European may slowly, and amid the natural scenes, absorb whatever may be permanent or of value to his own soul in the wisdom, music, and arts of the Indian East, while unconsciously diffusing the best thought and mental methods of his home. Nor is the University merely an institute for books and learning. It co-operates with the villages around to cultivate the land, breed the sacred cattle, spin clothes, crush oil from the oil-seeds, and produce the few other products needed here below by man. By man and woman! For women students are admitted on equal terms, an incalculable advance for India; and Tagore's next step is to build one resident house for the men who will come from Europe, and one for the women. In such an endeavor lies the way of peace. For, as he says, “the mission of education is to help us realize the inner principle of unity in all the knowledge and activities of our social and spiritual being.”

Perhaps it should be made clear that Rabindranath's scheme of education provides for the direct imparting of modern or western thought and science, in addition to the Western man “unconsciously diffusing the best thought and mental methods of his home.” For the Poet rightly holds that neither the ancient or

eastern nor the modern or western ideal of life, culture, civilization, is perfect and complete in itself. For perfection we are to look to a future and ever-growing organic synthesis of ideals.

In order that Mahatma Gandhi may not be misunderstood, it should be stated that “to hold no communication with the ruling race” is not, so far as we have been able to understand him, his absolute and unconditional resolve. He will communicate and co-operate with that race, as soon as it ceases to be the *ruling* race, as soon as individuals belonging to that race can be met and dealt with as political equals, as soon, that is to say, as Swaraj has been actually achieved. Even at present his personal relations with Englishmen, where they exist, are cordial, and in the sphere of public affairs he finds no difficulty in co-operating with Englishmen who do not assume or advocate racial superiority and who are not officials. His antagonism is directed not against the men but against the system of enslavement and exploitation embodied in them. It is certainly very difficult to keep men and methods, persons and systems, separate in thought, feeling and practice; but that difficulty Mahatma Gandhi appears to have himself surmounted as far as it is humanly possible, and he calls upon and expects other Indians to do the same.

“The Greatest of Living Men.”

Rabindranath Tagore's and Lajpat Rai's estimates of Mahatma Gandhi have been quoted above. *The New York Call* of April 11, 1921, summarises a sermon preached by Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes in which “M. K. Gandhi, leader of the non-co-operation movement of India was declared to be ‘the greatest man now living in the world.’”

Gandhi was named by Mr. Holmes in preference to Nicolai Lenin and Romain Rolland, who were also mentioned.....because he combined the practical achievement of one with the idealism of the other.

“Like Lenin, Gandhi is the organizer of a revolution,” Mr. Holmes asserted. “He is just as effective as Lenin in the practical work tha

has to be done. At the same time he rises to the heights of idealism attained by Rolland.

"He is a man who can be truly described not so much as a mere statesman, but as a leader of religion like Buddha or Christ."

Mr. Holmes also paid tribute to General Jan Smuts of South Africa, the only man, he said, who has "even the rags and tatters of a reputation left from the ruin of the war....."

The principles of passive resistance and non-violence advocated by Gandhi were declared by Mr. Holmes to be the only method which could succeed in freeing India.

"To the extent that this movement spreads from village to village, the British Government will be paralysed," he said.

Not only is Gandhi trying to paralyze the British Government, but he is building up a new social structure within the non-co-operation movement, the speaker asserted.....

".....Lenin saved Russian civilization almost single-handed. The fact that any Russian cities exist today and that there are any railways which are not merely streaks of rust through desert places is due to Lenin alone."

"Lenin is an intellectual giant, and he moves through practical affairs with the stride of a Hercules."

In the opinion of Mr. Holmes, Lenin falls short because he has "no moral principles and does not even see the need for them." He believes that Lenin's failure to recognize the moral law will, unless it is repaired, lead to the overthrow of Communism.

"If there is any civilization left in Europe, it is due more to the heroic work of Romain Rolland than it is to Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, General Smuts, and all the others," Mr. Holmes declared in considering the third possible candidate. He characterized Rolland as the successor of Tolstoy.

Rolland is, however, "an intellectual and not a leader of men," Mr. Holmes asserted. "One cannot imagine him leading a revolution of common men. He lives above the battle, not in it. He is not a realist."

Besides the differences between Gandhi and Lenin pointed out by Mr. Holmes, there is another. Lenin's ideas and activities, whatever their moral character, have already actually led to the foundation of a Russian State of a new kind; Gandhi's ideas and activities have not yet actually achieved *swaraj*, which is his political goal. But the combination of saintliness, courage, political sagacity, personal magnetism and leadership, strength of will and tenacity of purpose, and the thoroughness, sincerity and uncompromising character of a particular kind of idealism, as found

blended in his personality, is unique, though there may be some who are equal or superior to him in the possession of one or more of these qualities, and though there are persons superior to him as scholars, as intellectuals, as thinkers, as teachers, as spiritual artists, and in the loftiness, depth, range and comprehensiveness of their idealism. Few there are who practise what they profess and preach, with greater consistency and thoroughness than Mr. Gandhi, though even he is not free from inconsistencies.

The ancient greatness of India ought to make us try to be worthy of our past. But on most of us the story of India's past glory produces only a soporific effect, making us slothful and vain. We should consider ourselves lucky if the fact that even in these degenerate days India has produced some of the world's most remarkable men, does not make us idle and boastful. It ought to give us the faith that India is still full of life. It ought to make us try to be worthy of our great countrymen. It ought to make us exercise all our powers as they have done theirs, instead of taking credit for their achievements and leaving them to do all our thinking and other duties.

Exodus of Coolies from Assam Tea Gardens.

Thousands of coolies have already left the tea gardens in the Surma and Cachar Valley tea gardens where they were employed, and others are expected to join this exodus. When the interests of the foreign exploiters of India are affected and when in all probability they are themselves to blame, the views of the foreign bureaucracy generally coincide with those of the exploiters. So in this instance, the foreign exploiters and the foreign bureaucracy and their servants assert that the cause of the exodus is political and that it has been brought about by political agitators. It is probably true that the present national upheaval which has affected all classes of people to some extent has influenced the tea-garden coolies also to some extent. But sufficient proofs have not yet been adduced to show

that influence or the work of political agitators has been the main cause of the exodus. The coolies in the tea-garden lines are very carefully watched, making it very difficult, if not impracticable, for outsiders to mix with them without the knowledge of their employers. Moreover, it is remarkable that it is the wage labourers, who live in the lines, who have left and are leaving the gardens, not the men of the coolie class who cultivate plots of their own, whose movements are not watched and who can therefore mix freely with and come under the influence of outsiders.

The main causes of the exodus appear to be economic distress and ill treatment. For years Mr. C. F. Andrews has worked ceaselessly and with unsurpassed zeal and calm judgment to better the moral and material condition of manual workers in Africa, Fiji and various parts of India. His measured language carries conviction.

Goalundo, May 21.

Interviewed here Mr. C. F. Andrews said, "the situation is much more serious than I expected. A grave economic crisis in the tea industry has led to the curtailment of wages, and also to many dismissals. I have now interviewed all the Government officials present at Goalundo and would advise without any hesitation the appointment of a strong impartial commission of enquiry into the whole problem. If the commission does not start work at once it will lose the evidence of the returning labourers themselves which is very important. Mr. Andrews added that he was glad to see that at Goalundo cholera appeared to have in a measure subsided.

Interviewed by the special correspondent of the *New Empire* Mr. Andrews has said :—

The time has hardly yet come to give any definite view but it is possible to offer to the press a first impression which may have to be modified afterwards. I have seen the Assam labourers now for 5 days consecutively and I have been painfully struck by their wretched appearance. I do not think that this appearance is due merely to the miseries of the march-down from Assam. It seems to me that they have been underfed for a long time previously. In every place, they have consistently told me that they were getting on an average 6 pice a day. Even if this figure is too low still their wages seem to have been most pitifully small. I know what a great depression there has been in the

tea trade lately and how difficult it has been for many of the small tea estates to pay any wages at all. But it must not be forgotten that only a short time ago tea estates were making very large profits. They did not share those profits with the labourers. They cannot therefore expect the labourers to be willing to share their losses. This would mean that the labourer never got any benefits at all. Thus my first impression is that the labourer appears to have been badly treated. I doubt very much if the labourers in the Assam Valley proper have suffered the same fate as these labourers in the Surma and Cachar Valley who seem always to have been more poorly paid. From what I have heard at first-hand from the labourers themselves, I am inclined to doubt very much what I may call the purely political theory of the strike.

The *New Empire* correspondent confirms Mr. Andrews's conclusions about the causes of the exodus.

...The "New Empire" correspondent writes :— For some days past batches of tea garden coolies who have run away from their gardens have been arriving in Goalundo and there has been some amount of excitement owing to their arrival. Different reasons are assigned by different people for their exodus but most careful enquiries go to show that they left work as they were poorly paid. Some coolies being asked said that they had been dismissed and that is why they came away. It is no doubt true that the recent decline in the tea industry has hit the smaller gardens very hard and it is possible that some of these gardens discharged their labourers. There were some coolies who said that they left because of "Gandhiji ki hukum." Now whatever be the reason for which they left, it is certain that their present condition is most miserable. They are ill-clad and without any means for paying their passage home. Their distress has been heightened by the fact that they have children and babies with them.

As to the treatment which many coolies often receive at some tea-gardens in Assam no details need be given. It is a matter of common knowledge.

The miseries of the march-down from Assam have been heart-rending. No one has counted, nobody could count, how many left the gardens in an utterly destitute condition, without food, without money to buy food, without money to buy steamer and railway tickets, and wearing rags which could not hide their nakedness. There is not the least doubt that the coolies do not generally get a living

wage. The planters have been getting rich at the expense of these poor people. The State has not protected them. Many have fallen victims to cholera and starvation and many have got drowned in the river Padma falling down from the overcrowded steamers—in some cases as the result of the attempts made to prevent them from boarding the steamers or to drive them away from the steamers. Over and above all these sufferings, the coolies appear to have been subjected to quite unprovoked barbarities at Chandpur railway station, of which the following account has been furnished by the *New Empire* correspondent:—

Chandpur, May 21.

A band of 50 Gurkhas arrived here yesterday by the Naraingunj steamer from Dacca and were kept at the Railway station. The coolies were instructed by the leaders here not to make any attempt to board any steamer. They obeyed what the leaders said, and peacefully remained in the station yard and in the waiting shed. The last train left the station at about 10-30 p.m. After the train had left the station, Mr. K. C. De, Commissioner, the District Magistrate, the Hon'ble S. K. Sinha, D. S. O., and several European jute merchants came to the station yard. The station was cleared of all outsiders and even the railway staff who were on night duty. Then the Gurkhas, it is alleged, began to assault the helpless coolies, men, women and children, without any provocation under the very nose of the officials. The coolies screamed and cried and ran away leaving their young ones and belongings.

The news of the Gurkha attack spread in the town and hundreds of the townspeople made towards the station. But their leaders, Babus Akhil Chandra Dutt, President, Haradaya Nag, Vice-President, and Anangamohan Ghosh, Secretary, Tippera District Congress Committee, stopped the people from proceeding to the station. They themselves went to the station and found the coolies segregated in the open field to the north of the station. They noticed severe wounds on the persons of the coolies, men, women and children, and were shocked at the tyranny. It is said that Mr. Parcell, D. T. S. of the A. B. Ry., who was present at the scene of occurrence, not being able to bear the cruel sight, asked Mr. De, why the helpless and harmless coolies were being mercilessly and inhumanly beaten while they were peacefully sleeping.

The local leaders took the coolies, about 3,000 in number, to the town side at about 2 a. m., and they were accommodated at different places. As the station was cleared of all out-

siders there were not many men to witness the inhuman behaviour accorded by the Gurkhas.

This morning bands of willing young men went round the different places where the coolies were located and picking up the wounded and sick gave medical aid and other relief. The public fed the coolies today.

The public impressed their indignation at this event by a general hartal. Pleaders and Muktears abstained from attending courts, the shopkeepers closed their shops and everybody in his own way helped the hartal. A general hartal has been declared at Comilla town.

Mr. K. C. De asked Babu Akhil Chandra Dutt to see him for discussing the present situation, which the latter did but without any profitable result. It is said, Mr. De expressed to Akhil Babu that he was determined to put a stop to hartal by any means. This threat and the presence of the Gurkhas and the armed police have created a panic in the town. People are contemplating to remove their females from here. The situation is extremely grave. Mr. De is reported to have said, that on no account would he help in repatriating the coolies to Goalundo. The resources of the local people are exhausted in giving provisions to the coolies for eight days.

Babu Haradaya Nag has issued a public appeal for funds, to meet the cost of travelling of the coolies.

If the accounts, given above, of what Mr. K. C. De has done, has left undone, and has said, be true, he cannot but be convicted of cowardice, imbecility, heartlessness and unwisdom. Government has failed promptly to realise the gravity of the situation and do its duty. That the Gurkhas have been guilty of atrocious conduct—whether under orders of the authorities or with their weak connivance, is not yet certain—also appears from a telegram from Mr. Andrews published in the papers.

Chandpur, May 23.

Mr. C. F. Andrews wires from Chandpur to-day:—I have examined the whole situation in Chandpur which is now the centre of the trouble concerning the tea garden labourers from Assam. Their condition is almost desperate. They are for the most part under-fed and have a look of misery which is difficult to describe. I had already seen those who first arrived on Naihati platform in great distress looking starved, but the misery I have seen in Chandpur is still greater. There are now nearly four thousand Assam labourers congested here. The order has not yet come from the Government to provide for their passage. Cholera has broken out in a virulent form. I have come

across those who have fallen down on the road-side in a dying condition and it has been almost impossible to cope with the medical work. I myself saw some wounds made by Gurkha soldiers while removing the labourers away from the railway station. The whole town of Chandpur has kept "hartal" for some days in disapproval of this conduct. The greatest indignation prevails. The whole situation here is so critical and the danger of a cholera epidemic is so imminent that it is impossible for me to leave this place at present. I hear that there are a large number continuing to leave the tea gardens and the congestion at Chandpur is likely to become even greater in the near future.—"Associated Press."

The local leaders, throughout the route, have been up and doing; but as local resources in food stuffs, cloth, medicine and medical helpers, are insufficient, adequate help should be promptly forthcoming from Calcutta and other centres in the country. Mr. N. C. Sircar, Mr. Ramjash Agarwalla, Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder and others have been trying to give the coolies employment in the colliery districts on much higher wages than they used to get in the tea-gardens.

We have said above that the planters have grown wealthy at the expense of the coolies. There may be at present depression in the tea industry; but it was not always so. If when the industry was prosperous, the coolies had been given proportionately high wages and if the planters had also acted up to the righteous principle of improving the intellectual and moral condition of the coolies by a well thought-out scheme of juvenile and adult education, the labourers would certainly have been able to keep their bodies well-nourished and strong and would have been also able to lay by something for days of adversity. But facts show that the gardens have been managed on inequitable and unrighteous principles, producing the tragic condition revealed by the exodus. Intelligent and prudent farmers who understand their own interests, take good care of their cattle or their horses, as the case may be. The planters have not come up even to the standard of such farmers.

If the planters have failed to do their duty, Government has failed no less.

British bureaucrats have all along claimed to be the *ma-bap*, the parents, of the people, particularly of the inarticulate illiterate masses. But they have not taken care to substantiate the claim. In the case of all industries, it is the duty of Government to hold periodical surveys, to ensure, first, that the labourers get a living wage and, secondly, that they get such wages as would ensure to them a due share of the profits of prosperous industries. This duty the state has not discharged in India.

The leaders of the people who claim to be in greater sympathy with the masses than the bureaucrats and the exploiters, and we journalists who claim to be the spokesmen of the dumb millions, have also failed to do our duty. Our failure deserves greater condemnation than the lapses of the bureaucrats and the exploiters. The latter are birds of passage and aliens, having nothing in common with the masses except the common humanity of all. But we are the fellow-countrymen and the kith and kin of the masses. We and they are one. But when did we try to keep ourselves fully or even partially informed of their material, moral and physical condition? On the occasions of some strikes, or on other occasions, like the present, it is true we take a spasmodic interest in the temporary needs of our poorer countrymen, and we try to relieve their misery; but we have not hitherto made any systematic, sustained and organized endeavours to better the material and moral condition of our poor and illiterate sisters and brethren. It would be some expiation for our past heinous negligence, if the present tragic condition of the coolies makes us alive to our permanent obligations.

Class Feelings.

The underlying principle of the non-co-operation movement to which we have given consistent support is, that we cannot co-operate with those whose object is different from ours; for co-operation means working together in furtherance of a common object. Whatever may be the moral excellence and

lofty motives of individual officials and individual European capitalists in India, their systems of government and exploitation have been unrighteous. And, therefore, we have not only refused to support that kind of co-operation which is really subordination, but we have thought that to co-operate with officials and exploiters even in really laudable endeavours may be unwise and impolitic in as much as these endeavours serve to hide from our view the real character of the systems of government and exploitation with which these persons are identified. We have always been in favour of co-operation with our own people, as their object and ours is the same; we have also co-operated with those Europeans whose activities have been unreservedly Indian and broadly humanitarian in aims and character.

The greatest leader, and in fact the originator, of the present non-co-operation movement, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, was until recently, even during the war, a co-operator with Government. As such co-operation with Government did not produce the result which he thought it would produce, he launched the present non-co-operation movement. In previous issues we have observed that we thought it was a delusion on his part that he ever thought that any amount of co-operation with Government would ever deflect the bureaucracy from their purpose, namely, the subordination of Indian to British interests. Our view is that we ought to have relied on our own efforts and ought still to rely on our own efforts for doing the work of our country, no matter what the bureaucracy may or may not do. We were and are under no obligation to subordinate ourselves to the carrying out of the bureaucratic policy which has been misnamed "co-operation." Co-operation is between equals for the furtherance of a common object. The two parties to the game in India are not equals and, professions notwithstanding, there is no common object.

We, therefore, repeat that we are for independent efforts in all directions, no matter what Government may or may not do. Our attitude is not that of defiant sul-

kers, that of those who turn away from the bureaucracy; for we never turned towards them, for any favour or benefit. Nor are we in love with the name "non-co-operator." For non-co-operation seems to imply the possibility or pre-existence or obligation (on our part) of co-operation with the bureaucracy. But in our case no co-operation ever existed, we never admitted any obligation to "co-operate" with the bureaucracy in *their* policy, and we do not believe that any real co-operation with the bureaucracy is possible for the furtherance of our aims and policy. We may be called impractical dreamers, our actual achievements or even endeavours in the way of independent work for the country may be *nil*, we may be accused of inconsistency in many of our sayings and doings or in our omissions to say and do many other things, or in submitting to unjust bureaucratic laws and taxes in furtherance of the aims of the bureaucracy. We will not attempt any self-defence; nor will we try to minimise our guilt by pointing to similar inconsistencies on the part of professed "non-co-operators." What we say is that, irrespective of the policy and past and present conduct of the bureaucracy, we owe a duty to ourselves and to the country, and that duty we should do. The performance of this duty implies the development of a type of character in ourselves—self-reverent, self-controlled, self-knowing, dignified. If we cherish any grievance against anybody, if we make any disappointed hopes the basis of any movement of ours, such a type of character cannot be developed; and class feeling, however mild and non-violent, becomes inevitable against those who have disappointed us. But if independent sacrifice and work for the country proceed from the consciousness of primary obligation to serve the country, whatever the character and conduct of the bureaucracy, the resulting effect on character and conduct is likely to be better.

We may be mistaken, but we think it undeniable that class-feeling has been roused in the country. It is not with the object of finding fault with the non-co-

operation movement or its adherents that we say this; for we know that if the rulers in any western country had behaved as the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have behaved here, the feeling would have been much more widespread, greater in volume, and far more bitter, and the resulting bloodshed and disorder would also have been greater. The leader of the movement has done his utmost to prevent violence. We also recognise that human nature being what it is, and the respective positions of Indians and Europeans being what they are, some amount of class-feeling has always been natural and inevitable. What we want to say is that when class-feeling arises, no matter what its source, it does not subside or become extinct as soon as the class against which it is cherished has ceased to exist or has become powerless and innocuous. It is then directed against some other class or classes, it wants to try its strength against other classes, against which it may have grievances. The movement of the Satya-Shodhaks in Bombay is a proof in advance. At present the bureaucracy and the foreign exploiters of India are the classes against whom there is a class-feeling among all Indians. Supposing they or their predominance were eliminated, still there would remain other classes unjustly predominant or monopolistic in matters religious, social, industrial and political. Democratic equality must be established in these spheres of life also, and that by non-violent revolutions. Otherwise there may be, owing to class-feeling, a series of cataclysms. How can the necessary radical changes be brought about by non-violent means? That is the problem which must be faced by the leaders of the people.

Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operating leaders have declared that even if the "educated classes" do not respond, Swaraj can be achieved with the help of the peasants and other manual workers. That is true. Already at Chittagong and elsewhere, wherever the popular cause has triumphed, it has been due to the manual labourers' unity, zeal and sacrifice,—

though under educated leadership; but competent leaders may arise among the labourers themselves any day. So, though Mr. Gandhi did not want to differentiate between class and class and separate one from the other, that declaration itself and his well-known attitude towards English education, coupled with the actual achievements of the masses contrasted with the lesser achievements or non-achievements of the educated minority, cannot but tend to give the masses power and a position of advantage and make them self-conscious.

We do not in the least grudge them any position and power they may earn by their zeal, sacrifice and work. Nor do we think that they are likely to make a wrong use of their power to a greater extent than the "higher" classes in all countries have done. Lord Bryce says in his recent work on "Modern Democracies":—

Though the education of the citizens is indispensable to a democratic government, the extent to which a merely elementary instruction fits them to work such a government has been over-estimated. Reading is merely a gate leading into the field of knowledge. Or we may call it an implement which the hand can use for evil, or for good, or leave unused.

Knowledge is one only among the things which go to the making of a good citizen. Public spirit and honesty are even more needful.

If the practical test of civic capacity in individuals or classes be found in voting for the best men and supporting the best measures, i.e., the measures which ultimate results approve, the masses may be found to have in some countries acquitted themselves as well as what are called the educated classes.

Attainments in learning and science do little to make men wise in politics. Some eminent scientific men have been in this respect no wiser than their undergraduate pupils. There have been countries in which the chiefs of public services and the professors in Universities were prominent in the advocacy of politics which proved disastrous.

But admitting all that in the above passages goes to minimise the value of "attainments in learning and science" in the field of politics, we should not forget that Lord Bryce does acknowledge that "the education of the citizen is indispensable to a democratic government," that "knowledge is one...among the things

which go to the making of a good citizen," and that "public spirit and honesty are even more needful." So that education of the right sort in the widest commonality spread, is indispensable to a democratic government. Education of the right sort is necessary also for the growth and realization of pure spiritual religion and for the evolution of beneficent social and economic systems. If this education can be, as it ought to be, imparted to the masses, it will also serve to some extent to bridge the gulf between the classes and the masses, thus obviating the evil results of class-feeling. The crowd mind is too apt to be swayed by emotion (often of the wrong sort). It is not impossible so to educate men as to make them calmer and steadier than they would otherwise be. In the interests of humanity, of their own country and of their own class, the educated minority of India ought at once to undertake to educate the majority in the right way. It was claimed at the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada that the non-co-operation movement had demolished the prestige of the official educational system. But that should be poor consolation if a better and more comprehensive system could not be substituted for it. It is not enough to dethrone false gods (assuming that they are false gods in all respects); one must also have the true god to worship. Without education of the right stamp, the attainment of swaraj mainly with the help of the ignorant masses may give rise to problems of a very serious character, for which the leaders of the popular movement have not bargained. The rise of such problems may be prevented by universal juvenile and adult education, and by the voluntary relinquishment of unjust privilege and monopoly in matters social, religious, and economic.

Wordsworth on Universal Education.

That knowledge should be the common possession of all, irrespective of worldly position, is not a novel twentieth century ideal. We are not in a position to ascertain by research how old the

ideal is—we shall be glad to know from scholars whether it was an ancient Indian ideal, and if so, in what book it was formulated. In England, Wordsworth, among others, advocated universal education, as the following lines from his *Excursion*, Book IX, will show :—

"O for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial Realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation, on her part, to *teach*
Them who are born to serve her and obey ;
Binding herself by statute to secure
For all the children whom her soil maintains
The rudiments of letters, and inform the mind
With moral and religious truth,
Both understood and practised,—so that none,
However destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained ; or run
Into a wild disorder ; or be forced
To drudge through a weary life without the help
Of intellectual implements and tools ;
A savage horde among the civilised,
A servile band among the lordly free !
This sacred right, the lisping babe proclaims
To be inherent in him, by Heaven's will,
For the protection of his innocence ;" &c.

"Original Research."

Some two thousand years ago a Saka dynasty, known as the satraps of Western India, reigned in Gujarat and Katthiawad. Up to the year 1913 it was believed that their names (up till then read as "Damaghasada," "Ghsamotika," &c.) contained the unusual compound consonant "ghs." In that year, we are informed, Professor Dr. H. Luders of Berlin deciphered that compound letter to be "ys", not "ghs." He also discovered that two thousand years ago our ancestors transliterated the letter "Z" by य्स (ys). In 1913 the German professor made known his discoveries to indologists in the journal named "Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preussischen Akademieder Wissenschaften" in an article entitled "Die Sakas und die nordarische Sprache." He wrote therein : "In all these [inscriptions discovered in the Andhan village] the name of Chastana's father is written "Ysamotika," not "Ghsamotika" (p. 427). We publish a photographic facsimile of this page.

We understand that the Berlin profes-

PART II (b).

ORIGINAL RESEARCH.

15. In para. 23 of p. 8 of the Administrative Part, I have made mention of certain eight Kshatrapa inscriptions, of which two are now in the Watson Museum, Rajkot, Kathiawar, five in the Fergusson Museum at Bhuj, and the remaining one at Khavda, the place from where the Bhuj inscriptions were brought. Of these eight records, five belong to the time of Rudradaman, two of his son Rudrasimha, and one of Rudrasimha's son Rudrasena. Four of Rudradaman's epigraphs are all dated in the [Saka] year 52, second day of the dark half of Phalgun. The name of his great-grandfather here given is most clearly Ysamotika, and not Ghsamotika as proposed by Professor Rapson. The conjunct consonant *ysa* in this name is singular and is an attempt to represent some foreign sound which the Greek Z in such names as Zeonises is intended to express. I have no doubt that the name of the son and successor of Rudradaman must similarly be supposed to be Damaysada, and not Damaghsada as read by this numismatist. The fact that sometimes his name is also written Damajada is additional evidence, because *ja* may like the Greek Z to which it approximates be used to represent the Scythian sound denoted by *ysa* but not by *ghsa*. All the five inscriptions of Rudradaman record the erection of *yashtis* or *lashtis*, i.e., sepulchral stelae. The first speaks of a stone upright put up in memory of one Rishabhadeva, son of Sihla and belonging to the Opaśati clan (*gotra*) by his brother Madana. The second preserves the memory of Yaśadatā, daughter of Sihamitra and of the Sinika *gotra*, and the stela was erected by her husband Madana, son of Sihla. Yaśadatā is called Sāmaneri and appears to have been a Buddhist nun at the time of her death. The third inscription stone perpetuates the memory of

Page 67 of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1915.

sor wrote a letter from Charlottenburg, dated the 21st February, 1913, to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar to make these discoveries known to him.

During the war came out the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March, 1915. We publish a photographic facsimile of page 67 of this publication. Here the two discoveries made and published previously in 1913 by Prof. Luders are described by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar under the caption original research without any credit being given to the Berlin professor.

We are unable to unravel the mystery :

whose original research is described in the page reproduced, Professor Luders's or Mr. Bhandarkar's? Not being conversant with Indology, we place this bare statement of facts before Indologists. If our information be inaccurate in any respect, we hope they will point out the inaccuracies.

"No Representation, No Taxation."

Reuter cabled from Nairobi, British East Africa, on May 20, that "Mass meetings of Indians which have been largely attended have passed unanimous resolutions not to pay income-tax on the

LÜDERS: Die Śakas und die 'nordarische' Sprache.

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die Sprache der Śakas sei, scheint mir indessen so gute Gründe für sich zu haben, daß ich mich für berechtigt hielt, sie dem Urteil der Iranisten zu unterbreiten. Es freut mich auch mitteilen zu können, daß wenigstens der Punkt, von dem ich bei der Untersuchung ausging, jetzt völlig sicher steht. Von Hrn. D. R. BHANDARKAR erhalte ich soeben Abklatsche der vor einigen Jahren in Andhau gefundenen Inschriften des Rudradāman¹. In allen diesen ist der Name des Vaters des Caṣṭana vollkommen deutlich *Ysāmōtika*² geschrieben, nicht *Ghsāmōtika*.

graphical and historical considerations, the lost language of the Saka, were also found here'.

¹ Nr. 964 a meiner Liste.

² Die Länge in *ysā* scheint mir nicht gegen die oben vorgeschlagene Etymologie zu sprechen. In den Inschriften wird stets auch *Cāṣṭana* geschrieben. Wahrscheinlich entsprach der Vokal in der ersten Silbe der beiden Namen nicht genau dem *saṃṛta* a des Indischen und man schwankte daher zwischen der Bezeichnung durch *a* und *ā*.

Page 427 of the German Periodical containing Professor Lüders's Discoveries.

ground of 'No Representation, No Taxation.' Events are marching so rapidly in India that it may not be long before similar resolutions are passed here, to be followed by seizure of property, imprisonment, &c., on a large scale. History records the triumph of the popular cause in such cases. But men in power have the habit of considering themselves more powerful and secure in their position than their prototypes in days past, and they also think that the people over whom they hold sway are weaker and more disunited and unorganized than those people who made former autocrats and bureaucrats powerless. These delusions continue in spite of repeated disillusionments as recorded in history.

Spirituality in Politics.

A few days ago we found in the papers two Reuter's telegrams with a heading announcing that U. S. A. has entered the arena of European politics. The reasons for this step on the part of America will appear from the telegrams themselves, which are quoted below in part.

In response to an appeal made by Mr. Lloyd George yesterday evening at a banquet given in honour of Mr. George Harvey, the

new American Ambassador, Mr. Harvey made a dramatic announcement amid great demonstration that the President of the United States had authorised him to state that he (Mr. Harvey) should be present at the next meeting of the Supreme Council as the United States representative.

The announcement marks America's entry into European politics and her participation in the Upper Silesian settlement. Mr. Harvey said he received authority to participate in the Supreme Council on the subject of Upper Silesia yesterday, and it appears from a Washington message that Mr. Harvey has been instructed to act only as an observer with a view to safeguarding American economic interests if the Upper Silesian question develop in a manner affecting them. The [American] authorities say that the United States on the Council will at present participate actively only on the question vitally affecting America's interests.

When during the late war ex-President Wilson entered the arena of European politics, he did so in order to make high moral ideals prevail in world politics. At first Mr. President Harding wanted to have nothing to do with European politics. But now he enters the field with selfish objects in view. This makes apparent the difference between the policies and ideals of the two Presidents. In this connection the observations of an American publicist of distinction may be read with profit.

There is no doubt that Mr. Glenn Frank writes the truth when he observes in the *Century Magazine* :—

"Politics has lost its soul. Its spiritual note is not being struck to-day by any outstanding statesman anywhere. It may seem to some that politics is the last human game in which to expect a soul. It has always been, says the cynic, a very materialistic game of grab. Not always. There was a brief hour, preceding our (the Americans') entrance into the late war and while we fought, when politics seemed the supreme spiritual adventure of the race."

We agree with the writer in holding that "though Woodrow Wilson's foreign policies now lie in ruins, a dismantled house of cards," yet

"the historian of the future will look back upon the period from 1916 to 1919 as a time when an American President turned the sinister game of diplomacy into a quest for the Holy Grail. For a few fleeting months the moral leadership of world affairs rested in Washington. World politics was a religion, and Woodrow Wilson was its prophet."

In those days there was a great spiritual exaltation in America.

"The motivating stakes of the war were certain basic moralities, upon the vindication of which the integrity of civilization itself hinged—the principle of right as the basis of all human association, the applicability of the moral law to public affairs, and the guaranty of the weak against the lawless aggression of the strong. Regardless of the frequency with which the ghost of Machiavelli may have walked through the corridors of certain foreign offices, these were the principles that inspired alike our armies of industry and arms; these were the principles that set the tone of civilian morale; these were the principles upon which statesmen appealed to their constituencies....."

"Men who a few months before had been living narrow and self-centred lives went about like new converts with a passion for disinterested public service. Men gave and fought for peoples they had never seen, peoples whose names they could not pronounce. Men felt not so much that they were at war as that they were in a crusade."

There is no question that "the Treaty of Versailles was not a performance that measured up to the promise of Mr. Wilson's challenging address. But the tragic fact is that the policies of the opposition have, to date, been utterly lacking in any dynamic appeal to the mind of the nation" in America.

The men opposed to Wilson have almost seemed to have indulged in "ugly and disgraceful orgy of President-baiting." This will not do.

"No American foreign policy can insure a new heaven and a new earth. We cannot foist Utopias upon the world. But any foreign policy that does not somehow stimulate in the American people a sense of their moral responsibility in world affairs, any foreign policy that reckons only with national safety, with never a word of national service, any foreign policy in short, that does not in some degree make to the American people the spiritual appeal that the pronouncements of Mr. Wilson made, will be the product either of dull or of dangerous minds.

"Politics today stands sorely in need of a great moral leader. Were such a leader to appear now, in the midst of the sterile and partizan babblings about entangling alliances, I believe the American people will flock to his standard. Is it possible that, with a world half in ruins and politically leaderless, America will have nothing better to offer than a suspiciously Prussian saber-rattling and a big navy?"

Mr. Frank thinks "that the failure of Wilson was a failure in technic, not a failure in purpose. The Wilson aims were morally creative aims. They came as a sort of new birth in world politics. And once morally creative ideas are loosed in the world, they can never be recaptured or killed. They will ever after haunt, as ghosts, the council tables of the opposition." Frank is right in holding that

"If Mr. Harding is to win a place in history, he must win it by *attaining* the aims of Mr. Wilson. He will never win it by *adjourning* the aims of Mr. Wilson. Mr. Wilson's successor does not need a better policy, only a better technic. A foreign policy for America that falls short of the war aims of America will be nothing short of moral apostasy. If the Hardings, the Lodges, and the Knoxes follow up their bitter protests against the manifest wrongs of the Versailles treaty with a constructive policy that makes for an increasingly decent co-operative ordering of world affairs, they will be remembered in history as men of singular moral vision and statesmanlike strategy. If they capitalize their present political advantage by adopting an every-nation-for-itself-and-the-devil-take-the-hindmost foreign policy, they will be remembered in history as Benedict Arnolds to the greatest adventure ever undertaken by this nation in justification of the high political morality in which it was conceived.

"What shall it profit America if she keeps clear of the whole world but loses her own

soul? Here, then, is one standard, at least, by which to test the foreign policy of the Harding administration. Does it infuse politics with a sense of international morality?"

To spiritualize world politics is undoubtedly a high adventure. Leaders of subject races may, as they do, preach international morality, but their words are not heeded, as it is suspected that if these races themselves became powerful they would also behave as powerful nations behave, setting all morality at naught. Spiritualized politics are regarded as the whinings of impotent defeated peoples. Therefore, though a man like Mahatma Gandhi is morally and spiritually far superior to any of the famous statesmen of the world, and though he possesses in an eminent degree the gift of leadership, he cannot be thought of as the "great moral leader" of whom world "politics stands sorely in need." After Americans have made the Filipinos independent, America would be perfectly fit to supply the leader. Powerful she already is, and after freeing the Filipinos she would be able to work against imperialism effectively. But Harding is evidently not made of the stuff of which such a leader should be made. The hour has come. But the man has yet to arrive.

Tea Garden Coolies.

It is not the business of a monthly reviewer to supply up-to-date news, but a monthly reviewer's comments on news are expected to be up-to-date. But in the case of events like the exodus of coolies from the Assam tea-gardens, with fresh developments every day and almost every hour of the day in various places, it is impossible to fulfil these expectations.

What is clear is that Government has sadly bungled. Some high officials possessed of the power of initiatives ought to have been in charge of affairs, as soon as signs of unrest had appeared. The local officials have proved incapable and powerless. Lord Ronaldshay and his councillors and ministers have not read the signs of the times aright. Nor have they displayed any high sense of duty or given proof of being humane. Even taking it for granted that the coolies have acted under

the instigation of political agitators, they as human beings were entitled to relief in their sufferings. Red Cross workers give relief even to enemy soldiers. Can any Government pretend that its own subjects, even when misguided by political intriguers (which we take for granted in this case, though it is not true), are not entitled to be treated with the humanity which Red Cross workers show to the fighters of enemy nations?

What is more sickening is the letting loose of Gurkha soldiers upon the men, women and children assembled in the Chandpur railway station yard at night. If the authorities wanted for sanitary reasons to clear the yard of coolies, they ought to have done it at day-time. If the coolies could not be dispersed easily, some local leader could easily have been asked to speak to them and persuade them. But officials generally stand on their dignity and want to display their power, considering it a sign of weakness to seek non-official help, which is foolish, and sometimes, as in the present instance, leads to savage cruelty.

Whatever the reasons or unreasons which led to the employment of Gurkha soldiers to disperse a crowd of unarmed starvelings of both sexes and all ages, the man responsible for their employment is a fool and a heartless coward. Government will, no doubt, as is its wont, reward him; but his name ought to be known so that he may be held up to the moral reprobation of mankind.

The enquiry into the causes of the exodus should be made by non-officials like Messrs. Gandhi, Andrews, Akhil-chandra Datta, Haradaya Nag, etc. Official committees are not likely to find out and publish the whole truth. As the tea-industry cannot and should not be destroyed, the conditions of employment of laborers in future should be laid down from the people's side.

There are *hartals* in so many places that the whole countryside leading from Bengal into Assam seems to be ablaze with outraged feeling. This would be of advantage if it created in our minds an

abiding and active interest in the lot of wage-earners.

It was some relief to learn from a Chandpur telegram, dated May 22, that

Dr. Bhadrak, Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, arrived here last night and has commenced giving medical aid to the coolies of Assam tea gardens in co-operation with the local medical men.

Mr. Andrews had an interview to-day with Mr. K. C. De, during which he related his personal observations of the coolies who had received injuries. Mr. De gave him assurance that he would urge upon the Government the need of assistance and wire for a grant of Rs. 5000 for the repatriation of the coolies.

But evidently either Mr. De did not wire for the grant or Government refused it. For a later telegram, from Mr. Andrews himself, dated May 24, tells the public :

Owing to the refusal of Government for labourers to go forward and Government prevention of railway and steamer concessions being granted, a general strike had been declared. This has already brought out the Assam Railway workmen at Chandpur and will almost certainly bring out the steamship company employees. My own proposal on Sunday, which everyone accepted, including the officials, was that Government should provide Rs. 5,000 towards the repatriation of the returned labourers stranded in Chandpur while private charity provided the remainder. We have already repatriated 485 healthy persons by the mail steamer at full rates, but the cost is prohibitive for the whole number. Government has strictly forbidden the railway and steamship companies to grant concessions. Thus a complete deadlock has been reached. Meanwhile owing to congestion cholera is spreading. My proposal included the condition that only those certified by the Government Sanitary Commissioner should be sent forward so that the places down the country might not be further infected. The public waited patiently for the answer but patience broke down this morning.

Mr. Andrews proceeds to explain that

The general strike is simply on behalf of the Assam returned labourers. There are no complaints of a grievous nature against the railway and steamship authorities. Public indignation has been greatly accentuated by the brutality of the Gurkha soldiers. On Friday night I myself examined their injuries. One little girl had received a severe wound under the right eye. An elderly woman had a blow on the head and a wound on her arm. Other women also had received wounds and so have some old

men. An enquiry into this occurrence appears to me to be imperative. It is difficult to describe the atmosphere of popular excitement prevailing in Chandpur. All normal life appears to be at a standstill and nothing is now talked about except the returned Assam labourers and their future fate. The first exodus from the Surma Valley is now apparently over. About one thousand labourers remain at Karimganj. It appears to me from every point of view an obvious necessity that the congestion at Chandpur should be immediately relieved. This small town cannot possibly bear the present burden any longer. The people have given help already in personal service, in provisions and in medical assistance to the utmost of their power. It is difficult to speak too highly of the service to humanity which they have already rendered. It is all the more necessary that they should not be taxed much further.

An Associated Press message adds :—

The Chandpur A. B. Ry. Staff, Steamer Company men, khalasis and Messrs. Bird and Co.'s employees have joined the general strike. The station looks perfectly desolate. There is no activity. Loading and unloading of goods is at a standstill. A few European Marine assistants who have been sent here are trying to manage what works there are.

"Swaraj" Individual and National.

In the course of a speech delivered some time ago, Lala Lajpat Rai is reported to have said that "personally he had attained swarajya, which was knowing the truth, speaking the truth fearlessly and even dying for the vindication of truth." Some months ago, in a Note on "Swaraj Individual and National" published in the *Prabasi* we described "individual swaraj" in part in similar terms. But swaraj for the individual is never complete unless it is realized *in practice*, in addition to moral and intellectual realization. When a man can refrain from doing that (for instance, the payment of a tax whose levy or expenditure he cannot control) which he considers wrong, or when he can exert his powers to the full to bring about a state of things which he desires (as citizens in democratic countries can do), then has he *actually* attained swaraj for himself. But the elaboration of this truth at once leads us to see that swaraj for the individual cannot be achieved in practice until national swaraj has been attained. So,

though Mr. Lajpat Rai is right, he is only partly right.

The Afghan Invasion.

It appears that someone who was really an Afghan spy or pretended to be one (whether employed by the Afghan Government or by the secret British police, does not matter) saw Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya some time ago to ascertain from him what help the Afghans might expect from the Hindus and Musalmans of India in case those neighbours of ours invaded our country, ostensibly to set us free from the British yoke. The reply which the Pandit gave seems to us to strike the true patriotic note.

If we want to be free, freedom's battle, albeit a bloodless one, must be fought primarily and mainly by ourselves, not by others.

"Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Themselves must strike the blow
who would be free?"

Others may and can help, but the main blow must be struck by those who would be free. The French helped the Americans in their war of independence; but it was from start to finish an *American War of Independence*. The French people never wanted to invade the then British colonies, they did not send spies to those parts to ascertain what help they would receive in case there was an altruistic invasion of their hearths and homes by the French.

If we had risen in armed rebellion against the British Government to be free, help from liberty-loving nations would have been welcome. But armed rebellion is far from our thoughts; and we could not effectively rise in arms even if we would. Therefore the question of armed help from outside does not arise. But even if it arose, there is nothing in Afghan history, particularly in the history of Indo-Afghan relations from the Mussalman period downwards, to show that the Afghans ever liberated any other people, and that, particularly, any of the past invasions of India undertaken from that side were meant to liberate India. History may not always repeat itself; but there must be some reason why it should move

on an altogether different track from the past. The Afghans, like almost all other nations, in their external wars, have always been known in history to fight for plunder or conquest. Why should they now take it into their heads to fight for the liberation of others? Let us know the reasons.

Ah, but they may undertake a *jehad*, some one may interpose. We on our part may ask two questions. Did they ever before in history engage in a *jehad* to better the lot of Moslems outside Afghan territory? If they did not, why are they to be expected to make a new departure now? Our second question is, as *jehad* is a *religious* war in the interests of Islam, not a *political* war for the liberation of Moslems and non-Moslems alike, how is the supposed Afghan *jehad* going to benefit all sections of the Indian people, and why are *all* Indians to actively or passively welcome the prospect of such a *jehad*?

No, Sir, we do not want the Afghans, the Russians, the Tibetans, the Chinese or the Japanese to invade India for any cause or on any pretext whatever. Those who can prevent the British lion from eating us up, can also themselves eat us up. Do we then suspect all these people? Well, yes and no, as things go.

The thing is, we do not really know who are our friends and who are our enemies, *because we have no independent political existence*. The friends and enemies of the British are assumed to be also our friends and enemies. If we had an independent existence, we would begin by considering our neighbors as friends and deal with them as such. If they *proved* unfriendly, we would parley with them still. But in any case, a free *democratic* India, with 32 crores of inhabitants, would not be afraid of a neighbouring country not possessing even a crore of inhabitants. We do not forget that in former ages and even under British rule the Afghans have invaded or raided Indian territory. But neither the Musalman nor the British rulers of India have ever tried to have a strong *citizen*

army, they have never tried to strengthen the people as a whole, they have relied upon the strength of *mercenary* armies. A free Indian democracy with adequately equipped *citizen* armies need not be afraid of any neighbour, and that for two reasons; because such a democracy would have only friendly intentions towards neighbours, and because it would also strengthen the whole people and keep its powder dry.

No one, we hope, has ever dreamt, that we are satisfied with our political condition. We want to be entirely free and independent. But we do not want any foreign armed help for the purpose, for reasons already dwelt upon. We want to be free and independent by non-violent means. That may be a chimerical idea, but that is our hope and ideal. If in the realization of this ideal the Afghans or any other peoples can give us any help, all such neighborly help is quite welcome, though we do not clearly see how the Afghans can help us in a soul force campaign. But they may at least call off their usurers.

One question we have not yet answered. Should the Afghans invade India of their own accord, would we help the British Government to repel the invasion?

Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. There are so many urgent and actual questions that we ought to but have no time to answer everyday, that it is really cruel to ask us questions relating to a situation that may never arise. (1) If the Afghans invade India, and (2) if the British Government requires our help—these are the two parts of the question asked. Our answer is that within living memory, it was only once—during the late war—that the British Government seriously sought the help of the Indian people. A mere Afghan invasion, even if very serious, would not be of such proportions as to drive the British Government to seek the help of the people. But supposing they did seek such help, our reply would be quite straight. It would be: "You treat India and Indians as your property. It is your business to defend your property. You have got *our* money to defend your

property. What more do you want? Go and do your business, which you know so well how to do, with the help of mercenary soldiers. But if you want us to defend *ourselves* and *our* country, we want to be first convinced that we are really masters of ourselves and our country, before we can think of giving you any help in addition to the taxes we pay. Self-rule first, then self-defence. Where there is really no *self*, there cannot arise the question of *self-defence*."

It is quite probable such an answer would not be realised, and there would be either promise of self-rule or conscription. No promise would be accepted from past inveterate and confirmed promise-breakers, only actual performance can convince. If there be conscription without self-rule, it would be the duty of both pacifists and non-pacifists to resist it "passively" by non-compliance. In any case we are sure to gain our point if we have only sufficient strength of resolve and ahimsa.

But enough of hypothetical situations and questions and answers relating thereto. Let us return to actualities and practical politics. The British Government in India, as at present circumstanced, is strong enough to repel Afghan or any other probable invasions. But if it ever finds that it cannot repel such invasions without the help of the people and their leaders, and if it finds that for securing such help it must negotiate with a self-ruling India, the British people have sufficient political sagacity and practical good sense to yield to the inevitable. And so our conclusion is that either the bureaucratic Government of India as at present constituted would be found strong enough to repel invasions with its mercenary armies, or, should that be not the case and should citizen armies be required to be raised from a self-ruling India for the purpose of defence, there would be no insuperable obstacles in the way of India becoming self-ruling. In either case, let would-be invaders and their friends know that invasions would not be successful, and would not be welcomed, tolerated, or acquiesced in.

Invasions from any quarter cannot, in our opinion, produce better political conditions than the existing ones; on the contrary, conditions are likely to be worse. Better conditions can be produced only if we are resolved to have them and make the earnest unremitting and organised endeavours needed for the purpose.

What we have written above is purely with reference to a hypothetical Afghan invasion. It should not be inferred therefrom that India cannot be free and independent without the willingness of the British people. India can be self-ruling even against the wishes of the British people.

Freedom of Service.

In the course of a review of Mr. W. H. Moreland's *India at the Death of Akbar*, Professor Jadunath Sarkar writes in the *Indian Journal of Economics* that "the chief gain of the lower classes—and indeed of all classes,—in British India has been security of property and freedom of production and service." This is most probably true on the whole.

As regards freedom of production and service in British India, there have been and still are important exceptions. The indigo cultivators of Bengal and Bihar were in former years compelled against their will to grow indigo in their fields. This evil custom may probably be found still to linger in some places in Bihar. Then there was the system of indentured labour in Assam in India, and in Fiji, Trinidad, South Africa, &c., outside India. In actual practice the system has not yet been abolished everywhere.

Then there are the system of begār and similar systems, which are a form of temporary slavery, prevalent in some parts of British India, like Kumaon, Garhwal, &c., and in the Rajputana and other Indian States. This is a denial of freedom of production and service which goes against the primary rights of man. Everyone should have complete freedom to dispose of his time and energy, so long as he does not use these to the injury of others. The persons who are forced to labour for others are sometimes not paid

or not paid adequately; they are deprived of the right and opportunity to attend to their agricultural or other labours at the proper time and season; in addition they are sometimes injured and assaulted, and it has been even said that women are sometimes dishonoured, which is the worst evil; and the owners of foodstuffs and other articles are compelled to part with them for an inadequate price or no price at all. But supposing these grievances did not exist or were removed, the system would still be highly objectionable. In the days of slavery in America and elsewhere it was said (and it may be believed, in truth) that there were slave-owners who were kind and considerate and never ill-treated their slaves. But the act of depriving a man of his freedom is the greatest injury done to him, and hence slavery, even if temporary, should not be tolerated under any circumstance.

The subjects of many or most Indian States have to live under conditions different from those under which we live. They do not enjoy the protection of British laws or laws similar to British laws; but at the same time they cannot apply the remedy of rebellion against intolerable tyranny. For the suzerain power has guaranteed to the rulers security of possession of the *gadi*. It is, therefore, probable that in many Indian States begār is attended with much greater tyranny and other evils than those in British India, intolerable as the latter are.

Swaraj in One Year.

The promise of Swaraj in one year is subject to many provisos, conditions, and buts. It is not quite clear from what date exactly the year is to be reckoned. Then there is the condition that swaraj can be attained only if there is perfect non-violence—which has not been fulfilled hitherto. Another limitation is that swaraj cannot be attained even in a century unless untouchability is removed. Although the rank and file and even most of the leading non-co-operators have not been earnestly and ceaselessly trying to give equality of social status to those whom

society has made "untouchable," the information of those who want to extend to these classes the same treatment which is accorded to the "touchable" classes, it is necessary to know definitely what disabilities come under "untouchability" in Mr. Gandhi's opinion. Will he or one of his followers kindly refer us to any definite and exact pronouncement of his on the subject? We want simply an enumeration of the disabilities. In his article "Conditions of Swaraj," published in *Young India*, February 23, 1921, Mr. Gandhi mentions Hindu-Moslem unity, setting up Congress organisations in every village, introducing the spinning wheel in every home, &c., purifying ourselves by avoiding intoxicating drugs, and drinks, as some of the other conditions of attaining swaraj.

Then there is the divergence of views as to what would constitute swaraj. Would the promise be fulfilled if some individuals attained swarajya, as Mr. Lajpat Rai has done? Or does the promise refer to swaraj for the whole nation? If so, what does swaraj mean? Does it mean simply the attainment or recognition of the right of the people to determine their form of government or is it any particular form of government that is meant?

These uncertainties show that when a year has elapsed, it would be possible for controversialists on opposite sides to contend with plausibility either that swaraj has been attained or that it has not been attained within the period fixed. This is undesirable. Such contentions would also be unjust to Mr. Gandhi, as he has never made any unconditional promise or prophecy relating to the attainment of swaraj within a year. Our opinion has throughout been that he ought not to have made any such promise or prophecy at all.

"Breaking New Ground."

It has been brought to our notice by a gentleman who knows, that our observations in the April number, page 554, on Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee's characterization of Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee's paper on

International Law and Custom in Ancient India as "undeniably breaking new ground", have been interpreted in various ways which are unjust and prejudicial to Mr. Banerjee. The interviewer has drawn our attention particularly to the fact that our mention of the fact of Mr. Narendranath Law's thesis having been with the University authority concerned for thirteen months, &c., has been construed to suggest that some materials for Mr. Banerjee's paper were derived from Mr. Law's thesis. Referring to the passage in the Preface to Mr. Law's *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India, Part I*, where it is stated that "a large portion of this volume formed part of the approved theses submitted to the Calcutta University in conformity with the rules regulating the Premchand Roychand Scholarship," the interviewer told us that as the particular thesis in question submitted by Mr. Law did not bear the title which his published book does, Sir Ashutosh did not know that it contained anything on *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*; and he also stated or suggested that Sir Ashutosh used the words "breaking new ground" in the sense that Mr. Banerjee's paper treated of aspects and details of the subject not touched upon by previous writers. Whether the interviewer said or suggested all this on his own authority or on that of Sir Ashutosh we do not know.

We will now say in what sense we desire our remarks to be understood. We wish it to be understood that in objecting to Sir Ashutosh's observation that Mr. Banerjee's paper has undeniably broken new ground we mean that Mr. Banerjee has written on practically the same subject on which Mr. S. V. Viswanatha and Mr. Narendranath Law had already written, and that therefore the subject was not new ground. As we have not compared the productions of the three writers we should not be understood to assert or suggest that the contents of Mr. Banerjee's paper are to any extent the same as those of the productions of the two previous writers; nor are we in

a position to affirm that they are not. For the same reason, we should not be understood to assert or suggest that, during the period during which Mr. Law's thesis was with the university authority concerned (which was about eleven months, not thirteen, as stated in our April issue), any surreptitious or wrong use was made of its contents. The interviewer has said or suggested that Sir Ashutosh used the words "breaking new ground" in the sense that Mr. Banerjee's paper has dealt with aspects or details of the subject not at all dwelt upon by the previous writers. Not having compared the three productions we cannot say whether Mr. Banerjee's work has or has not done this. There may be some difficulty in accepting the suggestion that Sir Ashutosh used the words in the aforesaid sense. For we have been told that he did not know that Mr. Law's thesis treated in part of Inter-state Relations in Ancient India. This, if true, would plainly show that he had not read Mr. Law's thesis. The Preface to Mr. Law's book containing part of the thesis is dated Calcutta, 1919, and on its title page is printed 1920. Probably therefore it was published early in 1920, as it is a small book of 99 pages. We do not know whether when Sir Ashutosh praised Mr. Banerjee's paper, Mr. Law's book was already before the public, and whether he could, therefore, be presumed or expected to read it before he delivered the opinion that he did. In any case, if he made the pronouncement, in the subsidiary sense suggested, after carefully comparing the productions of all the authors on the subject, his opinion would be entitled to weight. If, on the other hand, he had, when he spoke, left unread and un-compared any published production on the subject, his opinion, even if expressed *bona fide* in ignorance, would not be entitled to weight. For an authoritative expression of opinion as to whether Mr. Banerjee's paper does or does not break new ground in its contents, we must depend on some competent scholar who has read and compared all previously published works on the subject. That

in the choice of his subject he has broken new ground, we have already said and shown.

Official Statement on the Coolie Exodus, &c.

We think it proper to print below official statement on the exodus of coolies.

On the 15th, 16th and 17th May a number of coolies who had arrived at Chitragong from the Sylhet district, were despatched to Goalundo at the expense of certain local chattri and other funds, arrangements were being made for the construction of temporary sheds under the supervision of the Chief Medical Officer of the railway for the housing of remainder of the coolies. Meanwhile, on the night of 19th May, after the trains had parted from Chandpur, large masses of coolies rushed the gangways of the receiving sheds, overcame the constable on guard, and took possession of the Goalundo mail steamer. These coolies were not in possession of tickets. Eventually the steamer cast off with 341 coolies on board and anchored in mid stream. The coolies were next morning allowed to proceed to Goalundo without payment of fare. An attempt was made to evict them. After the steamer moved out into the river the receiving shed was cleared with difficulty, in the course of which the Sub-Divisional Officer and Mr. Macpherson, a representative of the Indian Tea Association, were assaulted. Repeated attacks were made by the coolies on the station yard and premises. It is not the case that coolies were pushed into the river or drowned as has been alleged.

On the following evening, 20th May, Assam and Chittagong mail trains were to proceed after considerable delay; but the coolies, having finished their supper, took possession of the station premises, and occupied the platforms and waiting sheds.

The station precincts being in a very insubstantial condition and cholera having broken out among the railway staff and extending to the town, while a recurrence of the previous night disturbances could not be entertained, it was decided to move the coolies to the football field to the north of the Assam Bengal Railway station on which it was proposed to house them. A small force of the military police armed with rifles with bayonets unfixed was utilised in clearing the station compound. The coolies absolutely refused to leave. A crowd numbered from 2,500 to 3,000 labourers and after some resistance moved off to the ground allotted. This eviction was effected at a cost of 30 minor casualties. The local medical officer has seen all the cases and reported that no injuries are of a serious nature.

acter. During the night the coolies left the ball field and dispersed into the town.

The Deputy Director of Public Health, Dr. Batra, deputed by Government to deal with any epidemic outbreak, has made suitable arrangements for the reception of destitute coolies while the Railway Hospital is being treated the treatment of cholera cases and large huts are being constructed to provide additional accommodation. Cases of disease are being dealt with at the hospital.

The merits of the differences between the coolies and employed on the Sylhet tea estate. The Government of Bengal have no authoritative information and can express no opinion but the responsibility for the most miserable situation which has arisen at present is not theirs and they do not accept responsibility for removing thence at public expense the coolies who have congregated. The Government are not interfering in any way with the passage of those in possession of necessary tickets and have instructed local officers to give all necessary assistance in matters of medical aid, sanitation, temporary housing and the relief of destitute coolies. So far their offers have met with scant success.

The statement differs in material particulars from what Mr. Andrews and other reliable spokesmen of the people have said. The discrepancies are so patent that they need not be pointed out in detail. In addition to what we have printed on previous pages, we give below fresh material for comparison. Interviewed at Chandi Bari on May 25, Mr. Andrews

Chandi Bari people were very indignant and angry enough. The Gurkhas committed unnecessary violence. He saw severe wounds on many persons. He said, at present the Chandi Bari people were highly indignant on two points, oppression by the Gurkhas and Government refusal to allow concessions for coolies on the railway and steamer. He said he fully sympathized with the Chandi Bari people in their action on the two points. According to Mr. Andrews there was no necessity to treat coolies like that as they were absolutely innocent. He thought, instead of directing the local leaders could have been asked to move the coolies.

When asked about the reason of the coolies' leaving the gardens, Mr. Andrews said: "I met them individually why they left. They were getting wretched wages. They frequently mentioned that they were getting only a few paise a day. I don't know how far this is

true, but I feel positively certain that the misery which I have seen was not due to a few days' hardship on the march-down. It pointed to a long period of underfeeding and insufficient diet. All the labourers whom I saw were absolutely destitute and the great majority showed signs of privation. I cannot believe that prosperous labourers could become half-starved and destitute and utterly miserable in a few days' march. He said he saw definite marks of privation probably with a cane, on the back of Goalundo and they had made marks which were quite apparent. The coolies were cased by the sahib in the garden to Mr. Andrews, the peaceful and absolutely

The "own correspondence" of *Bazar Patrika*, May 23, the Macpherson pushing back it is reported, of them overborne by the Gurkhas.

After the last 10-30 p.m., all the people who were way staff who had clear off, which most an incident which in brutality and cruelty may only be eclipsed by the Jallinwalla Bagh tragedy. Mr. K. C. De, the Commissioner, with his lieutenants the Hon'ble Susil K. Sinha, S. D. O. and others, is said to have ordered the Goorkhas to belabour the coolies and to drive them away from the station yard. Then what followed can better be imagined than described. The Goorkhas, who are naturally barbarous and cruel, fell upon the innocent and sleeping cooly men, women and children, and began to beat them with the butt-ends of their guns, most mercilessly and inhumanly. The heart-rending sound of cries and wailing rose in the air which startled the people who reside close by the railway station. A confusion arose in which the father left his children; the mother her young ones, not to speak of their belongings, and ran away at random to save their lives. The sight was a pitiable one but the Commissioner and his party were witnessing it apparently unmoved, and far from stopping the Goorkhas from their inhuman action, they were rather encouraging them. The coolies were chased by Goorkhas when they were flying away and did not escape beating. There were blind men, and women in advanced stage of pregnancy among the coolies, not to speak of the sick and fed ones.

One cooly woman of about 60 years of age had on her head cuts, and her left arm broken and blood was streaming profusely. A girl of about 8 years had a severe wound a little

below her right eye which narrowly escaped. There were seen similar injuries on the persons of many coolies. The coolies were all brought in the town at that dead hour of the night and were located in different places. Next morning organisation was made to give speedy medical aid to the wounded and it was ascertained that about 100 coolies were wounded by the Goorkhas, some children were reported to be missing. Till then the local public were attending upon the coolies and giving possible assistance to them. The doctor, who must have known about the condition of the coolies, did not make any attempt to give medical relief to them, but only to see their condition.

China.

Today, writes Mr. Russell, a movement more profound than any or all of the literary movements of the Renaissance.

The chaotic style of literary writing is to be confused with the Renaissance style which is a movement to introduce a Chinese alphabet. The Renaissance Movement represents an attempt to substitute a simple conversational style of writing for the archaic style of literary writing.

It means the creation of a usable and effective medium for the propaganda of modern ideas among the Chinese people. It means in time a great increase in the Chinese reading public. It means a marked increase in the number and circulation of periodicals in China. The mere mechanical simplification of writing would do this, but add the almost missionary zeal that seems to attend this Renaissance Movement, and these results seem assured. Much that has hitherto been a sealed book to the many in China will become readable and understandable when translated into a simple conversational style of writing.

As regards the actual achievements of the movement, Mr. Glenn Frank says:—

Witness a few of the results of this adventure. Three years ago, I am reliably informed, there was only one journal in China and it was struggling along in a difficult attempt to gain an interested clientele. Today there are nearly two hundred periodicals published in various parts of China under various auspices for various purposes, and they are all written in the conversational style of Chinese for which the leaders of the Renaissance Movement are battling. These two hundred journals, with virtual unanimity, stand for democratic ideals. There is a refreshing fearlessness in their expression of views in their tradition-ridden land.

Tagore, Ibsen, Hauptmann, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Oscar Wilde, and others may now be read in

Chinese. It is not uncommon to see in one number of these modern Chinese magazines an entire play of Ibsen or Maupassant translated into an easy conversational Chinese.

These Renaissance leaders are inviting foreign minds to lecture in China. John Dewey is especially received, and the national university of Peking confers upon him an honorary degree. Russell is asked to speak, and Henri Bergson is invited to their platforms.

If any of our educated countrymen come in touch with any active workers of this Chinese movement, they ought to try to make the leaders of Indian thought known in China, and the leaders of Chinese thought known in India. Neither India nor China should be content to be under the influence of Western thinkers alone. Though the Chinese literary diction has been simplified to a great extent, and this is perhaps true of the vernaculars, too, most writers still fight against the choice of a conversational style. The experience of China may be of some help to us in the choice of styles. But it is necessary to have a more detailed knowledge of the Chinese movement.

Calcutta University Affair

There has been some controversy in the papers about the non-re-appointment of a professor of the Calcutta University College. What is admitted is that a gentleman was a professor of that College in the previous session, that the appointment was for a year only, and renewable for a term, and this particular professor was in an agitation or movement against the recent innovations in the High College. The professor is an experienced man, and, therefore, surprise has been expressed at his being re-appointed. Owing to the actual decrease in the number of students, it is said that some reduction has been made in the staff. Again, it is asked why this step has involved the re-appointment of this particular professor. It is said, had made himself obnoxious by the part that he took in the agitation. Is it a mere coincidence that such a man has been affected? It was suggested that Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee was responsible for all this. The obvious reply cannot be that he did not at all vote in the matter. A rejoinder has been made that the slave mentality produced under the dominant influence, others intelligently

s wishes, and that, therefore, if he be not responsible for this particular affair, he is responsible for a greater evil, *viz.*, the slave mentality which produces many evils like the one under discussion. The Bengali proverb, "I catch fish but do not touch the water," may have originated from affairs like this.

But apart from details, a broad principle is involved. Security of tenure of office is one of the conditions of tutorial efficiency. If we remember aright, the Calcutta University Commission Report has some remarks on the subject. Will the University tolerate annual appointments in any of its affiliated institutions? We throw not. Why then does it follow a different principle in its own case? It has been suggested that the practice of annually terminable appointments is due, on other causes, to a desire to keep the professors on good behavior, which means they must remain in the good books of the boss.

There has been another controversy, on the subject of the Senate sanctioning some appointments made by the Post-graduate department. Mr. Charu Chandra Biswas, a close lieutenant and favourite of the boss, raised the objection that as the budget for the next session was not ready and that as men who could tell the Fellows all about the accounts of the University had not reported, he applied the requisite information or had been asked to do the same (we forget which), it would not be proper, prudent, or wise to do things of that sort to sanction the appointments. We think the objection valid. In the *Prabasi* or in this Review or in the *Prabasi* we have commented before upon the character of the presentation of the University Budget, as it takes place several months after the commencement of the session to which it relates; so that the University is asked to sanction appointments and expenditure already made and incurred! Mr. Ghosh's reply to his former objection was in effect equivalent to "let me the deluge", and does not need to be discussed. It is demonstrably true that the finances of the University require looking into, and the sooner the better.

Vocational Education.

The Calcutta University has thought that vocational education at last, is a matter

for satisfaction. The Vice-Chancellor need not have pitched into the non-co-operation and said that he had in his mind the idea of vocational education before many of them were born. Probably; but by a little "research", institutions may be found in the country which had begun to give vocational education before he was born. But that is neither here nor there. The claim to have been first in the field in everything is after all a piece of childish vanity, in favor of which the only thing that can be said is that it proves that the claimant being a child in this respect is capable of growth like other children. The public cannot be cognisant of what a man had been thinking; nor of the secrecy of his soul at any time. The proved and known facts are that, others have spoken, written, resolved (*e.g.*, the teaching conference at Gaibandha), and acted (*e.g.*, the National Council of Education and some other institutions since the Bengal Partition days and during the present non-co-operation agitation), before the University boss made any move. It is useless to say that he has launched his scheme *now* because the people have now come to their senses. But that awakening began and bore some fruit, too, more than a decade ago; and it was not the boss but others to whom credit must be given for this awakening. But enough of the personal aspects of the question. We shall be glad if the University vocational education conference bears fruit, and if its origin cannot be traced in part to the megalomaniac monopolist's desire to have his all-pervading finger in every educational pie.

As for the resolutions passed in the conference, they have the appearance of the "made-to-order" variety. Moreover, they do not seem to point to any organically developed scheme; what they point to is patch-work. Over-burdening the Matriculation with more compulsory or optional subjects will not do. From the physical, mental, and moral point of view, mind and body must be created and boys by proper training so that they may become practical in mind and body, and there should be correlation and co-ordination (with no overlapping or gaps) between the different stages of education. The mature student

agencies, which would involve prolonged deliberation. Hasty to forestall others and be first in the field shuts out such deliberation.

A scheme on paper, though not entirely useless, depends for its utility on the sufficiency and efficiency of the teaching and the inspecting staffs, and an adequate equipment as regards implements, apparatus, land, &c. The University cannot provide all or any of these. It should, therefore, seek and obtain the help and co-operation of the Education Department, of all non-official educational agencies, and of the public in general.

The System of Democratic Government.

Lord Bryce is to some very serious in the present working of the system of government, he says in *Modern Democracies* :

Nevertheless it has, taken all in all, given actual results than either the Rule of a few or the Rule of a Class, for it has at least extinguished many of the evils by which they were defaced.

Two Resolutions of the Panjab Provincial Conference.

The fourth resolution passed at the recent session of the Panjab Provincial Conference demonstrates the change in the mental attitude of the public or at least of a considerable section of the public towards Government. We quote it below from the *Bengalee* :

That this Conference views with contempt and regards as an insult the announcement of the Government that greater pecuniary compensation is to be paid to the relatives of the victims of the official massacre in Amritsar and exhorts these relatives to refuse to receive or even touch this blood money and assures these unfortunate sufferers that there is money in and in the Punjab Relief Fund sufficient to meet their needs.

Dissatisfaction, protest, alarm, indignation were the old familiar notes; contentment, rivalry.

Resolution the Panjab Conference Government of "practically no aid by the transborder tribes."

On has sometimes been expressed Government do not crush the numerous small transborder tribes, once for all, use it is necessary to in practical

ment. Publicists would like to be facts on which it is based.

Mount Everest Expedition

The Indian Social Reformer asks and suggests :

Is there any reason why the expedition projected to climb Mount Everest should not have an Indian representative on it? It is sure that there are Indians who would be glad to be associated with it, and that they would help the expedition in several ways. There are ancient Hindu shrines at *Chail* and *Kailas* to which adventurous pilgrims have journeyed for centuries from all parts of India at immense risk. The Government of India ought to insist on an Indian being taken on the expedition before it is finally accepted.

The names of Tibetan and Nepalese explorers like Sarat Chandra Das, Kishor Singh, Nayan Singh, &c., may also be mentioned in this connection.

In the "Associated Press" description of the arrangements made for the expedition we find the following :—

The Transport Column consists of mules supplied by the Government especially selected for work in high altitudes and there are 40 "sherpa" bearers whose homes are on the southern and south-eastern slopes of Mount Everest and who, as is well known, are the cheeriest and most reliable bearers in the Himalayas.

The Europeans and their luggage thus be carried on the backs of mule shoulders of Indian bearers; at times they will have to drag their own loads up the slopes. They are also more adequately dressed and in possession of better stuffs. The Indians, on the other hand, are worse dressed and worse fed and will carry loads, animate and inanimate. They are not inferior to the European mountaineers in physical strength and endurance. What they are lacking in is "scope of mind." It would not be impossible to find Indians possessed of this "scope of mind" in addition to sufficient physical strength and endurance.

Mr. Gandhi's Interview with the Viceroy.

There is nothing wrong in a leader of the people and the Viceroy meeting each other and exchanging views. But we do not like the manner in which the interview has been brought about or has been conducted. Why could not the Viceroy have met Mr. Gandhi through his Private Secretary) directly?

him courteously to see him? Middle man required, and why was necessary for Mr. Gandhi to seek an interview with the Viceroy, which was granted? reads very grand and "dignified" on of the White Great Moghal. But we help saying that Mr. Gandhi has been look rather small in comparison. In lion, Mr. Gandhi is a far greater man than individual than Lord Reading as individual. As regards position, the greatest tribune of his unquestionably higher than that of a paid servant and representative of him. Mr. Gandhi, the saint, may himself the humblest of men, the servant of everybody, not considered beneath his dignity to seek to see any. But Mr. Gandhi, the greatest political of his countrymen, who had set at the satanic bureaucratic Government, raised their sense of national self to the highest pitch, had no right to any way which was calculated to secret sense of humiliation and national self-respect in minds of us men. We may be wrong; but we ought it proper to speak out.

Recent Views of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

representative of the *Independent* and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu: opinion, is it correct to say that operation movement encourages elements and is therefore vicious way to universal concord?" asked: reached India, I myself had great at as soon as I set my foot on the I realised the truth of the Non-movement. While there are, I differences; cleavage is not so would imagine. Certainly, the it has widened the differences amongst, but it has not and I believe it will bitterness. It has done one remarkable. This movement has united people into a common whole. The Kisan is now stands face to face with and the landlord. Surely, no such a permanent basis by any movement. As to it cannot help it. Take it and it brings with it, at other times serious disappear very soon.

Asked further:

"And so, you think this movement has done us some good?"

"You are quite right, I must also tell you that while I appreciate the principles of the movement, I have never liked its name, jarring to a poet's ears. I call it Swarajya movement. Non-Co-operation is only a temporary measure. Swaraj—realisation of one's self—is permanent."

Directly I put my fifth question: "In your opinion, how far is a giving up or suspension of higher studies by boys and girls in pursuance of the Non-Co-operation Movement justifiable?"

"I think," said Sarojini Devi, "that where boys have left their studies by conviction it is a source of purification, and self-purification is a condition to Yoga. But I do not think I must say I positively oppose, suspension of studies by boys who resort to Non-Co-operation out of selfish motives or out of fear of their neighbours. It is absolutely demerit in that case. The same thing applies on lawyers as well. If action is based upon conviction, it has my entire support."

"The present tendency in India seems to be to turn away from the English language. In your opinion, is it a healthy movement?" I asked.

"You are mistaken," she asserted. "I think the tendency is to concentrate more on the Indian vernacular. That is a step in the right direction. But if you are going to give up English as a step in political boycott, I should think you are treacherous to your own religion. Do you know why the Hindu civilization is permanent and unshakable? Because it is elastic. It permitted assimilation of foreign culture. It was wide enough to provide for dissemination. That is why your civilization is everlasting. By nature, by temperament, I am cosmopolitan. Because I am cosmopolitan, I think I am a true Hindu. Do not, for goodness' sake, boycott language, boycott culture. After all, English is one of the most beautiful languages: and our National culture must be broad enough to admit of English language and English culture. Do not mistake it with those who demand greater national courses on the vernaculars than on a foreign stage habits. In this view I support the new movement calculated, and rightly too, to crush that in girls' snobbishness that existed, why, it has now exists, amongst our English-educated countrymen."

"Finally, what is your message to Young India?" I said.

"My Message?" and she gave it. "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control. These three alone lead life to sovereign national power."

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